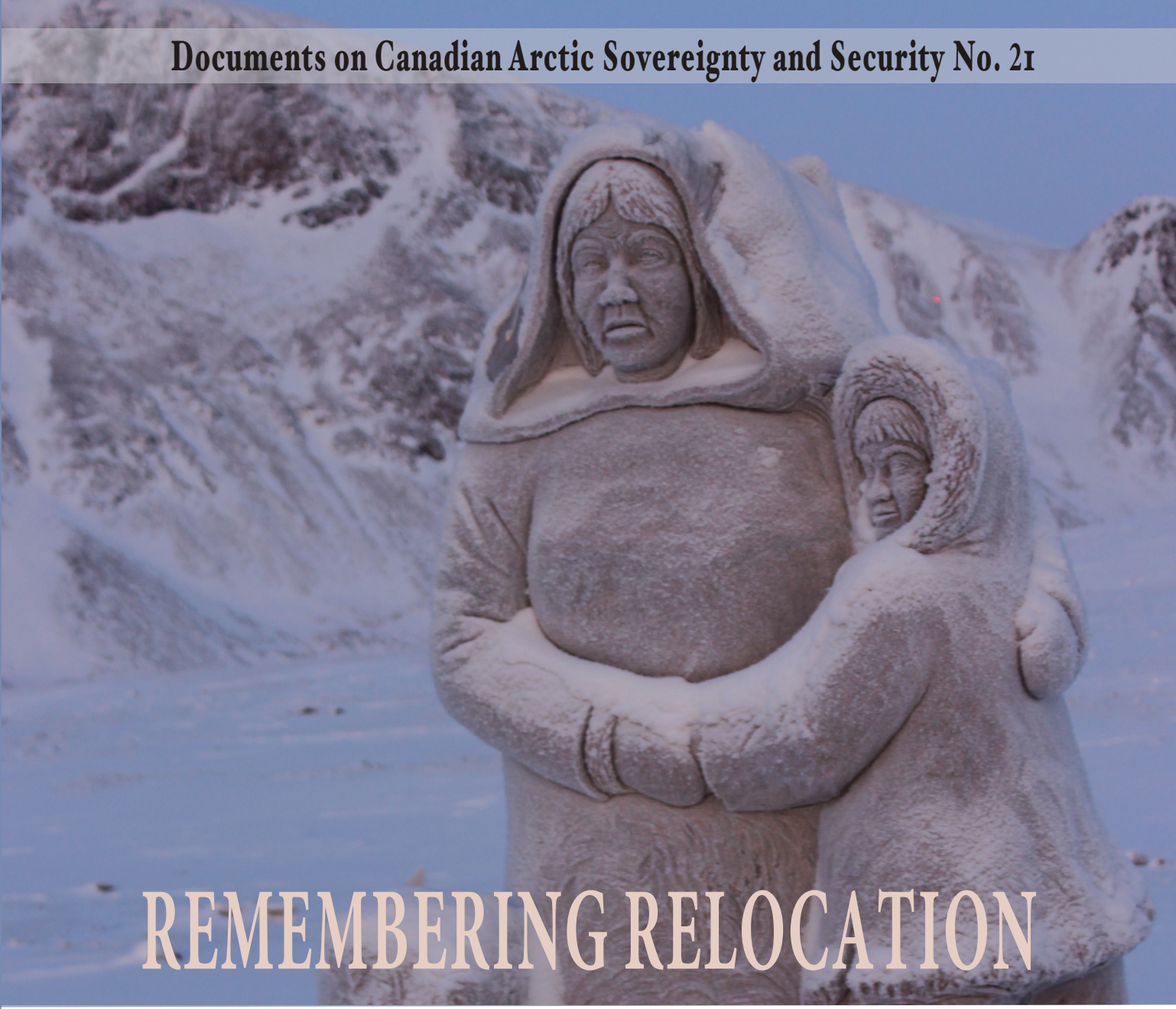




# REMEMBERING RELOCATION

*Perspectives of the High Arctic Relocations,  
1990-1993*



Introduced and compiled by

**SAM HOSSACK**

# Remembering Relocation

Perspectives of the High  
Arctic Relocations, 1990-1993



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# Remembering Relocation: Perspectives of the High Arctic Relocations, 1990-1993

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# Introduction

## Perspectives of Relocation:

## The Human Experiences of the High Arctic Relocations,

*by Sam Hossack*

In 1953, the federal government undertook the relocation of 34 Inuit from Inukjuak and 18 Inuit from Mittimatalik to Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord in the High Arctic. Two years later, 29 additional Inukjuammiut were relocated. The High Arctic Relocation established these Northern communities, which have come to symbolize Canada's Arctic presence, but did so at great cost to Inuit who moved, those who were left behind, and their families. In the decades since, many researchers have examined the motivations of the then-federal government's Department of Resources and Development (DRD), which was responsible for Northern Affairs at the time, for relocating these Inuit. In the 1980s, Inuit began advocating for the government to compensate them for the broken promise that they could return to their home communities, and for the hardships endured during and after the relocation. Over time, the demands evolved to include an apology and, eventually, recognition of Inuit contributions to sovereignty in the North. In the early and mid-1990s, these requests forced the government - and the Canadian public - to examine their motivations and fiduciary responsibility for the relocations. The cumulation of these efforts were a series of public hearings, first at the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs (SCAA) in Spring 1990 and later at the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) in Spring 1993. For the first time, Inuit oral histories of the

relocations were shared in public fora. It is these public hearings and the parliamentary debates about the testimony which make up this volume.

The High Arctic Relocations have been variously studied and considered throughout the more than seventy years since they occurred by academics, researchers, politicians, and Inuit. The majority of these studies took place in the late-1980s and early-1990s, alongside Inuit claims for compensation and requests for apology. The preceding two volumes of the High Arctic Relocations series within the Documents on Canadian Arctic Sovereignty and Security (DCASS) collection indicate the extent of that primary research which examines the rationale behind the government's decision to forcibly relocate Inuit and their families.<sup>1</sup> Since the RCAP hearings, the High Arctic Relocations transitioned from a topic of research itself to an example referenced in other studies. In that transition, key elements of the story of the relocations were lost, others simplified. Crucially, the stories of the people were overlooked in favour of the story of government malfeasance. As Susan Aglukark, then an executive assistant for the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC), suggested to the RCAP on April 5, 1993:

Numerous studies and reviews of this issue have been undertaken in recent years and a great deal of emphasis has been placed upon the original intentions of the Canadian government. These intentions, while relevant, should not divert us from the most fundamental aspect of the relocation, which is that Inuit families suffered irreparable harm and damage because the Government of Canada decided that they should be moved over 1,000 miles away to a harsh, remote and unknown area of the Arctic.<sup>2</sup>

This, then, is the goal of the present volume. To re-centre the stories of those who lived the relocations – Inuit and government – and to reflect the *effects* of the relocations, rather than the *motivations*.

### *Overview of the High Arctic Relocations and Scholarship*

#### *The Relocations, 1950s*

The High Arctic Relocations, which took place in the summers of 1953 and 1955, stem from bureaucrats' ongoing concerns about the collapse of the fur trade in the Arctic, and particularly about the effects of that collapse on the Inuit economy in Northern Quebec. Concerns about the availability of white fox (a staple of the Arctic fur trade) and food resources across the Arctic prompted the Northwest Territories Council to request a survey on economic conditions be completed in late 1949. This survey, which became the 1950 "Survey of the Economic Conditions Among the Eskimos

of the Canadian Arctic” completed by former Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) Assistant to the Fur Trade Commissioner and newly-minted civil servant James Cantley, indicated that economic conditions were declining as a result of low prices and low demand for fur. Inuit residing in Northern Quebec were, according to the survey, in the most precarious position given the relative density of that region.<sup>3</sup> Cantley recommended that a review of Arctic policy generally, and Inuit policy specifically, be carefully examined.<sup>4</sup>

The newly formed DRD – then responsible for Northern Affairs – under the leadership of Deputy Minister and ex-officio Northwest Territories Commissioner General H.A. Young, responded to the survey report by working toward the development of a framework for a general Arctic policy and examining its approach to Inuit affairs.<sup>5</sup> The decentralization of the vast number of federal government and non-government organizations operating in the North in the 1950s made policy development challenging. In May 1952, Deputy Minister Young organized the first Meeting on Eskimo Affairs to take place in Ottawa, gathering all those with an interest in or who worked with Inuit. The intent of the special meeting was to bring together all those interested in and affected by Inuit affairs and

to provide an opportunity for trading companies, missions, and all departments of government to exchange views and express opinions with the object of improving the social and economic conditions of the Eskimo.

The meeting will afford an opportunity of having different points of view presented. I hope that there will be open and frank discussions and for this reason the press will not be admitted to the meeting.<sup>6</sup>

There was significant interest in coordinating activities related to Inuit and to working toward an Inuit policy: the meeting was rescheduled twice to accommodate schedules and the need for a much larger room, and eventually included 57 individuals from nine different federal government departments, as well as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), HBC, Northwest Territories (NWT) Council, the United States Embassy, and both the Roman Catholic and Anglican Missions. The notable exception was the exclusion of any Inuit representatives.<sup>7</sup>

Following a successful first meeting, representatives agreed to meet twice yearly to continue discussing issues as they arose and to provide advice and recommendations to the DRD related to the development of both an Arctic and Inuit policy. Although the committee, which would come to be called the Eskimo Affairs Committee (EAC), would focus largely on issues related to health and education, even going so far as to create an education sub-committee, concerns about the ever-fluctuating Arctic fur trade and the need to diversify the Inuit economy remained prominent. However, the committee’s focus on providing advice and recommendations to the DRD officials

limited its success in developing policy, especially in the initial years.<sup>8</sup>

At the October 1952 meeting, two important discussions took place that set the groundwork for what would become the relocations. The first initiated the development of a loan fund that could be used to finance projects related to the the improvement of the Inuit economy:

It was agreed that arrangements should be made to set up a fund of \$50,000 from which returnable advances could be made to Eskimo groups or individuals to assist them to purchase necessary supplies and equipment with which to increase their earning power or to embark upon any approved project which local traders or others may not be prepared to finance.<sup>9</sup>

While the concept of loaning department funds to Inuit families for the purposes of “purchas[ing] necessary supplies and equipment” ostensibly could allow Inuit to develop economic independence and grow their own economies, it was in practice a critical development in allowing the relatively small Arctic Section within the DRD the opportunity to creatively finance projects with a limited budget.<sup>10</sup> Director of the Northern Administration and Lands Branch (DRD), Colonel F.J.G. Cunningham’s briefing notes for Deputy Minister Young in October 1952 explained that:

It is recommended that, subject to Regulations of the Treasury Board, provision be made for a continuing Special Account in the Consolidated Revenue Fund, to be known as the Eskimo Loan Fund, from which interest-free loans may be made to Eskimos to assist them in the purchase of supplies and equipment or to take up any approved project which the Hudson’s Bay Company or other traders are not prepared to finance, and to authorize the crediting of this Special Account of all repayments made by Eskimos and the readvancing of such moneys; the excess of the amounts charged over the amounts credited to this Special Account at any time not to exceed \$50,000. The Eskimo Loan Fund would not be a recurring item. Permission would have to be obtained to set this up as a new vote, but once set up, the fund would be carried forward from year to year while the need for it remained. The purpose of this fund would be to make advances to natives for justifiable projects which traders might not care to finance but where, in the opinion of the R.C.M. Police or our local representatives, there is reasonable expectation of recovery during good economic years. Advances and collections on this account would be made through the traders. If approved, it is intended to place \$50,000 in the estimates for 1953-54 for this purpose.<sup>11</sup>

The Eskimo Loan Fund (ELF) was approved of in principle by the EAC and was discussed among Deputy Minister Young, Minister Robert Winters, and the Treasury Board during the winter months of 1952-53.<sup>12</sup> Modelled after a similar fund established under the Indian Act, the ELF provided an opportunity for the DRD to fund special projects that they believed had the potential to improve the Inuit economic situation. Cunningham’s description of the ELF is noteworthy: the intention of the fund was primarily to improve the economic situation of the Inuit, but it also allowed for the development of pilot projects which might have a “reasonable expectation of recovery” so as to

allow for increased financial flexibility within the DRD.<sup>13</sup> The loan fund was formally approved as part of the 1953-54 Federal Budget in March 1953.

The second discussion that occurred during the October 1952 EAC meeting was the transfer of Inuit:

[Consideration] was given to the possibility of assisting natives to move from over-populated areas to places where they could more readily obtain a living. It was agreed that Craig Harbour and Cape Sabine on Ellesmere Island should be investigated as possible localities where Eskimos could be placed under the care of the R.C.M. Police detachments and arrangements made to enable them to obtain necessary supplies through the loan fund.<sup>14</sup>

The minimal discussion about the transfer of Inuit at this meeting indicates that by mid-October – less than nine months before Inuit would board the *C.D. Howe* in Inukjuak to relocate to the High Arctic – the government had only begun to conceptualize a rudimentary project plan. The majority of planning work, including budget approval for the projects under the ELF in March 1953, occurred during the winter and early spring.

On 16 March 1953, the memorandum containing the descriptions for the first five projects to be financed under the ELF was sent to the Deputy Minister, describing three relocation projects:<sup>15</sup>

Loan Project No. 1 Cape Herschel The R.C.M. Police will establish a detachment at Cape Herschel on the east coast of Ellesmere Island to police a region where Greenland natives have from time to time been hunting on Canadian territory. Native food supplies are reported to be plentiful. There are no Canadian Eskimos in the region and it is planned to move in five Eskimo families from overpopulated depressed areas and establish them in the native way of life under the direction of the R.C.M. Police. It is estimated that the cost of moving these Eskimos and equipping them to live at Cape Herschel will not exceed \$200 per family or \$1000 in all, which will be charged to the time in the estimates – Transportation of Eskimos – and to Relief.

As there is no trading post at Cape Herschel a year's stock of supplies for the natives will have to be provided in care of the R.C.M. Police. It is proposed to finance the purchase of these supplies under a loan issued to a leading Eskimo in the group. These goods will be held by the R.C.M. Police as security for the loan and will be dispensed by the Police on behalf of the loanee in return for payment in money or in kind and the proceeds will be credited to the loan. When goods for relief or Family Allowances are to be issued, the R.C.M. Police will make out the vouchers to show the order as being filled by the loanee who for this purpose will be acting as a trader. When the vouchers are approved for payment the amounts will be credited to the loan.

The exact cost of supplies will not be known until the families are selected and the purchases made. It is estimated that the cost should not exceed \$1000 per family. The loan to the leader of the group should, therefore, be for an amount up to \$5000.

Loan Project No. 2 Craig Harbour This project is similar to Project 1 [Cape Herschel]. Five Eskimo families would be established under the R.C.M. Police to live off the country where native food supplies are reported to be good. The amount of the loan would be up to \$5,000.

Loan Project No. 3 Resolute Bay It has been tentatively agreed with the R.C.M. Police that if we will move five Eskimo families to Resolute Bay they will reopen their detachment there to supervise the Eskimos and maintain law and order in a settlement where there are four different organizations, each with its own senior officer, and many transient visitors.

The Meteorological Service could offer permanent employment to at least one Eskimo to learn to replace one of their mechanics and might employ one or two others on semi-skilled jobs. All could be employed on menial jobs but, except in summer, we prefer at least part of the group to hunt and trap after the native way so that the children of employed Eskimos can learn the native way of life with them. The details as to terms of employment and rotation of labour will be carefully worked out for the guidance of the R.C.M. Police.

As there is no trading post at Resolute Bay this project would operate on the same principle as Project 1. The amount of the loan would be up to \$5,000.

The above three projects have as their object:

- a. Relief of population pressure in distressed areas.
- b. A pioneer experiment to determine if Eskimos can be induced to live on the Northern islands which, relics indicate, once supported a native population.
- c. An experiment to work out a method by which Eskimos may be trained to replace white employees in the North without the Eskimo children losing touch with the native way of life.
- d. If these projects warrant it, more natives can be moved North both to these pioneer points and to other points to be selected later.<sup>16</sup>

This memorandum provides important insight into the early planning phase of the relocations. The intent to only relocate Inuit to locations with RCMP detachments indicates the DRD's reliance on the RCMP, and a desire that the RCMP be formally tasked with providing for Inuit welfare in the High Arctic. The relative success of the RCMP doing so at other locations, and the push by RCMP Officer Commanding, "G" Division, Inspector Henry Larsen for increased RCMP responsibility in this area motivated this desire. Furthermore, the memorandum also indicates a cautious willingness to engage other departments in the employment of Inuit, particularly at Resolute Bay. This reflects the contradictory approaches to the Inuit economy suggested by members of the EAC.<sup>17</sup> Finally, the memorandum outlines a complete funding scheme for the relocations, including multiple and specific budget line items and that the loans to be made to individual Inuit leaders for supplies.

The approval of the ELF enabled the projects, which began their implementation phase in early April, with a telegram from Director Cunningham to RCMP Inspector Larsen, requesting help from



the RCMP detachments at Inukjuak (Port Harrison), and Mittimatalik (Pond Inlet).<sup>18</sup> Six days later, Inspector Larsen wrote back to Cunningham, explaining that he had sent wireless messages to the detachments at Inukjuak, Fort Chimo (Kuujjuaq), and Mittimatalik. These messages were heavily adapted from the drafts that Cunningham had proposed, with two important alterations.<sup>19</sup> First was the inclusion of the Fort Chimo detachment and the request that this detachment name five families willing to be relocated to Resolute Bay where they “can possibly get permanent employment at air base and weather station... and hunt and trap in spare time.”<sup>20</sup> Second, Larsen included what would become a highly consequential final line: “Families will be brought back home at end of one year if they so desire.”<sup>21</sup> In Larsen’s memo he explained this inclusion:

I considered it advisable to make that promise. I have in mind the sad experiences of those families of Eskimos (I believe eleven families) who were taken from Cape Dorset to Dundas Harbour in 1934 by the then Northern Administration and after being there with the Hudson’s Bay Company for two years were taken to Arctic Bay and Fort Ross. They suffered hardships and asked, from time to time to be taken back to Cape Dorset. They never were taken back and the survivors and their descendants are still in the Fort Ross-Spence Bay district.<sup>22</sup>

Larsen’s telegrams were also significantly more specific than Cunningham’s drafts, including the exact number of families requested from each detachment area and the proposed destination. The telegrams requested that the Port Harrison detachment identify seven families with strong hunting and trapping skills with four destined for Craig Harbour and three for Cape Herschel, that the Fort Chimo detachment identify five families to transfer to Resolute, and that the Pond Inlet detachment identify three families, one of which would transfer to Craig Harbour and two of which would transfer to Cape Herschel.<sup>23</sup>

Larsen’s interpretation of Cunningham’s directives indicate some cross-purposes between the DRD and the RCMP. As a result, the intention of the DRD transferring families from Inukjuak and Mittimatalik is obscured by the intention of the RCMP and specifically Larsen as Commander of “G” Division through his inclusion of families from Kuujjuaq. Larsen’s specification of how the families would be “placed” at the RCMP detachments is also at odds with the instructions sent by Cunningham, who had indicated an intention to “place five families at each of your detachments at Craig Harbour, Herschel Island, and Resolute Bay.”<sup>24</sup> A further complication of Larsen altering the telegram messages so significantly is that it is unclear how much further the instructions were altered by RCMP officers in Inukjuak and Mittimatalik nor how the instructions may have been interpreted, both by officers and Inuit.

In early June the final itineraries of the *C.D. Howe* and *d’Iberville* were finalized and the families to be relocated from Inukjuak and Mittimatalik were confirmed, along with the supplies requested

by the DRD on their behalf. The 8 June 1953 letter from Deputy Minister Young to Department of Transportation (DOT) Deputy Minister J.C. Lessard confirmed the Eastern Arctic freight requirements of the DRD, including passengers for the *C.D. Howe*. Young's letter outlined that seven families (34 Inuit) would embark at Inukjuak, one family (four Inuit) at Churchill, and four families (20 Inuit) at Mittimatalik.<sup>25</sup> Young's letter noted that "the above listed Eskimos will be distributed in groups – four families to Resolute Bay, four families to Craig Harbour, and three families to Cape Herschel."<sup>26</sup> The letter did not specify which families would be transferred to which destinations. Arrangements with the DOT were practically finalized by 8 June 1953, though the RCMP was not informed that Inuit from Kuujuaq were not included on the manifest until 17 June 1953 when C.K. LeCapelain, the Acting Director of the Northern Administration & Lands Branch, wrote to Inspector Larsen to explain that only Inuit from Inukjuak and Mittimatalik were being transferred in the initial experiment.<sup>27</sup> In this letter, LeCapelain suggested that the DRD felt "it is most desirable that at least one Pond Inlet family should be allotted to each of the three places so that the Port Harrison natives may receive some assistance and guidance in adjusting themselves to a new environment, particularly during the dark period."<sup>28</sup> This is the only indication of a clear plan for how to distribute the Inuit families among the three locations. On 27 June 1953, the *C.D. Howe* left port in Montreal on its way to Clyde River, via Inukjuak and Mittimatalik, where Inuit would transfer to the *d'Iberville* which would take them to their final destinations..<sup>29</sup>

At the end of August and beginning of September 1953, Inuit arrived in the High Arctic, disembarking at Resolute Bay and Craig Harbour.<sup>30</sup> A landing was attempted at Cape Herschel (Alexandra Fiord) but ice prevented disembarkment, leading to a second landing at Craig Harbour. Inuit and government experiences of the journey, arrival, and survival of that first winter, and subsequent years make up the pages of this volume.

### *Political Developments, 1970-1990*

In the late-1970s, Inuit began actively working toward returning to their home communities. Initially, this was done at great personal expense with little aid from government officials. In the 1980s, Inuit began advocating for government support for these returns, including financing the returns, building housing in Inukjuak to accommodate those returning, and compensating Inuit for property left behind in the High Arctic. Constantly changing Ministers and a general unwillingness by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) – now responsible for Inuit and Northern Affairs – to fund these returns led to significant delays and an overall lack of progress. By the mid-1980s, Makivik Corporation – formed to manage the rights, interests,

and financial compensation resulting from the 1975 James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement (JBNQA) – had taken on an increasingly active role in advocating on behalf of the relocatees, calling upon the federal government to financially compensate High Arctic Inuit so they could return to Inukjuak upon request. In response, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (MIAND) John Munro committed in 1984 to undertaking research to investigate what Makivik termed the “displacement of Inuit in the 1950s” with the intent of developing “a strong argument to bring to the federal Cabinet in support of federal financing for a move of Inuit families from the High Arctic back to Inukjuak.”<sup>31</sup> The investigation centred on the question of whether or not the federal government had promised to finance the return of displaced Inuit in 1953 and 1955. At this time, Makivik specifically used language around displacement.<sup>32</sup> The study, completed in August 1984 by Marc Hammond<sup>33</sup> and released that October, ultimately determined that a promise had been made by the federal government, and that even if such a promise had not been given to Inuit by the federal government, federal officials did not discourage anyone from thinking that they did.<sup>34</sup> However, a federal election in September 1984 saw Conservative David Crombie take over as Minister, stalling negotiations. By December 1986, Makivik and Crombie had agreed to compile a comprehensive list of demands and develop new housing in Inukjuak (alongside the government of Québec). The Makivik position paper outlining government activities and the formal list of demands was submitted to DIAND in January 1987.<sup>35</sup> The paper included a request for a \$10 million compensatory trust fund, reimbursement for those who had already moved back to Inukjuak, and a formal acknowledgement by the federal government to recognize Inuit’s “special contribution to assisting Canada in establishing its sovereignty in the High Arctic”.<sup>36</sup>

Despite some developments between 1987 and 1989, including a \$200,000 compensation agreement to recover costs for Inuit returning to Inukjuak and the construction of ten houses in Inukjuak, the request for recognition was largely ignored by the DIAND and its new Minister, Pierre Cadieux. To address these ongoing grievances, Makivik secured a long-awaited meeting with the House of Commons’ (SCAA) to discuss financial compensation and political recognition.<sup>37</sup>

The March 19, 1990 meeting of the SCAA was the culmination of this decades-long effort.<sup>38</sup> The SCAA’s approach was encouraging and the report presented to the House of Commons in June requested that the government formally acknowledge “the role played by the Inuit people who were relocated to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in the protection of Canadian sovereignty in the North” and issue a formal apology and compensation.<sup>39</sup>

The Government’s response to the Report, completed by the Hickling Corporation and principally authored by Bud Neville was tabled in November 1990.<sup>40</sup> The report claimed that the federal

government had not moved Inuit for sovereignty purposes and therefore that it would be inappropriate to issue an apology. The Government acknowledged that only compensation for returning Inuit to Inukjuak was appropriate, noting that significant expenditures had already been made for this purpose while offering to make funding available for 1991-1992 to finance the moves of any remaining Inuit who wished to return.

The ITC, which had worked on behalf of Inuit relocatees alongside Makivik throughout the 1980s, was unwilling to accept this response, and in January 1991 requested an investigation by the Canadian Human Rights Commission (CHRC). Despite not having a formal jurisdiction, the CHRC suggested that, upon agreement from both parties, Daniel Soberman be contracted as a Special Reporter to the CHRC to conduct an investigation into the allegations, provide an opinion on the Inuit claims, and “determine, if feasible, to explore the possibility of arriving at a conclusion mutually acceptable to the Inuit and DIAND.” The Government agreed to Soberman’s investigation. His Report, completed in December 1991, suggested that although sovereignty was not a primary concern, the government did have a fiduciary responsibility to Inuit and ought to apologize for its shortcomings in the planning and implementation of the relocations and to publicly thank Inuit for “their contributions to supporting Canadian claims to territorial sovereignty in the region.”<sup>41</sup> As a result, the SCAA revisited the issue in February 1992, resulting in another report to the House of Commons and request for the Government to respond.<sup>42</sup>

Meanwhile, the RCAP had begun its public hearings. In Inukjuak on June 8, 1992 a group declaring themselves the “High Arctic Exiles” used that forum to share their story.<sup>43</sup> In August 1992, Magnus Gunther completed his report for DIAND, reviewing the documentary evidence related to the 1953 relocations.<sup>44</sup> This report formed the basis for the government’s response to the SCAA’s February report, which was tabled in the House of Commons in November 1992.<sup>45</sup> The response took into account both Soberman and Gunther’s Reports and acknowledged the government’s responsibility for broken promises. It agreed to provide additional compensation and to work with Inuit on some form of recognition. It refused to apologize.

As a result, in December 1992, the ITC requested a Special Hearing as part of the RCAP proceedings to allow Inuit to fully share their story. In January 1993, RCAP requested that Mary Simon and Roger Tassé review the evidence. That review, completed in February 1993, indicated that Inuit had not been given a chance to tell their story and suggested that there were significant differences among the various reports. The Simon/Tassé Report therefore recommended that the RCAP allow Inuit to present their full version of events and invite principal authors of the studies and reports to present their findings, after which the Commissioners could submit a full report on the High

### Arctic Relocations to the Government.

In April and June 1993, RCAP heard testimony from Inuit, government officials, researchers, academics, and others who had experience in the North or who had witnessed aspects of the relocation. In May 1994, they submitted their report recommending that the government acknowledge the wrongs done to Inuit and apologize, “acknowledge the special contributions of the relocatees to the maintenance of Canadian sovereignty in the High Arctic,” and negotiate compensation.<sup>46</sup> In March 1996, the federal government, Makivik Corporation, and surviving relocatees and their descendants signed the High Arctic Relocation Settlement Agreement, which established a \$10 million trust fund for the relocatees. The Agreement did not include an apology or any acknowledgement of wrongdoing by the government. Instead, the government and Inuit agreed on a “‘Statement of Reconciliation’ to recognize the “hardship, suffering and loss” in the initial years of relocation because of poor planning and implementation by the government.”<sup>47</sup> It also included language that the government was acting “with honourable intentions in what was perceived to be in the best interests of the Inuit at that time.”<sup>48</sup> According to Larry Audlaluk and Markoosie Patsauq, themselves relocatees and active participants in the negotiations with government, it was a “‘take it or leave it’ deal, and . . . they, like many of the exiles, accepted it because elders wanted to see some positive outcomes from the years of telling their story – although they were upset that it did not include an apology.”<sup>49</sup> It had already been more than forty years since the relocation, and many of the original relocatees had died. There was a strong desire for some kind of settlement to occur during the lifetime of the remaining relocatees.<sup>50</sup>

The push for an apology did not end however, and in 2008, to commemorate the fifty-fifth anniversary of the relocations, Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI)), on behalf of Inuit relocatees, commissioned two monuments, one for each of Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord, with the following objectives:

- To commemorate the Inuit who sacrificed so much as a result of the Government relocation of 1953.
- To promote and preserve this moment in Nunavut’s history through the building of two permanent monuments.
- To involve the communities of Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord with the creation of the monuments and an unveiling ceremony, a feast, and presentations and activities in each community.
- To develop a national and international audience by exposing media to this moment in Nunavut’s history.
- To develop a committee that can use this project as a stepping-stone to organize an annual day

of commemoration for the Inuit who suffered as a result of relocation.

- To show the world that Canada's claim on the High Arctic remains strong because Canadians continue to live and prosper in its most Northern communities.
- To gain an apology from the federal government.<sup>51</sup>

Ultimately, the 2000s push for apology was successful, and in August 2010 the government formally apologized.<sup>52</sup> Inuit leaders welcomed the long-awaited apology, with Nunavut premier Eva Aariak calling it "an historic day for Inuit of the High Arctic, Northern Québec, and indeed for all Canadians" and NTI president Paul Kaludjak expressing that the "apology brings some relief to the surviving Inuit who were forcibly relocated, and to the family and community members who struggled with the inter-generational effects this terrible experience caused."<sup>53</sup> The emotional experience of receiving an apology fifty years in the making cannot be understated, as Markoosie Patsauq said the following year, "It was very, very... good to hear that the federal government was finally ready to listen to our demand and finally wanting to apologize for what they done."<sup>54</sup>

### *Literature on High Arctic Relocations*

Studies specific to the High Arctic Relocations developed in the early 1990s alongside the political push for compensation and apology by Inuit leaders. As a result, the literature largely focused on the intentions of government. Individual academic studies of the High Arctic Relocations, including a 1989 thesis by historian Keith Lowther and studies by Shelagh Grant and Alan Marcus in 1991,<sup>55</sup> were accompanied by government-sponsored reports by researcher Bud Neville (on behalf of the Hickling Corporation) and Magnus Gunther.<sup>56</sup> A study by independent researcher Gerard Kenney and a book by Marcus also followed the investigation of the relocations by the 1993 RCAP Special Hearing.<sup>57</sup> The work of Lowther, Grant, and Marcus all supported what has come to be known as the "sovereignty thesis," which suggested that the government was motivated to relocate Inuit to the High Arctic by broad sovereignty concerns developing at the beginning of the Cold War. Kenney rejected this thesis on the basis of being unable to find a "smoking gun" within the documentary record to support the thesis, while both Neville and Gunther concluded that the primary justification for the relocations was a desire by the government to move Inuit from areas with poor living conditions to areas with improved living and economic conditions.

In addition to these studies that focused explicitly on the High Arctic Relocations, geographer and social worker Frank Tester and professor of Native Studies Peter Kulchyski completed a monograph outlining the many *Tammarniit* (Mistakes) of government policy in the Eastern Arctic from

1939-1963, including an overview of the High Arctic Relocations. Tester and Kulchyski's argument situates the formulation of relocation in the context of government desire to provide economic and social welfare to Inuit in the North while also balancing other responsibilities and values of a predominantly southern government.<sup>58</sup>

This early literature emerged within the context of Inuit advocacy for compensation and apology in the late-1980s and early-1990s, and therefore focused on government motivation and consulted archival documentary evidence. The literature that followed the RCAP hearings relied on established narratives of sovereignty/humanitarian action in building arguments about the effects of government policy. Public historian Lyle Dick's *Muskox Land* includes a chapter on the High Arctic Relocations, concluding that the motivations for relocation to Ellesmere Island in the 1950s were unclear, though sovereignty clearly had an effect on decision makers and was at least a contributing factor to the justification of continuing High Arctic settlements.<sup>59</sup> In contrast, anthropologist David Damas argued that the High Arctic Relocations, differing from previous relocations because of the HBC's lack of involvement, had as their primary objective a migration of Inuit from areas of lesser resources to areas of greater resources and were thus economically driven.<sup>60</sup>

By the mid-2000s, literature on the High Arctic Relocations focused on exploring the personal stories of relocated Inuit in the context of government betrayal. Writer Melanie McGrath's *The Long Exile* explored themes of media influences on government decision making and media portrayal of Inuit. McGrath personalizes relocation by using the story of Maggie Nujarluktuk and her son Josephie (fathered by Robert Flaherty during filming of *Nanook of the North*), who was relocated to Grise Fiord with his family in 1955.<sup>61</sup> McGrath's acknowledgement of government officials' wide range of perceived problems with a common solution emphasizes the challenges of assessing the policy effects of the relocation. The human effects of the relocation, as McGrath argues, are clear from the mistreatment of Inuit throughout the relocation process and the ongoing betrayal of those exiled from Canadian life.

John Amagoalik's 2007 autobiography *Changing the Face of Canada* and Larry Audlaluk's 2020 autobiography *What I Remember, What I Know* also provide detailed accounts of Inuit experiences of relocation and the short- and long-term effects of the relocations on individuals and their communities.<sup>62</sup> Both Amagoalik and Audlaluk were relocated to the High Arctic as young children, and have lived for decades with the consequences of government decision-making. Amagoalik describes how the community at Resolute Bay became sick with grief,<sup>63</sup> while Audlaluk outlines in great detail how lonely Grise Fiord was for him as a child.<sup>64</sup> Both rely on now-established sovereignty narratives, which they helped construct in the early 1990s, to situate their personal

narratives. As Audlaluk explains:

I tell the story because it has to be told. It has to be told so that it will not happen again. Canada wanted to show the world that the issue of sovereignty was no longer in question. Because of us, Ellesmere Island is no longer the “No Man’s Land” [explorer Knud] Rasmussen described it to be.<sup>65</sup>

Amagoalik and Audlaluk’s personal stories of hardship and suffering, broken promises and broken families provide an important and often missing context for government decision-making and its effects on Inuit who experienced the relocations.

Following the 2010 apology, academic discussion of the High Arctic Relocations evolved to critique government responses to the RCAP hearings and the apology itself. Literary scholar Pauline Wakeham’s criticism of the government’s apology relies on the sovereignty thesis as a foundational assumption in order to argue that the apology was used to re-assert twenty-first century Canadian sovereignty claims.<sup>66</sup> Anthropologist James Slotta also relies on this foundation to explore how the voices of Inuit leaders were symbolically heard at the RCAP hearings as a result of the government’s unwillingness to acknowledge their accounts or demands.<sup>67</sup> Political scientist Mark Salter also defended the sovereignty narrative by arguing that sovereignty is circular and that the inherent diplomatic nature of sovereignty necessitates a lack of documented evidence because “referring to a lack of sovereignty creates a lack of sovereignty.”<sup>68</sup>

Recent literature largely focuses on examining government motivations, injecting complexity and nuance. Historian Janice Cavell’s challenge to the dominant narratives of government motivation, suggesting that the relocations were motivated by a paternalistic desire to control the Inuit economy.<sup>69</sup> Historian Whitney Lackenbauer argues that the issues facing the government of Louis St-Laurent in the early 1950s were complex, typified as “known unknowns and unknown unknowns.”<sup>70</sup> The government’s response to this complexity was, Lackenbauer argues, to embrace experimentation (a pilot study) in the form of relocation.<sup>71</sup> Although Lackenbauer admits that his analysis contradicts the “canonical narrative of postwar government perfidy in the High Arctic in the name of Canadian sovereignty,” he acknowledges the importance of examining diverse histories of the North and competing viewpoints.<sup>72</sup> Tester and anthropologist Krista Zawadski also note the many histories involved in the government decision to relocate Inuit, concluding that the decision was multi-faceted, including both economic concerns and sovereignty considerations.<sup>73</sup> Most recently, researcher Amy Fung has argued that government motivations, and most importantly the government’s justifications for relocation given during the 1990s, exemplify the ongoing colonial realities of the state and devalue the experiences and memories of relocatees.<sup>74</sup>



The main focus of the literature since the 1990s is the formulation of the High Arctic Relocation project.<sup>75</sup> Scholars and researchers have asked how and why the government made the decision to relocate Inuit from Inukjuak to Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord in the 1950s, with a wide array of analyses stemming from the initial debate between sovereignty and humanitarian concerns. While most scholars acknowledge the significant issues with the implementation of the project that ultimately led to increased hardships for Inuit, this is not a primary narrative. The early literature on the relocation typically avoided the affective ramifications of the project by ignoring Inuit voices and focusing on high-level government decision-making. However, research and writing in the late-1990s, and particularly in the 2000s, began to include these perspectives and voices, recognizing the broader problems with the program's formulation and implementation and better identifying the scope of its human effects.

Recently, the relocation literature has become more nuanced, building on the foundational literature and examining the welfare motivations and paternalist perspectives of the relocation, while exploring new angles of the sovereignty thesis and exploring the contemporary government responses to historical events. However, most of this research has focused primarily on the archival documents and on those reports and articles that relied on those documents. Key elements of the archival record and the key government reports have been made publicly available through the DCASS series, allowing researchers to consult the documents themselves.

#### *The DCASS Series on High Arctic Relocations*

This is the third volume in the DCASS series on the High Arctic Relocations. The first, *Errors Exposed: Inuit Relocations to the High Arctic*, edited by Shelagh Grant in 2016, presents the documentary record available in the archives during Grant's 1990/1991 examination of the relocations for Canadian Arctic Resources Committee (CARC). Grant, who wrote the first academic article dealing explicitly with the High Arctic Relocations in 1991 uncovered a wealth of archival information from the DIAND (DRD's successor) files, the RCMP detachment logs, and the Department of External Affairs. Many of these documents were provided by Grant to the RCAP in 1993 as part of her written submission. The 2016 DCASS volume provides these documents, unedited, to readers for examination along with an introduction to the document recovery process and Grant's experience with the RCAP.

The second volume, *Human Flagpoles or Humanitarian Action?: Discerning Government Motives behind the Inuit Relocations to the High Arctic, 1953–1960*, edited by P. Whitney Lackenbauer in 2020, presents a record of the most influential reports completed on the High Arctic Relocations, includ-

ing those conducted by Hickling Corporation (principally by F.G. “Bud” Neville), Daniel Soberman, and Magnus Gunther. Lackenbauer’s extensive introduction to this volume provides a clear overview of the debate presented when these reports are read next to each other. Namely, what was the federal government’s intention in relocating Inuit from Northern Quebec to the High Arctic? This debate, as Lackenbauer explains, has come to define the history of the High Arctic Relocations, centring government decision-making rather than Inuit experience.

The primary material that make up the volumes by Grant and Lackenbauer arises from the political movement seeking compensation and apology in the 1980s and 1990s, culminating in the Special Hearing of the RCAP in 1993. The acceptance of the RCAP final report and the 1996 Compensation Agreement marked an important transition in the story of the High Arctic Relocations in which research efforts that had focused on discerning government motives and responsibility became focused instead on how the relocations represented an example of government behaviour, simplifying the nuanced motivations of government and individual experiences of Inuit into an allegory for malfeasance in the name of sovereignty. Crucially, the stories of the *people* have been overlooked in favour of a broader story about sovereignty.

This, then, is the goal of the present volume. To re-centre the stories of those who lived the relocations - Inuit and government - and to reflect on the *effects* of the relocations, rather than the *motivations*.

### *Perspectives and Experiences of Relocation*

The experiences of relocation are multi-faceted and varied. Inuit who were relocated in 1953 experienced different conditions and hardships than those in 1955, and those relocating from Inukjuak faced different levels of uncertainty and change than those from Mittimatalik. These differences at a group level only underscore the differences in experiences of individuals within these groups, including those who were older, who were female, or who were able to relocate with a larger community network. The experiences of government officials were also varied: those involved in the initial planning and those involved after had different perspectives on the intention of the project and on its metrics for success. Each of these perspectives warrants examination and each represents an aspect of the relocations that contributes to a more nuanced and complex history of the High Arctic Relocations.

The testimony presented in this volume is taken from three sources: the minuted records of the SCAA in 1990 and 1992, the Hansard records of the House of Commons in 1990 and 1992, and the

transcripts of the RCAP Special Hearings on the High Arctic Relocations in 1992 and 1993. Most of the testimony is from Inuit relocatees and their families, though some is provided by government officials and RCMP officers working at the time of the relocations. Debate at the SCAA and in the House of Commons is conducted by elected Members of Parliament with no connections to the High Arctic Relocations.

The testimony itself represents the first time Inuit had the opportunity to tell their story and to engage with government officials and the public about the High Arctic Relocations. It is nonetheless testimony given in highly politicized environments and given with an express purpose (to convince the government to provide compensation and an apology). While this does not make the testimony any less true, it does provide a framework from which to examine the testimony: The entirety of the Inuit story of the High Arctic Relocations and their effects is not included in this testimony. There are many gaps. The parts of the story that support the political goals are highlighted in the testimony both at the SCAA and at the RCAP. Graham Rowley, a retired government official, notes in the closing to his testimony that many of the Inuit witnesses are chosen “by an agency” to speak on this issue. Mary Carpenter’s testimony also suggests that there are other Inuit stories of these relocations.<sup>76</sup> The testimony reproduced in this volume is ultimately a reflection only of those who chose in the early 1990s to tell their story about relocation and its impact on their lives. Some of the testimony discusses broader issues related to government goals, but ultimately the testimony reflects the experiences of those who gave it. This is true both for Inuit and government representatives.

### *Major Themes of the Testimony*

There are several major themes present throughout the SCAA and RCAP testimony that provide opportunities for analysis within the context of the experiences of relocation. The primary themes of broken promises, sovereignty, health and well-being, access to services, economic hardships, and environmental changes are key to understanding the effect of the High Arctic Relocations on Inuit and the extent of government failures within the relocation project. These themes are described below and indexed throughout the testimony.

**Broken Promises:** The broken promises theme appears throughout the testimony as an indication of government malfeasance. The government’s commitment to facilitating Inuit returning to their home communities after a period of two years is the most egregious of the broken promises outlined by Inuit throughout their representations to government in the 1980s and in testimony during the 1990s. The documentary evidence supports Inuit claims that a promise was made that

they could return and government reports as early as 1984 suggest that the promise was most likely made to Inuit. Nonetheless, testimony from government officials dispute these claims and there is significant discussion during the RCAP hearings regarding the limitation period on this promise. The promise, articulated in April 1953 by Inspector Henry Larsen in his instructions to RCMP detachments regarding planning for the relocations,<sup>77</sup> is foundational to the compensation claims of Inuit in the 1980s and 1990s who are attempting to return to Inukjuak.

The promise of return is closely related to that of family separation. *Pijitsirniq* (serving and providing for family and/or community) is a key Inuit societal value that influenced how Inuit made decisions about going to the High Arctic and returning to their communities decades later; this value also affected the intensity of feelings of separation.<sup>78</sup> Inuit testify that government officials promised the separation between Inukjuak and the High Arctic would be temporary and that Inuit would not be separated from their families within the High Arctic. When families were separated into three groups onboard the *C.D. Howe* in August 1953, Inuit believed they had been deceived. The effect of the decision to separate family groups is examined in detail throughout the testimony.

Promises related to the availability of wildlife are also discussed by Inuit who believed the government had misled them about the opportunities available for hunting and trapping in the High Arctic, particularly given the restrictive nature of game and wildlife ordinances that prohibited hunting of muskox and large-scale hunting of caribou. The limited availability of wildlife in the High Arctic – and particularly of wildlife that supported traditional Inukjuamiut diets – emphasizes the contrasting expectations of Inuit and government in acclimatizing to the High Arctic.

**Sovereignty:** The most widely-examined theme of the relocations, sovereignty as a motivation for the relocations, is discussed throughout the testimony. In part, its prevalence responds to the request for recognition for Inuit contributions to sovereignty in the High Arctic. It is also a key question for the RCAP Commissioners seeking to determine the extent of government wrongdoing. The discussion of sovereignty as a motivation for the Relocations presented in the testimony is difficult to analyze: It is clear that Inuit living in Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord have contributed to Canadian Arctic sovereignty, but it is not clear that they were relocated for the primary purpose of doing so. This nuanced difference is reflected throughout the testimony.

It is not only the difference in intention and outcome related to sovereignty that makes the testimony related to sovereignty difficult to understand. The legal definition of sovereignty and the political considerations related to sovereignty, and particularly to Canadianization, are different but discussed together. Furthermore, technical definitions of sovereignty related to international law and maritime and terrestrial law were evolving during the 1950s, making it difficult for lawyers

and bureaucrats to effectively discuss concerns at the time. Testimony in the 1990s that attempted to contextualize and examine these historical discussions further complicated the understanding of what government intended and what happened over time.<sup>79</sup>

**Environmental Changes:** Changes to the environment are well-noted within the documentary record, and government records make clear that there were concerns about the Inukjuamiut's adaptation to the High Arctic environment. Necessary changes to diet, housing and other infrastructure, the climate and landscape, and adapting to the dark period all contributed to hardship experienced by Inuit. These environmental changes, and the adaptations individual Inuit undertook, are discussed at length in the testimony, reflecting the difficulty in adjusting and the government's lack of support for this adjustment. Government testimony also reflects a moderate understanding that environmental changes would have an effect on relocated Inuit but without recognizing the extent of the hardship those changes would cause.

**Inuit Economy:** Documentary evidence suggests that the primary rationale for the relocations was a government concern about the Inuit economy. As a result, these concerns and the responses by government and Inuit to changing economic conditions and opportunities feature heavily in the testimony. Inuit testimony focuses largely on the economic hardships caused by the relocation to the High Arctic. Economic isolation resulted in reduced access to trade stores and goods; miscommunication about the ELF and how credits for furs and wage employment at the trade store were calculated and tracked limited Inuit economic choices and reduced agency in managing finances; and poor communication about changes to the payment of family allowances and old age pensions as well as no communication about the rationale for reduced relief payments resulted in increasing uncertainty and confusion about the government's economic policies as they related to Inuit.

In contrast, government testimony, as well as that of several researchers, seeks to contextualize the High Arctic Relocations within the broader Arctic economy, including the declining fur trade and perceived need for the government of the day to address Inuit reliance on white fox and relief payments. These historical perceptions of economic fragility combined with misaligned expectations and information about economic conditions and programs in Northern Québec and the High Arctic provides for a contentious and pervasive narrative about the relocations' effects on the Inuit economy throughout the testimony.

**Health and Well-being:** A major theme of the RCAP hearings, the health and well-being of Inuit relocated to the High Arctic is discussed in terms of preventable illnesses, access to healthcare, and hardships associated with isolation from family while recovering in southern sanatoria. These concerns are, notably, not specific to the High Arctic Relocations but were conditions experienced by

Inuit throughout the North in the 1950s. The compounding effect of these conditions alongside the challenges of isolation from community and family and living far away from medical services provide additional insight into the hardships endured by relocated Inuit. Furthermore, Inuit expressed significant challenges related to mental well-being as a result of isolation.

A secondary theme within the overall theme of health relates to discussions of pregnancy and child loss. While not discussed as thoroughly as other health concerns, the testimony related to pregnancy and children represents an important, gendered perspective of the relocations that remains unexplored.

**Access to Services:** While access to health services is discussed at length in the testimony, discussion about the services available in the High Arctic compared to Inukjuak represents a separate and important theme that indicates a relative level of hardship. Educational and religious services, as well as a stocked trading post to provide supplies and necessities caused severe limitations for Inuit in the High Arctic, particularly during the 1950s before schools and co-operative stores were established. While government testimony emphasizes the practicalities associated with providing these services to newly-established communities, Inuit testimony reflects the significant challenges of moving away from services and surviving in these new communities with limited service availability.

These themes - and prominent sub-themes - are identified and indexed throughout the volume.

### *Limits of the Testimony*

There are significant limitations to the testimony presented in this volume. Crucially, the testimony is limited in its capacity to comment on government motivations. Of all the individuals providing testimony, only Ben Sivertz was involved in planning the relocation. Other government officials who provide testimony became involved after the relocation took place, including Gordon Robertson who did not join the DRD until November 1953, and Graham Rowley who worked for the Defence Research Board before he joined the Permanent Secretariat of the Advisory Committee on Northern Development (ACND) in August 1953. RCMP officials who testified were not involved in the planning at all: Both Ross Gibson and Bob Pilot were involved in implementing the relocations and supporting Inuit communities as part of their duties at the Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord detachments but were not privy to relocation planning. Even the testimony provided by Gordon Larsen (Henry Larsen's son) is unhelpful in examining the intentions behind the relocations as Larsen's written records do not provide insight outside of that which exists in the archival record. Many who testified in June 1993 were also not involved in the relocations, but were observers

thereof: Rheub Ploughman of the HBC, members of the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) stationed at CFB Resolute, and others who travelled throughout the North in the 1950s did not have knowledge of government decision-making and had only a snapshot of Inuit at either Inukjuak or the High Arctic. Furthermore, it is clear that Inuit were not consulted on the decision to relocate from Northern Quebec to the High Arctic and their testimony is therefore limited in its capacity to examine the question of government motivation.

Inuit testimony is nonetheless invaluable in providing insight into the conditions and the multitude of experiences of relocation. Where government testimony failed to adequately describe conditions at Inukjuak or in the High Arctic, Inuit who relied on the land provide a clear explanation of the conditions and hardships experienced at both locations. The differences in testimony from Inuit originating from Inukjuak and Mittimatalik, from men and women, those who returned from the High Arctic and those who stayed, adult and children relocatees and those born in the High Arctic, and those relocated to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay all indicate a wide variety of experiences and perspectives on the High Arctic Relocations. These experiences also differ significantly from those of *Qallunaat*: Although both Doug Wilkinson and Robert Williamson had experience living in the North, and Bob Pilot and Ross Gibson lived alongside Inuit at Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay, these individuals benefited from temporary Northern living and frequent trips to the South, as well as additional supplies and support. Government and research testimony cannot adequately comment on these elements of the relocation.

The location and function of the SCAA and the RCAP must also be considered when examining the testimony. Both the SCAA and RCAP hearings took place in Ottawa, with the exception of the June 8, 1992 testimony given at Inukjuak. That Inuit had to travel far from their communities and give testimony within the colonial structure of Parliament and a Royal Commission is an important consideration when examining the testimony. Furthermore, these spaces where testimony was heard — both created by the federal government — are inherently political spaces and neither was designed for storytelling. Testimony from these spaces does not and cannot prioritize storytelling. This is reflected in the way the testimony is structured and is evident in the gaps that exist. At both the SCAA and the RCAP hearings, testimony was goal-driven. Over time, and in response to new information and government action/inaction, these goals shifted, and the shifting of those goals is evident in the differences in language and in the requests presented at each space.

The intention of Inuit testifying before the SCAA was inherently political: The intent was to achieve a political end by securing compensation and a formal apology. Inuit were initially concerned with being compensated for harm caused and a formal apology from the government. Over

time, these goals evolved to include recognition of contributions to Canadian sovereignty.<sup>80</sup> The goals when appearing before the SCAA did not include sharing a full story of what happened during and after the relocation. Although the RCAP hearing did have this as an overarching goal, it had to do so within the confines of its mandate.

Both the SCAA and the RCAP were focused on the fiduciary responsibility of government and the question of whether or not Inuit were owed compensation and/or an apology for the relocation. An examination of the ongoing and intergenerational trauma of Inuit was not a focus and neither the Members of Parliament nor the RCAP Commissioners had the training or capacity to provide a forum for examining or addressing this trauma. Furthermore, allegations of criminal activity (particularly sexual assault/misconduct and mail theft) were made at both the SCAA and the RCAP hearings, but neither the House of Commons nor the RCAP were able to address these accusations.<sup>81</sup> As a result, the testimony is unable to effectively provide answers related to questions about intergenerational trauma or criminal allegations.<sup>82</sup>

Inuit were able to choose the language they spoke in and often did speak in Inuktitut throughout the proceedings. Allowing Inuit to speak in their own language allowed them to more comfortably tell their stories, though there are instances of mistranslation, particularly around gender and pronouns. There are also instances within the testimony in which misunderstanding clearly occurs, usually due to a language or cultural barrier, but in some cases as a result of conflicting ideas about the process of the hearings. These mistranslations and misunderstandings are noted where appropriate, though in some cases intent remains unclear. As a result, some of the testimony can be challenging for readers to parse.

Finally, the testimony is limited by time and location. By 1993, many of those involved in the relocations of 1953 had died or were too old to travel to Ottawa to provide testimony. This, combined with those who chose not to testify, means that the story told by these transcripts is only a partial story. It is the story of those who chose to and were able to come forward to share what happened. Like all history, it is subjective and a fragment of the event. The testimony is therefore *a* perspective of Inuit and government experiences. It is not *the* perspective.

The stories in this volume are those that were shared freely, though within the colonial structure of the House of Commons SCAA and the RCAP, and especially its Special Hearing on the High Arctic Relocations. These are not, however, the only stories of the High Arctic Relocations. Nor are they all-encompassing of the experiences of either Inuit or government officials who were involved in the relocations themselves or their aftermath. As a result, there are some contradictions in the testimony of experiences. This is to be expected as different people will bring different perspectives



and backgrounds to their experiences and experiences are remembered differently. This volume seeks only to highlight the breadth of experiences of relocation and the depth of hardships endured, emphasizing the human aspect of the relocations.

### *Volume Structure*

This volume presents testimony and debate in chronological order, beginning in March 1990 when a group of Inuit appeared before the SCAA to discuss their grievances and ending in July 1993 with the final day of testimony during the Special Hearing on the High Arctic Relocations as part of the RCAP. Including testimony and debates from this three year period provides readers the opportunity to trace developments in the arguments, requests, and rebuttals made in the political arena during the pivotal early-1990s. The discussions that took place at the SCAA, in the House of Commons, and at the RCAP as well as those taking place among news media ultimately shaped the public's understanding of the High Arctic Relocations and direct the historical narrative that develops about government intention in the 1950s. By providing the words of Inuit, government officials, politicians, and researchers in a single volume, readers can examine how the historical narrative about the High Arctic Relocations developed over time in response to political action and, perhaps more importantly, inaction.

The testimony and recorded debate are presented as the primary text in this volume, with extensive marginalia providing contextual information throughout. The nature of the debate and the number of people, dates, and locations involved make some of the discussion inaccessible and difficult to follow. The marginalia aims to address this challenge by providing relevant information alongside the testimony.

Additionally, an extensive index and glossary of terms and an index of persons enables readers to examine the High Arctic Relocation testimony in either chronological order (as presented) or by tracing specific themes or individual speakers across the three-year period included in this volume. A list of persons with biographical information, a timeline of key events, and a table of Inuit relocatees by year and location are also included for reference. A table reconstructing the daily agenda and listing the speakers for the ten days of RCAP testimony is also provided.

### *Editorial Notes*

Throughout this volume, text and testimony is presented in English with some comments by Commissioners preserved in French. Much of the testimony given by Inuit was given in Inuktitut and

officially translated into English. The text and testimony represented in this volume are taken from the official translations completed by the House of Commons and the RCAP. Some errors in this official translation may have occurred. Errors related to spellings of names and places have been corrected where possible, as have errors related to pronouns translated from Inuktitut into English. In instances where it is unclear, these have been noted in the marginalia.

Some of the testimony may be difficult to read. It is recorded as spoken and largely unedited. The transcripts contain historical language and content that may be considered offensive or potentially harmful, such as language used to refer to racial, ethnic, and cultural groups. These language choices reflect the period in which they were created and the views of their speakers. The original language is retained in the transcripts to ensure that the attitudes and perspectives of the authors are not erased from the historical record.

Readers will notice a variation of Inuktitut spellings. The official spellings of Inukjuak and its demonym Inukjuamiut, and of Makivvik Corporation (formerly Makivik Corporation) are used where possible. Place names throughout Northern Québec (Nunavik) and the Arctic have also changed over time. The transcripts typically use colonial and Inuit place names interchangeably, though marginalia seeks to use primarily Inuit place names. In some instances, colonial place names are used to reflect the historical reality of the period under discussion. As a reference for readers, Inukjuak is sometimes referred to as Port Harrison and Mittimatalik as Pond Inlet. Furthermore, the Inuit community of Grise Fiord is often interchanged in the historical record with the RCMP post at Craig Harbour. While relocated Inuit did not live at the post, and were eventually settled at present-day Grise Fiord approximately 50 kilometres north, government documentation in the 1950s typically referred to the community established “at” Craig Harbour. It is also beneficial for readers to recognize that Resolute (the Inuit community) and Resolute Bay (the RCAF base) are used interchangeably.

Finally, the language used to describe Inuit forcibly relocated from Inukjuak to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay is highly politicized. Inuit refer to themselves as survivors and exiles, adopting the name “High Arctic Exiles” in the early 1990s as a means of taking ownership of the historical narrative. This name is not universally accepted by relocated Inuit. Commentary throughout this volume employs the less-politicized “relocatees” or “relocated Inuit” to distinguish between Inuit who experienced relocation and the politicization of members of that group.

## Notes

1. Shelagh Grant, ed., *"Errors Exposed": Inuit Relocations to the High Arctic, 1953-1960*, Documents on Canadian Arctic Sovereignty and Security (DCASS) 8 (Calgary, AB: University of Calgary, 2016); P. Whitney Lackenbauer, ed., *Human Flagpoles or Humanitarian Action?: Discerning Government Motives behind the Inuit Relocations to the High Arctic, 1953-1960*, Documents on Canadian Arctic Sovereignty and Security (DCASS) 16 (Calgary, AB: University of Calgary, 2020).
2. Susan Aglukark, "Testimony," 5 April 1993, *The High Arctic Relocation Special Hearings*, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada).
3. James Cantley, *Survey of Economic Conditions Among the Eskimos of the Canadian Arctic*, technical report (Ottawa, Ontario: Department of Resources and Development, 1950), 56.
4. For further reading on the Cantley Report, see Lackenbauer (2020).
5. This work was initiated in the post-war period by former Deputy Minister and Commissioner Hugh Keenleyside, who left the Department in 1950. For further reading, see Jenness (1964).
6. n.a., "Notes for Deputy Minister Re: Opening of Eskimo Conference," 11 May 1952, *Eskimo Affairs*, RG 22 vol. 253 file 40-8-1 pt 2.
7. See Lackenbauer and Clancy (2019).
8. The scale of the EAC also may have contributed to some of the issues in developing policy. The varied perspectives and motivations of the individuals and the departments they represented led to conflicting ideas about what was best for Inuit and Northern development, particularly in the early-1950s. For further reading, see Jenness (1964), Lackenbauer and Clancy (2019), and Hossack (2025).
9. Shelagh Grant, "Introduction," in *Errors Exposed: Inuit Relocations to the Arctic, 1953-1960*, Documents on Canadian Arctic Sovereignty and Security (DCASS) 8 (Calgary, AB: University of Calgary, 2016), 31.
10. For further reading on the Eskimo Loan Fund and developments in the Inuit economy in the early-1950s, see Tester and Kulchyski (1994), and Cavell (2021).
11. F.J.G. Cunningham, "Memorandum for the Deputy Minister," 8 October 1952, *Eskimo Affairs*, RG 22 vol. 256 file 40-8-1 pt. 3: 3-4.
12. H.A. Young, "Letter to R.B. Bryce, Secretary of the Treasury Board," 20 October 1952, *Eskimo Affairs*, RG 22 vol. 256 file 40-8-1 pt. 3; G.W. Stead, "Letter to H.A. Young, Deputy Minister," 14 November 1952, *Eskimo Affairs*, RG 22 vol. 256 file 40-8-1 pt. 3; H.A. Young, "Letter to G.W. Stead, Treasury Board," 19 November 1952, *Eskimo Affairs*, RG 22 vol. 256 file 40-8-1 pt. 3; H.A. Young, "Letter to Secretary of the Treasury Board, Attn: Director of Estimates," 17 December 1952, *Eskimo Affairs*, RG 22 vol. 256 file 40-8-1 pt. 3.
13. F.J.G. Cunningham, "Memorandum for the Deputy Minister," 3-4.
14. S. Grant, *"Errors Exposed"*, 31.
15. The first of these relocation projects was planned but ultimately abandoned mid-project as the ship could not land at Alexandra Fiord in August 1953 due to ice build-up. The other two loan projects related to (1) providing loan assistance to Inuk Fred Carpenter to lead a group of Inuit wintering on Banks Island, and (2) to finance the issuance of supplies to the RCMP at Herschel Island for Inuit living there.
16. See Document 32 in S. Grant (2016).
17. A major challenge in the early-1950s was the differing approaches and opinions on whether Inuit ought to be encouraged to pursue wage employment. For further reading, see Jenness (1964) and Lackenbauer and Clancy (2019).
18. The telegram outlined the need to obtain information regarding Inuit who would be willing to go and what they

required for equipment and supplies, which would be purchased through the ELF on behalf of one Inuit trader in each group. See Document 38 in S. Grant (2016).

19. See Document 39 in S. Grant (2016).

20. See Document 39 in S. Grant (2016).

21. See Document 39 in S. Grant (2016).

22. See Document 39 in S. Grant (2016).

23. See Document 39 in S. Grant (2016).

24. See Document 38 in S. Grant (2016).

25. These numbers would shift slightly between the date of this memo and the final embarkation. Furthermore, the family from Churchill and one of the families from Mittimatalik were not part of the relocation scheme, but were transferring for other reasons. See Document 47 in S. Grant (2016).

26. See Document 47 in S. Grant (2016).

27. See Document 48 in S. Grant (2016).

28. See Document 48 in S. Grant (2016).

29. n.a., "Draft Press Release," 25 June 1953, *Eskimo Affairs*, RG 22 vol. 256 file 40-8-1 pt. 4.

30. The community at Grise Fiord was established during the Fall, approximately 40 kms to the West of the initial Craig Harbour detachment site.

31. Makivik, "Annual Report, 1984-85," 1985, *Revues*, Société Makivik, 1985, 56.

32. Makivik, 56-57.

33. See Annex 4 of Appendix "ABOR-6": Annexes to the SCAA, March 19, 1990 in this volume.

34. Makivik, 56-57.

35. See Annex 5 of Appendix "ABOR-6": Annexes to the SCAA, March 19, 1990 in this volume.

36. See Annex 5 of Appendix "ABOR-6": Annexes to the SCAA, March 19, 1990 in this volume.

37. For further reading on these political developments, see Hossack (2025)

38. See Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs, March 19, 1990 in this volume.

39. The SCAA provided a three-month timeline for anyone who wished to speak on the subject to give evidence. Only Bob Pilot presented additional testimony at a June 18, 1990 meeting. See Appendix "ABOR-9": Annexes to the SCAA, June 18, 1990 in this volume.

For the Third Report, presented to the House of Commons, see Third Report of the SCAA (Sessional Paper No. 342-8/1B) in this volume.

40. See Response to the Recommendations of the Third Report of the SCAA on the Relocation of the Inukjuak Inuit to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay (Sessional Paper No. 342-8R/1A) in this volume. For the full report, see Lackenbauer (2020).

41. Soberman's Report is reproduced in Lackenbauer (2020).

42. See House of Commons Debates: Government Response, November 20, 1992 in this volume.

43. See Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples Testimony: June 8, 1992 in this volume.

44. The Second Edition of Gunther's report is reproduced in Lackenbauer (2020).

45. See House of Commons Debates: Government Response, November 20, 1992 in this volume.

46. René Dussault and Georges Erasmus, *The High Arctic Relocation: Summary of Supporting Information*, Vols. 1-2 (Ottawa, ON: Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1994).

47. Jim Bell, "Quebec court to ponder big changes to High Arctic exiles' ailing trust fund," 5 April 2010, *Nunatsiaq*

*News*, Nunatsiaq News, [https://nunatsiaq.com/stories/article/8789\\_Makivik\\_trustees\\_want\\_access\\_to\\_3\\_million\\_of\\_principal/](https://nunatsiaq.com/stories/article/8789_Makivik_trustees_want_access_to_3_million_of_principal/).

48. Jack Aubry, "Inuit Receive \$10 Million for Arctic Relocation," *Toronto Star*, March 8, 1996.

49. Jane George, "Canada says sorry to High Arctic exiles," 18 August 2010, *Nunatsiaq News*, Nunatsiaq News, [https://nunatsiaq.com/stories/article/1808101\\_canada\\_says\\_its\\_sorry\\_to\\_the\\_high\\_arctic\\_exiles/](https://nunatsiaq.com/stories/article/1808101_canada_says_its_sorry_to_the_high_arctic_exiles/).

50. Aubry, "Inuit Receive \$10 Million for Arctic Relocation."

51. Nunavut Tunngavik, *Arctic Exile Monument Project*, 2009, "Objectives", accessed April 2, 2024, [https://www.tunngavik.com/initiative\\_pages/arctic-exile-monument-project/](https://www.tunngavik.com/initiative_pages/arctic-exile-monument-project/).

52. For the full apology, see Lackenbauer (2020).

53. Jane George, "Canada says sorry to High Arctic exiles."

54. Markoosie Patsauq, "Interview," 2011, *Iqqaumavara Project*, Iqqaumavara Project, [www.iqqaumavara.com](http://www.iqqaumavara.com).

55. Keith Lowther, "An Exercise in Sovereignty: The Government of Canada and the Inuit Relocation of 1953" (M.A., University of Calgary Press, 1989); Shelagh D Grant, "A Case of Compounded Error: The Inuit Resettlement Project, 1953, and the Government Response, 1990," *Northern Perspectives* 19, no. 1 (1991): 3–29; Alan Marcus, "Out in the Cold: Canada's Experimental Inuit Relocation to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay," *Polar Record* 27, no. 163 (1991): 285–296.

56. For copies of "Assessment of the factual basis of certain allegations made before the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs concerning the relocation of Inukjuak Inuit families in the 1950s: Report" (Hickling, 1991) and "The 1953 Relocations of the Inukjuak Inuit to the High Arctic: A Documentary Analysis and Evaluation (Second Edition) (Gunther, 1993) see Lackenbauer (2020).

57. Gerard I. Kenney, *Arctic Smoke and Mirrors* (Prescott, Ont: Voyageur Publishing, 1994); Alan Marcus, *Relocating Eden: The Image and Politics of Inuit Exile in the Canadian Arctic* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1995).

58. Frank James Tester and Peter Kulchyski, *Tammarniit (Mistakes): Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic 1939–63* (Vancouver, B.C.: UBC Press, 1994).

59. Lyle Dick, *Muskox Land: Ellesmere Island in the Age of Contact* (Calgary, AB: University of Calgary Press, 2001).

60. David Damas, *Arctic Migrants, Arctic Villagers: The Transformation of Inuit Settlement in the Central Arctic* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002).

61. Melanie McGrath, *The Long Exile: A Tale of Inuit Betrayal and Survival in the High Arctic* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 2006).

62. John Amagoalik, *Changing the Face of Canada: The Life Story of John Amagoalik*, ed. Louis McComber, *Life Stories of Northern Leaders: Vol. 2* (Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College, 2007); Larry Audlaluk, *What I Remember, What I Know: The Life of a High Arctic Exile* (Toronto, ON: Inhabit Media Inc., 2020).

63. Amagoalik, *The Life Story of John Amagoalik*, 31–32.

64. Audlaluk, *What I Remember, What I Know*, 70–75.

65. Audlaluk, 319.

66. Pauline Wakeham, "At the Intersection of Apology and Sovereignty: The Arctic Exile Monument Project," *Cultural Critique* 87 (2014): 84–115.

67. James Slotta, "Phatic Rituals of the Liberal Democratic Polity: Hearing Voices in the Hearings of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 57, no. 1 (2015): 130–160.

68. Mark B. Salter, "Arctic Security, Territory, Population: Canadian Sovereignty and the International," *International Political Sociology* 13, no. 4 (2019): 366.

69. Janice Cavell, "'Consolidation and Control of All Eskimo Income': The Motive for the 1953 High Arctic Relocation,"

*Journal of Canadian Studies* 55, no. 1 (2021): 118–151.

70. P. Whitney Lackenbauer, “Defence, Development, and Inuit: St-Laurent’s Modern Approach to the North,” in *The Unexpected Louis St-Laurent: Politics and Policies for a Modern Canada*, ed. Patrice Dutil (Vancouver, B.C.: UBC Press, 2020), 193–194.

71. P. Whitney Lackenbauer, “Introduction,” in *Human Flagpoles or Humanitarian Action?: Discerning Government Motives behind the Inuit Relocations to the High Arctic, 1953–1960*, Documents on Canadian Arctic Sovereignty and Security (DCASS) 16 (Calgary, AB: University of Calgary, 2020), vii.

72. Lackenbauer, xvi.

73. Frank James Tester and Krista Ulujuk Zawadski, *Inuit Relocations: Colonial Policies and Practices, Inuit Resilience and Resistance, Righting Canada’s Wrongs* (Toronto, ON: James Lorimer / Company Ltd, 2023), 29.

74. Amy Fung, “Redressing the Redress of the High Arctic Exiles: The Limits of Recognition in a White Settler State,” *Memory Studies* 18, no. 6 (2025).

75. Although many scholars characterize the relocations as a policy initiative or a program in support of broader government policy, the High Arctic Relocations took place before the development of the federal government’s Inuit policy. The relocations are therefore better characterized as a bureaucrat-led project.

76. Additional stories of the relocations, told in the aftermath of the official apology and by Inuit interviewed by and in their own communities are available through the *Iqqaumavara* Memory Project. See *Iqqaumavara* (2011).

77. See Document 39 in S. Grant (2016).

78. Government of Nunavut (2024). For further reading about Inuit societal values, see Mashford-Pringle et al. (2023), Tagalik (2012), and Tester and Irniq (2008). For an excellent examination of Inuit worldviews and the many definitions across Inuit communities, see Gearheard et al. (2013).

79. For further reading on Arctic sovereignty in the 1950s, see Kikkert (2015) and, Kikkert and Lackenbauer (2014).

80. Crucially, Inuit requested that their contributions to Canadian sovereignty be acknowledged. They did not request that the government admit that they were moved for purposes of sovereignty, though these separate ideas were conflated over time.

81. The RCMP (with the aid of the Ontario Police Service) undertook investigation of these accusations and provided a report to the SCAA, though the report is unavailable.

82. The *Iqqaumavara* Memory Project, completed in 2011, and the Qikqtani Truth Commission hearings, published in 2015, are much better suited to these types of questions. See *Iqqaumavara* (2011) and Qikqtani Truth Commission (2015).

# Glossary

*ACND* Advisory Committee on Northern Development.

*CARC* Canadian Arctic Resources Committee.

*CBC* Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

*CHRC* Canadian Human Rights Commission.

*CWS* Canadian Wildlife Service.

*DCASS* Documents on Canadian Arctic Sovereignty and Security.

*DIAND* Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Department responsible for Northern Affairs from 3 October 1966 to 17 May 2011.

*DNANR* Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. Department responsible for Northern Affairs from 16 December 1953 to 1 October 1966.

*DOT* Department of Transportation.

*DPW* Department of Public Works.

*DRD* Department of Resources and Development. Department responsible for Northern Affairs from 18 January 1950 to 15 December 1953.

*EAC* Eskimo Affairs Committee.

*EAP* Eastern Arctic Patrol.

*ELF* Eskimo Loan Fund.

*HBC* Hudson's Bay Company.

*House of Commons* House of Commons.

*ICNI* Inuit Committee on National Issues.

*ITC* Inuit Tapirisat of Canada. Now the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami.

*JBNQA* James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement.

*KRG* Kativik Regional Government.

*MIAND* Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

*NALB* Northern Administration & Lands Branch.

*NFB* National Film Board.

*NIB* National Indian Brotherhood.

*NTI* Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated.

*NWT* Northwest Territories.

*PCIJ* Permanent Court of International Justice (1922-1946).

*Qikqtani Truth Commission* Qikqtani Truth Commission.

*RCAF* Royal Canadian Air Force.

*RCAP* Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

*RCMP* Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

*SCAA* Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs.

*SCC* Supreme Court of Canada.



## **Part I**

# **The House of Commons Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs**

**Standing Committee on Aboriginal  
Affairs, March 19, 1990**

HOUSE OF COMMONS

**Issue No. 22**

Monday, March 19, 1990

**Chairman:** Ken Hughes

Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Standing Committee on  
**ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS**

(Government of Canada, "Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 34th Parliament Second Session vol. 2 no. 20-32," 1990, *Library of Parliament*, Queen's Printer of Canada)

RESPECTING:

In accordance with its mandate under Standing Order 108(2), to obtain the latest information on current matters, relating to aboriginal affairs

WITNESSES:

(See back cover)

Second Session of the Thirty-fourth Parliament, 1989-90

STANDING COMMITTEE ON ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS

Chairman: Ken Hughes

Vice-Chairman: Allan Koury

Members

Ethel Blondin

Gabriel Desjardins

Wilton Littlechild

Robert Nault

Robert E. Skelly

Stanley Wilbee— (8)

(Quorum 5)

Martine Bresson

Clerk of the Committee

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

MONDAY, MARCH 19, 1990

(36)

*[Translation]*

The Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs met at 6:00 o'clock p.m. this day, in Room 209, West Block, the Chairman, Ken Hughes, presiding.

*Members of the Committee present:* Ethel Blondin, Ken Hughes, Allan Koury, Robert Nault.

*Acting Members present:* Robert Horner for Wilton Littlechild; Ray Skelly for Robert E. Skelly; Douglas Fee for Stanley Wilbee.

*Other Member present:* Jack Anawak.

*In attendance: From the Research Branch of the Library of Parliament:* Wendy Moss, Research Officer.

*Witnesses: From Inuit Tapirisat of Canada:* John Amagoalik, President. *From Makivik Corporation:* Zebedee Nungak, Vice-President; Sam Silverstone, Legal Counsel. *From the Inukjuak Community:* Markoosie Patsauq, Representative; Andrew Iqaluk, Representative; Samwillie Elijasialuk, Representative. *From Resolute Bay:* Allie Salluviniq, Representative; Sarah Amagoalik, Representative; Martha Flaherty, Representative.

In accordance with its mandate under Standing Order 108(2), the Committee proceeded to hear witnesses.

It was agreed,

- That expenditures incurred by the six witnesses be paid from the 1989-90 Committee budget.

On motion of Ethel Blondin, it was agreed,

- That all documents presented to the Committee by Inuit Tapirisat of Canada be printed as an appendix to this day's Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence.

By unanimous consent, it was agreed,

- That the Committee prepare a motion recommending:
  - i That the government acknowledge the role played by the Inuit people of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in the protection of Canadian sovereignty in the north.

- ii That the government issue an apology for wrongdoings carried out against the people of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay.
- iii That the government compensate the Inuit of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay for their service to Canada and for the wrongdoing inflicted upon them.

At 9:20 o'clock p.m., the Committee adjourned to the call of the Chair.

Martine Bresson  
*Clerk of the Committee*

[Text]

## EVIDENCE

[Recorded by Electronic Apparatus]

Monday, March 19, 1990

• 1819

**The Chairman: (Ken Hughes)** Ladies and gentlemen, I call this meeting to order and welcome our guest witnesses here this evening. My name is Ken Hughes. I am chairman of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs. I would like to call upon John Amagoalik and ask him to please introduce the members of the delegation. As the next step, I would ask all members of the committee to introduce themselves. Then we will proceed with the hearing, if that is all right.

Ken Hughes was Member of Parliament for Macleod from 1988-1993 and served as Chair of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs from April 1989 to May 1991

• 1820

**Mr. John Amagoalik (President, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada):** Thank you, Mr. Chairman. First of all, I want to say to the committee that we appreciate an opportunity to address this committee. We are here today to talk about an issue we have been dealing with for more than 30 years. We have been kicked back and forth between different levels of government. First we approached the RCMP.

John Amagoalik was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1953 at age 5. He is known as the "Father of Nunavut" for his advocacy work as President of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC)

**The Chairman:** Excuse me, I wonder if you could introduce the members of your delegation and then we can move on to the substance of that.

**Mr. Amagoalik:** Yes, I will. I just want to make a brief introduction to the issue. I realize that some members have not heard about this. I was made aware of this just a few minutes before we sat down.

It is an issue we have been pursuing for 36 years and we have been pursuing it at different levels of government. Every government agency and department has of course denied responsibility. It is only in the last couple of years that we have started to make progress, because we have finally been able to convince some political leaders that this is a story that needs to be told.

We have seven people here tonight. Markoosie Patsauq, from Inukjuak, will speak first. After that, it will be Sarah Amagoalik, from Resolute Bay in the High Arctic. The third speaker will be Samwillie Elijasialuk, from Inukjuak in northern Quebec. We will then have Andrew Iqaluk, also from Inukjuak. Next will be Allie Saluviniq, from Resolute Bay. Last we will have Martha Flaherty. At the end of the presentation I will have a short summary of what is being said tonight. First we will start with Markoosie Patsauq.

**The Chairman:** I would like to ask members of the committee here to introduce themselves to our guests, if that is all right.

On an administrative note, we unfortunately have a vote tonight at 7:15. We will be back though. We will just take a break for about ten or fifteen minutes and then come back, continue the testimony. I just wanted to alert you to that. Normally we would try to work something out so that everybody has a chance to get all the information on the table, but we will have to take that brief break.

I wonder if we could start over here, please.

**Ms. Blondin (Western Arctic):** I am Ethel Blondin, the Member of Parliament for the Western Arctic, Liberal MP.

**Mr. Nault (Kenora— Rainy River):** My name is Bob Nault. I am the Member of Parliament for Kenora— Rainy River.

**Mr. Skelly (North Island— Powell River):** Ray Skelly. I am from northern Vancouver Island. The other Skelly. NDP.

**Mr. Horner (Mississauga West):** My name is Bob Horner. I am a Member of Parliament for Mississauga West.

**Mr. Fee (Red Deer):** I am Doug Fee. I am the Member of Parliament for Red Deer in central Alberta.

**Mr. Koury (Hochelaga — Maisonneuve):** I am Allan Koury, vice-chairman of the Aboriginal Affairs Committee and also Member of Parliament for Hochelaga— Maisonneuve in Montreal.

**The Chairman:** Please proceed.

**Mr. Amagoalik:** Thank you. Our first speaker is Markoosie Patsauq.

• 1825

**Mr. Markoosie Patsauq (Inukjuak Representative, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada):** *[Witness speaks in native language]*

First of all, I want to express my thanks for our presence here, finally. We have sought for a long time to meet with the Government, and now the opportunity has come at last. Thank you. I want to tell of how we were sent to the High Arctic in 1953. We were sent away not of our choice. We never volunteered to go, or said to anybody, "Send us away from here." We did not have the freedom to refuse being sent away. We have been wronged tremendously by the Government. This is what I want to talk about.

Firstly, in 1953, we were approached by the Police (RCMP) when we were yet still living in our traditional camp. The policeman came to tell us that they required Inuit to go to the High Arctic. Our grandmother and all my cousins were going to move to the High Arctic, and he said my father had to come along with them. We were told this. We have always found this approach unacceptable because we ourselves did not initiate anything to ask to be moved elsewhere.

The Standing Orders of the House of Commons (1990) require that priority be given to legislative committees and to the business of the House while the House is sitting. The vote in question was a deferred division on a motion related to the government's failure to protect, support, and promote the regional economies of Canada. (Government of Canada, "Standing Orders of the House of Commons (1990)," February 1990, *Library of Parliament*, Queen's Printer of Canada)

Markoosie Patsauq was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1953 at age 12

We did not say “Help us and move us out to a new land.” We were told that in the High Arctic, wildlife was very plentiful. That in our land, animals were too scarce. This was the reasoning that was put to us when they wanted us to move away. My father eventually just agreed to this, because in those days, police were feared, their authority unquestioned. This applied to any *Qallunaat* (white men). They were all feared in those days. So my father gave in to the pressure of the *Qallunaat*, as did all my other relatives. White men were authoritative and fearsome then, most especially policemen.

So then we were sent away to a place they told us abounded in wildlife. We would never be hungry again, they told us. The Government carried out this move, even though we did not consent to being sent away.

We have since found out in the following years that plentiful wildlife was not the only reason we were shipped up there. We have since discerned that Canada needed to hold title to those islands in the High Arctic, and that is why we were sent up there. We have found this out only after having spent our time there.

We were told at the time that we would never go hungry again for food in the new land. We were also told that we could return if we wanted to do so. So after one year elapsed, in 1954, my father went to the police and told them, “This land is no good for us, it is too different, too harsh, too dark, and too cold. We therefore cannot carry on here. We also have our relatives in Inukjuak to consider.” This is what they told the policeman, but they were refused, turned down. Instead, the policeman proposed to ask our people to send for the other relatives still in Inukjuak while we stayed in the High Arctic. When we were told this, my father and his group were given no more choice in the matter. So then, our freedom was violated by the Government, who lied in part to get us to move. Canada’s need to have title to those particular islands was the biggest reason for moving us up there, we have found out since reading various papers related to this.

In those days, Inuit were not educated and did not understand the meaning of written documents, nor how government worked and operated. We were also not aware of all Canadians’ freedom to live where they so chose. We did not know of our right to refuse to be moved to the High Arctic, when we could have done so. Since we were not knowledgeable about this, though, our fathers gave in and agreed to move. They mostly feared the awesome authority of the Government.

Also, among those of us who were sent away, there were people infected with disease. There were diseased people, handicapped people, old women, elderly people, all included in the group that

*Ilira*, the fear or awe Inuit had of the *Qadlunaat*, and especially of the RCMP, contributed significantly to Inuit decision-making regarding the relocation, as well as the reactions of Inuit to events in the North. Susan Aglukark, then working for ITC and presenting on behalf of ITC President Rosemarie Kuptana, described *Ilira* to the RCAP Special Hearing as a “relationship of subservience and dominance, [thus] it was impossible for real consultation to take place.” (See “Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples Testimony: April 5, 1993” in this volume) Inuit describe their fear and awe of the RCMP and the government in many ways. At the RCAP hearings in 1993, John Amagoalik characterized it as an obligation to hear the proposal. This fear or awe of *Qadlunaat* is a key cultural context for understanding Inuit decision-making, and contradictory statements made by Inuit and government officials related to coercion.

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The initial source for this claim seems to be the 1983 Environment Canada paper referenced as part of the Annexes to the written submission presented to this meeting of the SCAA. The excerpt referenced is reproduced in this volume as “Annex 1”.

The rights and freedoms referenced here are outlined in detail in the Annexes to the written submission presented to this meeting of the SCAA. These rights are outlined in both the 1987 and 1990 position papers written by Makivik Corporation, reproduced in this volume as “Annex 5” in “Appendix “ABOR-6”: Annexes to the SCAA, March 19, 1990”, and “Appendix “ABOR-9”: Annexes to the SCAA, June 18, 1990”, respectively.



was sent away. A point should be understood here: The High Arctic is no place for people suffering from any disease. We were sent out to a place with nothing, no medical service whatsoever, when there were people amongst us suffering from illnesses. It was pitiful for the handicapped and elderly, especially, to be sent to such a place. We had compassion for them.

In Resolute Bay, the first group to be moved in 1953 were over 30 in number. Each and every member of that group became infected with disease, because at the time of the move, there was one among them who had tuberculosis. This one infected person infected everybody else in that group, and all of us suffered from this disease. There were no medicines or medical personnel there at all.

It is all the more infuriating for us to find out since our time there that the reason why we were sent there was for us to make sovereignty over the land there possible. We were sent there to hold the land. We only found this out much later and it makes us angry. I would like to read something which is short, but states our understanding of this question. I will read in English.

• 1830

In the papers we have come across in many years, we have found out that there was a lot of reason for this move. I would like to read a small note here. It says:

The advantages of placing our Detachment directly across from Greenland would be that we then would have full control and supervision of Greenland Eskimos and others travelling back and forth, and over hunting activities they may engage in.

As you know, we had a detachment established at Bache Peninsula in 1926, primarily for the maintenance of sovereignty. This detachment was closed in 1933 owing to the difficulties of supplying same. I believe one mistake in connection with the Ellesmere Island detachment in those days was the hiring of Greenland Eskimos exclusively to act as hunters and guides for our detachments.

People in those days were under the delusion Canadian Eskimos were incapable and unsuited to live and travel in the islands north of Baffin Island, on account of the longer darker periods.

So that was one of the reasons— the sovereignty.

It was known that in those days the Greenland people were travelling freely across the Greenland and Ellesmere Island, and the RCMP was concerned about losing sovereignty over the Arctic islands.

*[Witness continues in native language]*

There are many things which concern how we have been damaged and wronged. I have only said a very few of them here. One of our major points is that we were sent there when we were suffering from illnesses.

This memo, from Henry Larsen (Officer Commanding, "G" Division) to Commissioner Nicholson in February 1952 is included in the 1984 Report completed for DIAND by Marc Hammond. The report, including this extracted memo is included in the written submission by Makivik, reproduced in this volume as "Annex 4" in "Appendix "ABOR-6": Annexes to the SCAA, March 19, 1990".

We will seek compensation from the Government because we have suffered much hardship and damage. I have said enough for now.

**Ms Sarah Amagoalik (Resolute Bay Representative, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada):** *[Witness speaks in native language].*

I am Sarah Amagoalik, from Resolute Bay. I was moved to the High Arctic in 1953. Just before we were moved, when we were still in Inukjuak, the police came to us. They were looking for people willing to move, and they came to our place. They came to ask us, using their Inuit employees as translators. When they asked us if we wanted to move (there), our relatives did not want to go. But certain leaders of the camp, that is, those related to my husband Simeonie, his adopted older brother and his in-laws had made the decision to follow those who were moving here. We then had no choice except to follow along. Since he was my husband, I had to leave behind my mother to follow him.

At the time of the move, I myself was not aware of what dangers awaited us, so I did not mind it too much. But when we were actually there I noted the bad things that were there.

So (our leaders) eventually gave in, and we were put there and left behind. Although I departed from my mother when we left, I did not feel detached from them. I left them for the first time in my life when I followed those who moved. It was the first time I ever saw a ship, and it was by ship we were moved.

The move itself was no good. The landing to our new land was no good. It was already winter, the snow had already come to stay. There was no wood for fire. We had to pitch up our tents. There was no vegetation. There did not seem to be any *Qallunaat* (white people) evident. This was our new land. We were fearful and apprehensive about what was ahead of us, but there was no choice except to carry on. Such was our lot. We were left there by the ship which had brought us, leaving no means by which we could return. That is all I can say for now. I will say more later on.

• 1835

**Mr. Samwillie Eljasialuk (Inukjuak Representative, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada):** *[Witness speaks in native language].*

I am Samwillie Eljasialuk. I was one of the ones sent to Grise Fiord. I was never really consulted at the time because I was only seventeen years old, and I did not amount to much in the mind of Government. Even so, I have much to say and a lot to relate. I speak here on behalf of all the people who had been sent to Grise Fiord. I want to speak clearly on this subject and, on my experiences, but the time given to me is very short. We have been deeply hurt by being moved.

Sarah Amagoalik was born in Inukjuak and Relocated to Resolute Bay in 1955 while pregnant at age 16

The Inuit values of *Pijitsirniq* (serving and providing for family and/or community) and *Aajiqatigiinni* (decision making through discussion and consensus) are reflected significantly in the Inuit experiences outlined both at the SCAA and RCAP hearings, as the importance of family and community influenced how Inuit made decisions about going to the High Arctic and returning to their communities decades later. These values, though not explicitly identified by Inuit witnesses, are reflected in many of their statements. The contrasting values and approaches of government officials, particularly during the RCAP hearings, are particularly instructive.

Samwillie Eljasialuk was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Grise Fiord in 1953 at age 17

At the time of us being moved, my adoptive father was given only good and positive expectations being told only good things, such as being promised that he could return the following year, and being told of the availability of caribou. These have turned out to be lies.

In regard to the promise of caribou, it sounded abundant. But in reality, he was restricted to killing one caribou a year, being told it was to be enough. He was also told of abounding musk oxen. But it turned out to be: If you kill a musk ox, you can be fined \$5,000.00 (Five Thousand Dollars) or be arrested. This turned out to be an enticement, a lure, and a false one at that. It was stated by Government to attract people to move away. These have turned out to be all big lies.

When we landed there, we were put to work unloading drums and coal for the police. We were told that we would not be paid for this work. We did a tremendous amount of work over the years, doing all kinds of jobs. I have not forgotten the dogteam driving that I have done. I once helped the police to travel to Resolute, and saved the lives of two policemen who became lost, in the trip that I was part of. I was never paid for all the time I spent there, keeping their dogs alive while they were out on holidays. I have now realized now that I deserve to be paid for those services.

• 1840

I was also injured during my time there. My hands have been broken as well as my legs. I am very unhappy about these now that I lack all of my physical abilities. It is my firm opinion that I should be paid for the time I spent there.

The police used to treat people there thus: There was a tiny little trading post there. There are many things that have caused me hurt. I now have no shame about telling how police used to say, "You can trade only after I use your woman." They used to do this, and I still hurt about. There were so many wrongs.

I also saw, at the time I made the dogteam trip I described, letters that were written by my mother. She had tried to send them to my grandfather, her father, and to her younger sister. I discovered them at Resolute, torn up. This is an example of the many wrongs that were committed toward us.

Here is another aspect of us being sent away: There used to be very few people at Craig Harbour: two white policemen, and two Inuk helpers with their small families. These people had tried to assert sovereignty there. There had also been other people there before them who simply returned home. Ships getting in and out of isolated places with small populations were no easy matter. When we were sent there to assist the police we had to contend with the Greenlanders who often went there. We were sent to help the police

deal with these people. They started coming less often when we started living there. The first group from Greenland that came were eight dogteams. They had travelled originally as eight teams, but only four actually arrived. Part of the other group had even laughed at the teams who were loaded with plenty of food for their dogs. Being very familiar with plentiful wildlife in the area, they said, "Why do you carry so much dog food, when animals are plentiful all over here?" It was not always the case, and they eventually returned (to Greenland), and were thereafter discouraged by the police from hunting there.

We ourselves were asked to help the police by telling the Greenlanders not to come to Canada anymore, and not to harvest anymore polar bears. We were encouraged to impress upon these people by the police (that they were not really welcome there.) We have come to understand that we greatly assisted the police in this work. We were doing this as Canadians, on behalf of Canada. I will never forget these things. Neither will they ever be forgotten or abandoned, ever. I myself am not about to give up. Even if I am refused, I will mandate my descendants (to continue pursuit of it.) I have taped all this in the truth, and not in lies.

I am only capable of telling the truth about what happened, and how people were treated. All this is true. But there is so much to tell, and not enough time to tell it in. I will say more is I have to, but for now I have said enough.

• 1845

**Mr. Andrew Iqaluk (Inukjuak Representative, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada):** *[Witness speaks in native language].*

I am Andrew Iqaluk. I have also lived over there. I went there at the height of my youth, when I was fully capable of working. I was one of the ones sent up there. I recall seeing the departure of my ancestral land, my relatives, my sisters, my older brothers. It seemed only that I was leaving for a place only thirty miles distant. We did not have the sense of occasion to make an agreement among ourselves to signify that it would be a long term parting, that we would never see each other for a long, long time. We did not sign an agreement to this effect. It seemed that I was stolen away to be part of this departure, right at the height of my youth, at the height of my capabilities.

Then, as time went by, I started hearing of deaths among members of my family in Inukjuak, in Quebec. It was a mental burden for me, wanting to be there with them at those times, but strapped by the vast distances that separated me from them.

We were employees of Canada. We followed the laws that applies,

Interactions with Greenlanders were common in Grise Fiord and throughout Ellesmere Island. The RCMP used Greenlandic hunters as guides throughout the 20th century, but in the 1950s began actively discouraging them from hunting in Canadian territory. For further reading, see Morrison (1985) and Dick (2001).

Andrew Iqaluk was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1955 at age 26

Inuit family relationships, including extended family relationships, are highly valued. The combination of poor communication about the extent of the distance, broken promises about the ability to return, and the rapidity of decision-making about who was to relocate (telegrams were sent to RCMP detachments inquiring about names in April 1953 and the *C.D. Howe* arrived to transport Inuit in late June 1953) all contributed to significant strain on familial and community relationships in Inukjuak and the High Arctic that persists to the present day.

as we have always done, we people of the north. We have always been law-abiding people. I now see the tremendous help we were in the general frame of things.

I am an ordinary Inuk. I cannot work at an office job. But I am fully educated in the things an Inuk is expected to be knowledgeable, such as coping with the cold and its life threatening dangers. I have thorough knowledge of this, and am capable of working within it. I was recruited, then, in the search for minerals and oil. This work all started around 1957. We discovered much wealth in resources when we helped them by guiding them with dogteams. We have done very much work over in that land. We used our natural skills in the cold and its life threatening dangers. We Inuit can build igloos (snowhouses), being naturally trained and capable of working with snow. We used these skills to assist the *Qallunaat* who had to get around in the winter.

It was just said that any person has the right to live in any place he chooses to live. That he cannot be prevented from settling down where he wants to. Even so, we had no idea what this new land looked like or what was there. We went only by the word of others. I was one who was sent there expected to trust the word of somebody else. I myself did not say to anybody "I want to settle there, so please send me." That was the way it was.

I said earlier that we follow the laws and abide by them. I can say that we did this, and worked very much in that land called the High Arctic. Our abilities as Inuit should be recognized, because as Inuit skilled in operating in the winter cold, we helped out tremendously the work that went on in the winter of the High Arctic.

It has also been stated by the policemen who helped carry out the move that were an "experiment." An experiment to see how we could survive there in the High Arctic. In this way, as an experiment, we survived the conditions in that land, using our skills as Inuit. That was the way we were. We have not ceased to worry about the harsh burdens we went through there. We want a definitive and positive answer from our Government in regard to this subject. I will stop speaking for now. Thank you.

• 1850

**Mr. Allie Salluviniq (Resolute Bay Representative, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada):** *[Witness speaks in native language].*

I am Allie E9-1860. I am identified as such, although I am Allie Salluviniq. All these other people also have such numbers, E9 numbers. I was very small when we moved from Inukjuak to the High Arctic. But I do remember vividly when we were landed, a large boulder I can relate to, and how very cold we were. Some had to be

Allie Salluviniq was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1953 at age 4

warmed by dogs.

I do want to say that when we were being prepared to be moved out of Inukjuak, we were told that we would all be located in one place. Then, when we had just about arrived, our people were told they had to be separated. This was devastating. My mother died a young woman, having never seen her relatives again. I myself am not hurting. It is these people, who lived that particular experience, that are hurting.

We have been woefully hurt by all this. We deserve to be given a further chance to tell our story. We were separated and parted, although we were promised that we would all stay together. My mother was away in hospital for six years with tuberculosis. I grew up without a mother as a result. These other people will make it more clear. I stop for now. Thank you.

• 1855

**Ms Martha Flaherty (Inuit Tapirisat of Canada):** *[Witness speaks in native language].*

My name is Martha Flaherty. I also used to have the identification number E9-1900. just as these others used to have I.D. numbers. I will only say part of what happened. Samwillie knows me very well. We ourselves arrived up there when the others were already there. I clearly remember us being asked to go up there when I was five years old. We were transported up there by the ship, "C.D. Howe", and I cried all the way up.

We already knew then that the *Qallunaat* (white people) looked down upon and mistreated Inuit. This applies even to today. They don't treat them right. This was demonstrated when they cut the hair of all the children. I was the only one whose hair was not cut, and only because I put up a big fight. I was then the only one left with hair. They cut the hair of everybody, male and female.

When we finally arrived there, it was as if we had landed on the moon, it was so bare and desolate! There was no food and there was no shelter. For a long time, it seems, in part of my memory, I was aware of Samwillie, my mother, and others really struggling. They were out hunting for seal, and we were huddled at home, waiting for them to bring food home to us, and we dozed off, hungry. They often came back without any food. My father used to go out, sometimes for several days, and returned empty-handed and without food. Often, he returned with fewer dogs than what he set out with. It was under these circumstances that I had to go out with the hunt when I was eight years old, with my father. We went out in the dead of winter, at the height of the dark season, in 40 and 50 below weather. There was not a spot of light. I could not even undo my trousers

Martha Flaherty was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Grise Fiord in 1955 at age 5

myself to urinate. I had to go even though I did not want to.

I had to learn how to sew at age nine. I had to help my mother and other parents. We have a tradition of everybody, male and female, helping out the whole group, and we were brought up to do so.

I have been informed that my father's death was caused by the effects of smoking and cigarettes. But I do not believe this, because I am certain that the harsh burdens he had to live through caused his health to break. He had to hunt without food in the stark cold, having only had water upon setting out, and arriving most often without catching any seals. He returned empty-handed. I used to be alone at home waiting, because even my mother was out alone trying to hunt for ptarmigan, even though she was a woman.

I also want to tell about how women were abused (sexually). I will not name any one person to blame for this. I was only a small child at the time, but I know which people were used for this purpose. These people did not have food. They would only be given food after being used for sexual purposes. I will also say later about garbage, and how we lived off the garbage of the police. My mother is yet still alive, and I am determined to fight for this issue while she lives. But I want to make it clear that I will carry on with this even if she dies, and as long as I am able. That is all for now. I will say other things later.

• 1900

**Mr. Amagoalik:** If we may return to one witness, he wanted to make a further point.

**The Chairman:** John, the bells are starting to ring now; this is the 15-minute bell for the vote. If it is a very short comment. . .and then members will have to leave, if that is all right. Is it a short comment?

**Mr. Amagoalik:** *[Witness speaks in native language]*. The calling bell is now ringing, and they have to go and vote. You can say something if it is not too long.

**Mr. Elisasialuk:** *[Witness speaks in native language]*. On the matter of this being an experiment, we saw on television the former policeman at Resolute saying that we were just an experiment when we were sent away. I know, and have seen on television, medical doctors experimenting with mice to see if they will live or die. We were unwitting victims in an experiment, used like animals. To use another example, if I were used, now as an experiment, and ordered to walk all the way to Inukjuak with my crippled leg, I would surely not make it and die before reaching the place. I should be used for such an experiment now. It turns out we were objects of experiment (guinea pigs), to see if we could survive.

Allegations of criminal conduct in the High Arctic include sexual abuse and mail theft. Testimony related to both of these categories of allegations is presented during the SCAA hearings and the RCAP hearings, though, as neither the SCAA nor the RCAP had judicial jurisdiction, the claims were not investigated through these hearings. The RCMP was asked to investigate allegations of sexual misconduct following the SCAA hearing, and eventually produced a report.

This is likely a reference to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC)'s *The Fifth Estate* documentary on the "High Arctic Exiles", for which Makivik provided background material and which aired on September 26, 1989. (*The Fifth Estate, High Arctic Exiles*, [Documentary], 1989).

Experiments can be done in many ways. We might as well have been told to stay outside in the bitter cold without any clothes on. We were objects in an experiment to send us to the High Arctic to see if we could make it. Oh, how many meanings an experiment can have!

**Mr. Amagoalik:** Thank you. After you come back, we will summarize.

**The Chairman:** All right. Thank you and then we will move into questions from members, if that is all right. Before members leave, in case we lose a quorum, can I ask for a motion to pay the expenses for six witnesses, which we have discussed with them already?

**Ms Blondin:** I so move.

**Some hon. members:** Agreed.

**The Chairman:** We will be back.

• 1903

• 1937

**The Chairman:** Mr. Amagoalik, perhaps you would like to proceed.

**Mr. Amagoalik:** Thank you, Mr. Chairman. If I may, I will take a few minutes to summarize what has been said over the past hour. As we indicated at the beginning, this is an issue that we have been pursuing for more than 30 years. I was less than six years old then, but I remember things very vividly because when something like this happens to you you do not forget it. Even if you are just six years old you do not forget it. It was a very dramatic happening in our lives and it changed our lives forever.

I remember the RCMP coming to our little town for the first time. I believe they were the first white people I ever laid eyes on, and I was horrified. I knew that some sort of relocation was being discussed. I do not remember the details of it, but I do remember that my father and my mother were very concerned because they had never been approached by a white man before with this sort of request. Their first reaction was no, we cannot leave our home, we cannot leave our families; we just cannot agree to this. The RCMP went away, but they came back. They came back two or three times, as I remember, and they were very, very persistent. In the end my parents finally agreed under certain conditions, and those conditions were that whoever was relocated was to remain together and that if we did not like it there we would be taken back home. The RCMP readily agreed to those terms.

You must also understand that in 1953 the white man was viewed as almost a god by our people. They were feared. We were afraid of them. We were afraid to say no to anything they wanted.



It has become clear over the years that some people, including Markoosie and Sarah, were infected with tuberculosis at the time, and the government knew it. The doctors knew it. But for some strange reason they were given a clean bill of health. I suspect that was done because if they were sent to hospital the other members of the family would be very reluctant to move away. In effect they were condemned to die in the High Arctic.

• 1940

I remember the first few years when my mother went to the hospital with tuberculosis. She was in the hospital for five years, I believe. Those were the most terrible years of my life. And all these people sitting around the table today will tell you the same thing, that we are very close-knit families and for us to lose our mother for five years is indescribable.

The purpose of this so-called experiment was clearly sovereignty, and I will read just one line from the annexes we have attached to our presentation. It comes from a government document. It says:

To further entrench the sovereignty claim, the government relocated Inuit people from northern Quebec to the Arctic Islands in the mid-1950s.

**Mr. Horner:** Where are you taking that from?

**Mr. Amagoalik:** It is taken from a paper called *Environment Canada and the North - Discussion Paper, July 1983*. This is just one line, and there are many others.

We had been promised that our whole group would stay together, that we would not be separated. But when we got near Craig Harbour on Ellesmere Island, the RCMP said to us, half of you have to get off here. We just went into a panic because they had promised that they would not separate us. That was the first broken promise. And when we realized it, I remember we were all on the deck of the *C.D. Howe*. All the women started to cry. And when women start to cry the dogs join in. It was eerie. I was six years old then, standing on the deck of the ship. The women were crying, the dogs were howling, and the men had to huddle to decide who is going to go where. We were dumped on the beach, literally dumped on the beach, with all our worldly goods. I remember saying to myself, what the hell am I doing here? What is the purpose of this exercise? And when we talk about this day, everybody asks the same question: what the hell were we doing?

There is evidence of slave labour. It can only be labelled as slave labour, because my father and other relatives spent months at a time taking government surveyors around the High Arctic, mapping the

See "Annex 1" in "Appendix "ABOR-6": Annexes to the SCAA, March 19, 1990" in this volume.

There is general agreement that a promise was made in Inukjuak that family groups would not be separated in the High Arctic. This promise also reflects direction from Ottawa. Although documentary evidence is clear that there was an intent to have three groups - one each for Resolute Bay, Grise Fiord, and Alexandra Fiord - and that one family from Pond Inlet was to accompany each group, there is not clarity on the planned Inukjuamiut composition of those groups.

islands and collecting mineral samples. And they were never paid for it. One other witness remembered collecting coal for the RCMP. And the RCMP told them: we are not going to pay you because you have to work your way back to northern Quebec.

And there has been evidence of sex for favours. While the men were out hunting days at a time, the women and children were left in the community, and they were hungry. And certain people in authority told certain women, if you want food for your children you are going to have to do certain favours for me. We are not prepared to name names at this time — perhaps that can be done later — but we know for a fact that this happened.

• 1945

I also remember that when members of our relatives were in the hospital for years we used to try to write letters to them and to our horror we found that our letters were thrown in the dump. We spent a lot of time in the dumps, because we had to go there for a good part of our food, our clothing, and our shelter — in the white man's dump.

I also remember that my father used to send a bit of cash to my brother, who was in the hospital for five years. The RCMP used to come to our house asking if we had any letters. My father said yes, we have a letter; here it is. The RCMP used to ask, did you enclose any money? Of course my father said yes, I enclosed \$2. The RCMP used to write on the outside of the envelope: \$2. We found those letters in the dump too – opened and the money gone.

I remember being very excited when any military airplane arrived in Resolute, because we knew that the people on those airplanes had box lunches, food. We used to rush to the dump five miles away in the middle of winter to get those boxes of half-finished sandwiches. The two trays of sandwiches we had here — those were treasures.

Of course a year later, when requests were made to return to northern Quebec, the RCMP said no, you cannot do that; we will bring your other relatives instead; you cannot go back to northern Quebec; you have to stay here. It was never explained to us why they insisted so badly that we stay there. It was years later that we started learning that the real reason for this whole exercise was to assert Canadian sovereignty.

You must understand the big change we experienced when we moved from northern Quebec to the High Arctic. There was a big change in diet. In northern Quebec we grew up on fish and game birds, and things that grew out of the ground, berries and such. Up there none of that existed. We had to travel hundreds of miles for any fish. There were no caribou. The only birds were around for only a couple of weeks of the year. We had to change from that diet

The opening of the Arctic to resource exploration and development escalated during the late-1950s and early-1960s. An examination of the EAC Minutes suggests that the federal government encouraged hiring Inuit during this period for exploration projects related to mapping and resource development. See Lackenbauer and Clancy (2019) (11th Meeting (March 28, 1960), p. 160). These explorations, often months-long, were hard on the small communities, as Inuit men were gone and therefore unable to hunt or provide for their families, while women were left alone with limited supplies. These explorations exacerbated the hardships. In retrospect, Inuit believe that their presence in the High Arctic and their familiarity with the land allowed them to aid the government's resource exploration initiatives.

The phrasing "you have to work your way back to northern Quebec" seems to allude to the federal government's approach to the ELF: The loan, taken out on behalf of Inuit, was designed to be paid back through the sale of furs and any employment wages earned through work for the RCMP or other federal departments, such as the RCAF at Resolute Bay or the DOT, which undertook many development projects during this period. While documentary evidence suggests this was the government's intent, it is clear that this was not communicated to Inuit and that this process of balancing loans and payments was unclear to Inuit labourers.

to walrus, polar bear, and seal, and that was about it. It was a big change.

The environment was very different. It was much, much colder. The winter was much longer. And we discovered that there were three months of total darkness. We had never been told that. One of the most devastating experiences we ever had was when we discovered that there was no sun from November until February.

The annexes refer many times to the "experiment." We were used like laboratory animals, as has been stated by some of the witnesses. Our dignity as human beings has been violated. We need a longer time to tell our story, because we are just touching its surface. This story needs to be told. It is a Canadian story; it needs to be explained in Canadian history.

• 1950

In conclusion, we note that the Japanese Canadians have been apologized to and they have been given \$280 million in compensation. We note that the Chinese Canadians are about to be compensated, and there is now talk of Italians being compensated. Now, we are not arguing against that. We agree that Canadians have suffered injustices and that these things need to be put right. So we are not arguing that Japanese Canadians and Chinese and Italians should not be compensated for past injustices; we agree with that. But we also say we deserve that too, perhaps more so.

Basically, we are asking for three things. We want the Government of Canada and the nation of Canada to acknowledge that these things happened and that the purpose for these things was to assert Canadian sovereignty. We want the Government of Canada to acknowledge this unequivocally. We want the Government of Canada to apologize. We want them to say they are sorry. And we want compensation.

Last, I want to quote from a news release from the Government of Canada dated September 22, 1988. It is titled "Historic Agreement Reached on Japanese Canadian Redress." This is Prime Minister Brian Mulroney:

For more than 40 years Canada has carried a stain on its reputation. It is our duty to put things right.

Further, the press release says:

The main features of the redress agreement are: (1) official acknowledgement of the injustices; (2) symbolic redress payments to each of those affected who are still living.

I see no difference in our situation. Thank you.

For further reading on redress movements, including the High Arctic Relocation redress movement, see Fung (2025).

**The Chairman:** Thank you, Mr. Amagoalik.

**Ms Blondin:** Mr. Chairman, I would like to take the opportunity to thank these individuals for a very moving presentation. Also, before we proceed I would like to move that we accept the annexes as part of the proceedings.

Motion agreed to

**Ms Blondin:** Having had knowledge that we were going to have this group here, I wanted to get a feeling for what the attitude and the tone are towards your bid for compensation and for an apology and for Canada to deal with this particular problem, and I was very discouraged. I found that many people in government to whom I have spoken say you are attempting to dig up the past, trying to turn back the clock – these are words and phrases that have been used – and that you are wasting your time because they do not feel you have a legal right to compensation. What is so alarming is that these people are very powerful and have influence on major decisions or even make the decisions.

Ethel Blondin was Member of Parliament for the Western Arctic from 1988 to 2006. She sat on the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs from 1989 to 1993 and was later Minister of State for Northern Development within Indian and Northern Development (2004-2006)

• 1955

I asked them if they felt the government should at the very least hear out these individuals on their case. Many said they did not want to bother with hearing the case because they were aware of it and they had the information. They are not very receptive. They have not heard you as we have heard you, and what we have heard is very disturbing.

It is difficult in a democratic country like Canada where we have freedom of movement for new immigrants. They are not restricted to any one place. They are not ripped apart from their families. These people were yanked out of their homeland and put in an isolated, desolate place with many harsh changes to deal with.

In speaking to these people, I had the impression they do not want to hear your case and they do not feel you have a legal right. To them, it is just another native gripe and another native problem. What do you state to these self-styled cynics? They have not heard you and they do not hear you. What have you got to say to them?

**Mr. Amagoalik:** If the Government of Canada still refuses to hear our case and consider to our requests, I would say the Government of Canada does not give a damn about Inuit. I do not know if any one else has any comments.

**Mr. Allie Salluviniq (Resolute Bay Representative, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada):** I feel the same way as John does. If there is another route we can take, that would be nice. We are very nice people. We are not asking for something big. We just want something that is really ours.

**Ms Blondin:** Do do you feel that you had a fair hearing outside of this standing committee? Do you feel you have been given your day in court regarding this issue? Do you feel the government has handled it properly and that perhaps these are isolated instances where individuals are not representing the government but their own views?

**Mr. Amagoalik:** I do not know, but as I indicated earlier, we have been pursuing this with different levels of government for years and years. We keep getting kicked back and forth between different levels of government. The territorial government says it is a federal responsibility. The federal government does not really like to admit that it is. The Quebec government says the feds are responsible.

So we have not had a fair hearing from the government, but we have also not had a fair hearing from the people in general and the media. The media has a 30-second attention span so they have not really dug into this story. It is a story that needs to be told. The governments have not spent enough time listening. And although the media has indicated interest and has made efforts to tell the story, as I said, they have a very short attention span.

• 2000

**Ms Blondin:** I notice in the presentation here, you indicated a submission was made to the former Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs asking that you be heard. On page 14 you said the then minister, Pierre Cadieux, responded to this Makivik request by a letter dated May 12, 1989 — it is included in the annex — indicating that Canada had fulfilled all its commitments in this regard and that a meeting was not necessary. Do you feel that in light of the minister's strong and direct comments here, you will in fact have an opportunity with the new minister to advance your case?

**Mr. Amagoalik:** I do not know. The other aspect of this whole thing is that ministers have changed portfolios very conveniently, before they have spent the energy to deal with it. Ministers change, governments change, and it has been very convenient for successive ministers to sit on this issue for long enough until they are out of office and onto some other things.

It has been passed from minister to minister to minister. A minister is never around long enough to deal with this effectively. None of them have made any real efforts to deal with it seriously. I believe the only minister who ever did anything of substance was some years ago — I do not even remember which one it was any more. That minister appointed a person to look at this, to examine it and to see what kind of validity our claim had. That person who did that study concluded that yes, they do. By the time he delivered his report, the

Pierre Cadieux was Member of Parliament for Vaudreuil (Québec) from 1984-1993 and Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development from 1989 to 1990

Tom Siddon had become Minister only a few weeks early, on February 23, 1990.

minister was somewhere else. It was never dealt with.

I think it incumbent upon this committee to make a strong recommendation that this issue be dealt with seriously and that it be resolved.

**Ms Blondin:** I just have two more short comments. There were two suggestions made with regard to this issue. One was a royal commission of inquiry and another one was the possibility of a lawsuit by Makivik. What are your feelings on these two suggestions?

**Mr. Amagoalik:** First of all, a lawsuit would be expensive and it would be gut-wrenching. If we had other recourses, we would prefer not to pursue that course. As for a royal commission, we do not know how long it would take.

I stress that the resolution of this issue needs to be done very soon. This happened 37 years ago. Our parents, who have taken the brunt of this injustice, are dying. My father is dead, and my mother is very old. It is the same thing with the parents of the people sitting around this table. It seems to us that the government is basically waiting for these people to die.

**Ms Blondin:** I have just one more quick comment, a very short one. If you have continued with persistence to take your case to the government and to Canada and if you have exhausted all possibilities, will you take your case to the World Court?

**Mr. Amagoalik:** We will pursue every avenue until this is dealt with. If that is what it takes, that is what we are prepared to do. If it takes that long, when I am not around, we have children and we will tell our children the story. It will not be forgotten.

• 2005

**Mr. Skelly:** This is the most serious matter that I have heard in this House in the eleven years that I have been a Member of Parliament. If I can summarize what I understand you to have said, the accusations you have laid before this committee . . . you have told us of forcible confinement and slave labour. You have told us about physical and sexual abuse. You have told us about misrepresentation and outright lying. You have laid before this committee serious accusations of serious criminal wrongdoing, and serious criminal wrongdoing on the part of the national law enforcement agency. You have talked about deaths of members of your community that could only be construed as death by criminal negligence in which the definition is an act or omission which represents willful disregard for human life.

This is not unique in this country. We have seen the case of Donald Marshall in Nova Scotia. We have watched an inquiry into the same

It is likely that John Amagoalik is referring to Minister David Crombie, who requested the Hammond Report in 1984. By June 1986, David Crombie had become the Secretary of State of Canada and Minister responsible for Multiculturalism; Bill McKnight took over his role as MIAND and was actively involved in the High Arctic Relocation compensation file (making a formal offer of remedy and compensation in September 1987) until he was given a second portfolio (Minister of Western Economic Diversification) in June 1988 and then transferred to the role of Minister of National Defence in January 1989.

Ray Skelly was Member of Parliament for North Island-Powell River (formerly Comox-Powell River) from 1979-1993. He was not appointed to the SCAA, but was present in place of his brother, Robert Skelly (Member of Parliament for Comox-Alberni), on March 19, 1990

thing in Manitoba. And in Alberta we have seen cases like the Fred Quilt case, and in British Columbia numerous others.

As a Member of Parliament, I am just completely appalled at what you have laid before this committee. But from what I have seen in my eleven years, and previous to that, the government evades and obfuscates its responsibility in any way it can. I do not think you will get justice from this committee. I do not think you can make a comparison between the treatment of the Japanese Canadians and the treatment your people received, because the Japanese community suffered those tragic indignities during wartime when there was absolute paranoia in the country and a state of emergency existed. In your case this situation exists in peacetime, a time when no Canadian, no human being should be treated like that. I do not believe the government will give you justice. And I am skeptical about what this committee can do other than to assist you as another forum in which to tell this tale, this horrible tale.

I think a royal commission has to be struck to address the questions of criminal wrongdoing. I think that we, as Canadians, must do that. There is no statute of limitation or no forgiveness on that without an investigation and setting the record right. I almost believe that you will have to involve the United Nations in this, because I am very skeptical about the government's willingness to pursue this actively, to investigate it, and to come up with recommendations that are satisfactory to your community. The United Nations, whether it is by form of an observer, should be involved in this in some way.

Canada has a very bad record with its aboriginal people. And its very bad record is not only in its treatment but also in its redress.

A royal commission I would think is important. I would think the involvement of the United Nations is extremely important to push for investigation and rectification. I am very skeptical given the track record of the government. And I do not just point to this government, I point to the previous one. After all, they were essentially the government that inflicted this. The process of government ever accepting responsibility is a slow and painful one.

I have probably heard enough. Although I do not have any questions to ask, I can assure you that we will assist you on any matter in getting to the root of this and getting the recommendations made for redress. This story is absolutely appalling.

**Mr. Amagoalik:** If I just may respond to that, I appreciate your observations. I hope justice can be done soon.

**Mr. Skelly:** I wonder if I might add just one more small remark. You pointed out the length of time that has transpired and the importance of getting this testimony into some form of testimony under oath so

that as the fight continues, if it does reach a point where it can be brought out, this material is all in place.

• 2010

**Mr. Amagoalik:** The reason the other groups have achieved recognition and apologies and compensation is they had the numbers — hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions in this country — and those are votes. We do not have the numbers and we do not hold the balance of power. We do not have the ability to be able to decide who the government will be, and for that reason we are ignored.

**Mr. Patsauq:** Japanese Canadians were in British Columbia. It is just about the warmest province in Canada. Just look at the difference: the High Arctic is 40 below, 50 below, while British Columbia . . . There is no comparison, and the Japanese Canadians were under the watchful eye of the Canadian government. Probably those people were getting all their medical attention. They did not have to go to the dump in order to survive. There is a big difference.

If Mr. Mulroney is going to come to an agreement with any of those people, like Chinese and Italians, they also should look at our problem, because in those days, in the 1940s, the government had a legal right under the War Measures Act to take these precautions against the security of Canada in order to make sure that the Canadian people were guarded. But us — in 1953 the sick people, old people, crippled people, were sent to the High Arctic to live on the white man's dump. There is a very big difference in those things.

**Mr. Amagoalik:** If I may, I would like our legal adviser to comment on the suggestion of involving the United Nations.

**Mr. Sam Silverstone (Legal Counsel of Makivik Corporation, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada):** It is not that we have not considered a lawsuit, we have not considered a royal commission, we have not considered the United Nations, but as John Amagoalik said, all of these things take time.

Sam Silverstone was legal counsel for Makivik Corporation throughout the 1990s and 2000s

A lawsuit means the issue is referred to the Department of Justice. With all due respect, our experience has been that anything referred to the federal Department of Justice is certain not to see the light of day for a long time. It goes for opinion, and then the opinion is reviewed, and ultimately . . . It can be a long time, suffice to say, before they are prepared to answer any type of claim we might have.

In terms of the United Nations, in terms of a royal commission — if you get a royal commission it is a lengthy process, and as John and some of the others said, a lot of the evidence may not lend itself to that type of format. Also, we see these forums as a last resort. We might end up going there, but right now it originated as apolitical



problem, it was a political solution — one of sovereignty — and we are trying to seek some kind of political resolution of it.

We have been bounced from minister to minister. One minister who showed an interest in it was McKnight, only because he had been involved in housing, so he understood that when people move from one community to another they need a place to live. He allowed us to have 10 housing units built in Inukjuak, but that was the extent of it. We still require more. He was helpful in that regard, but none of the other demands was addressed.

A lawsuit, even a royal commission, again involves testimony. As John indicated, a lot of the people who would be witnesses are dead or are dying. We saw this forum as one of the few.. .at this point it was the only one we could get, considering Cadieux's response to Zebedee Nungak's letter of March 23 1989, in which Cadieux, as you said, said he would not meet.

• 2015

This was the first time in our collective experience in dealing with government that a minister has in fact refused to meet on an issue. Our experience has shown that usually they will meet and tell you nothing, or meet and suggest some recourse or some avenue or some table of discussion that leads nowhere. In this case, the minister simply refused to meet on the basis that all claims had been resolved.

We came before this committee, hoping that you could make a recommendation either to Parliament or to the minister or even to Cabinet that the issue be taken seriously and that the claims made in the presentation — a similar presentation was made three years ago and ignored — be acted upon.

One final thing I wanted to clarify is that Ethel Blondin made a motion that the annexes be considered part of the brief. I am not sure whether that motion means the two become part of the *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*. We would like to have the oral testimony and these two documents form part of the record.

**The Chairman:** Thank you, Mr. Silverstone, I believe that is what we did. If not, that was the intent of the motion; I see all members nodding, so that was the intent.

Did you have further comments, Mr. Skelly?

**Mr. Skelly:** I am probably a little incensed at what I have heard today. The charges you have put before this committee are more serious than those situations almost encountered by Japanese Canadians in wartime. I wonder about the questions of criminal wrongdoing that have been suggested here and those types of things. I am also concerned that over an 11-year stint in this place and having sat through a lot of committees on important and serious matters, I have

William (Bill) McKnight was Member of Parliament for Kindersley-Lloydminster from 1979 to 1993 and Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development from June 1986 to January 1989

A planned appearance before the SCAA in June 1986 was postponed due to insufficient preparation time. The Makivik report (see "Annex 5" in "Appendix "ABOR-6": Annexes to the SCAA, March 19, 1990 of this volume prepared in Summer 1986 was intended to be brought to the SCAA during 1987, but the meeting was never rescheduled. As a result, this March 1990 appearance is the first opportunity for relocated Inuit and their representatives to speak to the SCAA.

The brief referenced here is reproduced in this volume as "Appendix "ABOR-9": Annexes to the SCAA, June 18, 1990" and the annexes are reproduced as "Appendix "ABOR-6": Annexes to the SCAA, March 19, 1990".

not seen a great deal of action resulting out of the committee, other than a forum to get the message out, which will happen. I hope this committee does in fact put strong recommendations to Parliament, but that is a long, drawn-out affair.

I look to things like the Dubin commission, which went into aviation, and the Ben Johnson issue and things like that. Even the Donald Marshall . . . although it was a longer time frame, it certainly gave Canadians a view of serious wrongdoing in this country. It did get to the root of some of the problems, with recommendations for compensation and prevention in the future. Anyway, I certainly appreciate your comments.

**The Chairman:** Thank you. Are there any comments in response to those comments of Mr. Skelly?

**Mr. Eliasialuk:** *[Witness speaks in native language]*. I want to make further comments. I shall never forget how our mothers used to cry all night. They were faced with never seeing their relatives ever again. Their lives lost their purpose and they lost their minds. That was what my mother went through. My adoptive father did not even last a year there. He was devastated by the false promise of plentiful wildlife. He was led to believe there would be plenty of caribou and plenty of musk-oxen. He had consented to go, based on these glowing promises. When he came to realize that he would never see his relatives again, his heart stopped beating.

His own younger brother had heard that his older brother had been killed by rampaging walrus. When I returned after many years to Inukjuak, after over twenty years, he asked if his older brother had in fact been killed by walrus. Had he been killed while bracing a walrus who pulled him into the water to his death?

The police had given false information, giving the impression that everything was fine, that they were doing a good job. They, in fact, were not doing right.

Also, when we were being sent, we were told that there was plenty of food there. In fact, we used to go without bannock for almost the whole year because there was no flour. We lived entirely on seal meat. I also want to add to what Martha said earlier. (Her father) had requested to be sent back to Inukjuak in 1962, back to his homeland. But his mind gave out, and he died as a man with a broken spirit because he had been refused his request to return. These are burdens in my heart. I will never forget the torn pictures that I discovered. This act was against the law. There were no means of communications at the time. There was no CBC.

Why were our only means of communicating torn up? Why were we not paid? Why were we left to suffer from great hunger? The

The Dubin Commission (1990) investigated the use of drugs and banned substances in sport. The Marshall Inquiry (1989) investigated the wrongful conviction of a Mi'kmaq man in Nova Scotia. Both reference high-level commissions to investigate wrongdoing and address government practices.

Government never gave us shelter when they sent us there. We lived in an inadequate tent. I can still see that poor tent pitched on that barren rock, the sand spewing haze from the extreme cold. I still see that today, and shall never forget it.

If Government had sent *Qallunaat* (white people) instead, they would have provided them with shelter and paid them for their work. For us, there was absolutely nothing. We were made to work very hard without pay. Why was this? I want to ask the Government this question. This is oppression, a victimizing of Canadians. They send them out to hold the land, to assert sovereignty, and provide them with no wood for sustenance. This is what they have done.

Are you yourselves not hurt by this: "Let me first have your sexual favours. Let me use your womanhood first before you can trade for goods." Is this the law in Canada? Is this how things are supposed to be? Is this what those who initiated the move, Kajualuk and them, Alex Stevenson and them, had in mind when they carried this out? Is this the law? Is it normal behaviour? You have to think and reflect upon this.

There was no flour. There was no tea. \$5,000. (Five Thousand Dollars). This is not enough today to pay for a skidoo. That is all the Government provided to supply us for a whole long year. That is what the Government allowed for our needs in food, clothing, and all other needs for living. We had access to these only if we caught any foxes. That trading post was tiny. Then the representative of Government (the police) says, "You can buy only if I first have you sexually." I am disgusted by this. That is all I say for now.

• 2020

**Mr. Horner:** I want to thank the witnesses for making the long trip to be with us today. I agree with Mr. Skelly that this is a very distressing situation, and I am sorry that I do not know more about this. I probably should have been apprised, but I am an alternate on this committee. I am replacing Mr. Littlechild. I guarantee you that I will convey what you have said to Mr. Littlechild with a briefing on what you have said.

Some of the questions I would like to ask to make myself more familiar may require a short answer, and since I have only 10 minutes, I will try to keep the questions short and you try to keep the answers short.

I want to know how many people presently live in Resolute Bay, approximately.

**Mr. Salluviniq:** Do you mean Inuit or —

**Mr. Horner:** Inuit, yes. I am talking about the families who were moved there in 1953, 1955, 1957. How many of them are still there?

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Kajualuk refers to the name given to Father Pierre Henry, a French missionary and Oblate of Mary Immaculate who worked with Inuit communities throughout the Canadian Arctic from 1932-1971.

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Alexander Stevenson was a clerk for the HBC before joining the DRD (later the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (DNANR) in 1945. He remained with the department serving in various administrative capacities, including Administrator of the Arctic and Chief of Social Development, until 1975 when he joined the ITC to become Inuit Language Coordinator

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The \$5,000 refers to the ELF that funded the High Arctic Relocation project.

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Robert Horner was Member of Parliament for Mississauga West from 1988-1993 (and Mississauga North from 1984-1988). He also served as an officer of the RCMP in Ottawa from 1951-1957

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The 1953 and 1955 relocations from Inukjuak and Pond Inlet are considered part of the same "High Arctic Relocations" project. Numerous other relocations took place throughout the Arctic in the 1950s. Some Inuit also moved to Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord in 1957 and 1958. For further reading, see Tester and Kulchyski (1994).

**Mr. Salluviniq:** Approximately 160.

**Mr. Horner:** What about Grise Fiord? How many people live there? I am talking about Inuit.

• 2025

**Ms Flaherty:** Inuit only?

**Mr. Horner:** Yes.

**Ms Flaherty:** The families or the . . . ?

**Mr. Horner:** The descendants of the people who were moved there.

**Ms Flaherty:** About five, not including their children.

**Mr. Horner:** Just about five of the originals are there and then their children are there. Now, more families have moved in. How many Inuit live there now, about 150?

**Ms. Flaherty:** No, about 80 or 100.

**Mr. Horner:** What about the village in northern Quebec your families originally came from? How many Inuit live there?

**Mr. Patsauq:** There are 980.

**Mr. Horner:** I take it the government has taken some steps to move some people back there who have requested it. They have paid a small amount of money; there was a shortage of housing or something. But they have moved some Inuit back there. Is that correct? Some have moved back.

**Mr. Patsauq:** Yes.

**Ms Flaherty:** Yes.

**Mr. Horner:** Have they refused to move any who want to go from Resolute Bay or . . . ? Have they refused to move any more back? In this annex report that Ms Blondin wanted to have added to the report, and rightly so, it says they offered \$150,000 in the next year to move more people back. Is that correct?

**Mr. Silverstone:** In fact, a contribution agreement was signed in 1987 for \$200,000, and \$50,000 was to compensate people who had moved back on their own, who had spent money since 1970 on their own to come back. That was for about 10 individuals. The other \$150,000 was to cover the cost of moving people who were moved in 1988. The government built 10 houses, and two flights were done. But you have to understand that any time you do a flight there, it is \$75,000 each charter.

**Mr. Horner:** It says \$68,000 in here, but I will not bicker over a couple of thousand dollars.

**Mr. Silverstone:** Yes, \$68,000 to \$75,000. So we did two flights and brought down between 30 and 35 people.

**Mr. Horner:** I see. But there was a lack of housing in the original town. Is that correct?

**Mr. Silverstone:** There was a lack of housing in Inukjuak for those people, and there still is a lack of housing.

**Mr. Horner:** Now, I take it most of the people around this table, most of the Inuit people, are descendants or were part of the families that were moved there. If you had a choice right now, would you move back to Inukjuak?

**Ms Flaherty:** Yes.

**Mr. Anawak (Nunatsiaq):** I do not think it is that simple a matter to say just yes or no to something like that.

**Mr. Horner:** I asked the question, and the lady said she would move back if the government . . . It may not be a simple matter, and I am quite sure it is not a simple matter. I am very sympathetic to the whole cause because I know – and I agree with Mr. Skelly — that Canada has a terrible, terrible record as far as aboriginal rights go. Everybody knows that. Everybody in this room knows that. I read in this annex a lot of things. Mr. Chairman, perhaps I might take a moment.

**The Chairman:** Yes.

**Mr. Horner:** I am reading a report from Superintendent Larsen, a man I knew. I am not saying you people are lying; I am quite sure there was hardship, that there was devastation. But I am reading from Superintendent Larsen, who says:

The immediate need was to assist the natives, the Inuit, to continue to follow their traditional way of life as hunters. This assistance could be extended by seeing they were properly equipped and placed in the most suitable area for hunting. Movements could be initiated from overpopulated or depleted districts to areas not presently occupied or whereas the natural resources could support a greater number of people.

There are many, many reports in here — I have dog-eared a few of them – where they have talked about visiting Port Harrison. How far is Port Harrison from Resolute Bay?

**Mr. Amagoalik:** It is 2,000 miles.

**Mr. Horner:** That is quite a little hike, yes. They talk about visiting the families and they list the names of all the families and children:

Jack Iyerak Anawak was Member of Parliament for Nunatsiaq from 1988-1997. He was a member of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs (later Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development) and was the Liberal Party's critic on Indian Affairs and Northern Development from 1989 to 1993 and the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development from 1993 to 1996

Henry Larsen was RCMP Commanding Officer of "G" Division (Northwest Territories and Yukon) from 1949 to 1961, stationed in Ottawa. Larsen also commanded the RCMP vessel *St. Roch* from 1928 to 1939

In 1956, the new location at Grise Fiord is very good. The natives' camp is located across the fiord about six miles away. This is also an ideal spot for them, and they are very happy there.

Are these lies?

**Mr. Amagoalik:** Yes.

**Mr. Skelly:** This is where the box lunches came in.

**Mr. Horner:** I see.

• 2030

**Mr. Salluviniq:** What you are not seeing is what they are hiding right now.

**Mr. Horner:** What they are hiding now?

**Mr. Salluviniq:** Some of these people told you about why and how Inuit were used. They are very good and ready.

**Mr. Amagoalik:** If I might respond, back in those days Superintendent Larsen may have said the Inuit are very happy, everything is nice and rosy.

**Mr. Horner:** The Inuit may have told him that.

**Mr. Amagoalik:** The Secretary of State, Mr. Weiner, is always saying the same thing. He cuts our budget by 15% and he sends us a form letter telling us how wonderful everything is.

**Mr. Horner:** What budget was cut? Are you talking about the communications budget?

**Mr. Amagoalik:** Every Inuit organization in Canada got cut by 15%.

**Mr. Horner:** I thought they were getting a 5% raise next year, plus they were getting more money in their project funding than they were in the . . . I mean, I will grant you that \$972,000 is being cut from the basic funding, but millions are being added to the project funding, and so we had —

**Mr. Amagoalik:** We do not see it.

**Mr. Horner:** The other day in the Justice Committee, which I chair, we had native people before us who said they would be perfectly all right with the project funding they had.

I am not disagreeing with what you say and I realize that you may have seen a lot of hardship, an awful lot of hardship, but I go through some of these things and I see the . . . In 1983 there was a commitment to Makivik that the federal government would prepare an official response within one month, and it goes on to tell all the

things they will do, whereas this has happened and that has happened. They say they will compensate the Inuit for damages suffered, particularly those Inuit who have already moved back to Inukjuak on their own, and they will reimburse Makivik for all costs incurred. That was in 1983, and they said they would respond in month. Did they respond?

**Mr. Silverstone:** I do not know what document you are referring to.

**Mr. Horner:** I am referring to Resolution 1984 AM-1, Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord.

**Mr. Silverstone:** I cannot find it, but you are reading from what sounds sounds like a Makivik resolution or an ITC resolution requesting that the government respond on all those issues. That is not a government commitment.

**Mr. Horner:** I see. Fine.

**Mr. Silverstone:** Yes, I think it is an ITC resolution. No, the government did not respond, and you are talking about 1983. Well before that, but consistently since 1983-84, we have been asking each minister . . . and as John indicated, every time we get to talk to the minister, the minister is gone and it is someone else.

There has been no apology, there has been no acknowledgement or recognition of the contribution of these Inuit to Canadian history and to the establishment of Canadian sovereignty in the High Arctic. The only thing there has been is the 10 housing units built in Inukjuak in the summer of 1988 to accommodate those who had moved back since 1970 and those who moved back in 1988.

The housing is still not sufficient. As Markoosie Patsauq suggested, there are 950 or 980 Inuit living there. A lot of people who live there and were never moved to the High Arctic are still waiting on a long list for housing.

They built 10 housing units and they paid for two flights. Even the money they gave us for the flights was insufficient. We overspent by \$40,000 or \$50,000, and we are still trying to recover that from Indian Affairs. But there has been no compensation for things, such as boats that had to be left behind when people were moved, either up or back. Simple things like personal belongings were never compensated for. The community owned the boat, a Peterhead boat in Inukjuak, which was destroyed after they left; they never took their boat with them. Even on physical objects, there has been no acknowledgement or any form of compensation.

Robert Horner is referencing a Makivik Resolution included in the annexes to the written submission. The Resolution, attached to Annex 6, is reproduced in this volume as "Annex 6" of "Appendix "ABOR-6": Annexes to the SCAA, March 19, 1990".

• 2035

In terms of the abuses Mr. Skelly was talking about, you will notice that all the matters he mentioned — fraudulent misrepresenta-

tion, forcible detention, slave labour — are not purely civil; they are also criminal, and criminal matters have no prescriptive period. So, yes, I agree that a commission could open up all of those questions and go back to examine all of that.

**Mr. Skelly:** Could I have a point of order, Mr. Chairman? I think there is one very important point here.

**The Chairman:** It is on a point of order, Mr. Skelly?

**Mr. Skelly:** Yes, it is the information given by my colleague that is technically correct. I think if you look at the problem that DIAND's budget is up and capped, it is one matter. But the cutting of core funding to Indian organizations, Inuit organizations and Métis organizations, cutting funding in that mechanism, impairs those organizations from carrying out these kinds of activities and implementing programs as well.

It was again my understanding that the Indian communication organization launched the Donald Marshall case into public prominence, from there to a royal commission and to justice. I think this is why the Secretary of State funding cuts is such an ominous and retrogressive thing.

**The Chairman:** Mr. Skelly, I am not sure that is a point of order, but I think you have made your point.

**Mr. Horner:** That is fine; the point is well taken. I do not have any more questions. I want to thank the witnesses for coming here. In the face of moving to a rural court, or a royal commission, or going to court on this thing, I think you have come to the right place. I hope this committee will consider your representations and pass them on to Parliament. I hope something can be done to rectify the situation.

**Mr. Amagoalik:** I agree that this committee might be underestimating its influence. If you were to make a unanimous recommendation that this issue be dealt with, it would carry some weight.

I want to add that we would prefer to stay out of court, to stay out of the United Nations. We do not really want to drag Canada through the mud. We like to think of ourselves as good Canadians. We have always demonstrated that we have a love for this country. We do not necessarily want to drag it through the mud, but if we have to we will.

**Mr. Horner:** How long has your group been pursuing this issue of reimbursement? Obviously it has been since before 1983. Is it for 20 years now?

**Mr. Amagoalik:** Individuals have been dealing with it for almost 30 years. In an organized way, we have been dealing with it for about 10 years.



**The Chairman:** There were two people at various times during the recent discussion who were trying to make a point. One was Samwillie and the other was Martha — no, Martha, you are okay?

**Mr. Elijasialuk:** *[Witness speaks in native language]*. There has been houses built. But these are rental houses which we pay rent for every month. These have been attributed to us (the exiles), but they are merely ordinary rental houses. They are expensive to pay for, especially for those who are not employed.

I also want to say this: Our lives have been ruined and disrupted. We have acquired illnesses and disabilities. We rightly deserve to be paid compensation, some money into our pockets, for the time we spent up there. We have to have the means to live, to be able to feed ourselves. We definitely deserve to be paid for the labour we did for the police without being paid. This has to be dealt with and resolved for sure. Our contribution in establishing that area as definitely Canada is a great accomplishment. We defined a large stretch of real estate for Canada. It gained in the discovery of vast natural resources, while we got absolutely nothing. We have experienced nothing but poverty, and we are not satisfied. The Government has to put money into our pockets for this. Thank you.

• 2040

**The Chairman:** Thank you. Sarah Amagoalik, I believe you wanted to make a statement as well.

**Ms Amagoalik:** *[Witness continues in native language]*. I want to say a bit more. I feel that the people of Resolute are being neglected. My husband and I are the only adults from the original group left in Resolute. The only others there are a generation of much younger people, who were small boys when we went there. They are our only company now. It seems that Simeonie and I are holding Resolute. How will Simeonie and I be given right justice? If we leave Resolute and simply return to Inukjuak, what will become of Resolute? All of our relatives have forsaken that place, and we are the only ones left. We are the only ones left to maintain Resolute, the land that you claim is yours. We are the only ones left to make it a place where development of oil and mineral can go on. Perhaps we have been totally abandoned. We remain there only because of my mother. We cannot leave her while she is still alive. We are all that is left in Resolute. We are also watching over those who have been left behind by their parents (who have returned). Our children and grandchildren are numerous, and we cannot control where they desire (to live). But we want to be given an open opportunity to return to Inukjuak when we so desire. If I die, my husband should be able to return to Inukjuak. If my husband dies, I don't know what I will do. We, my

This is a critical aspect of discussions about the High Arctic Relocations and Inuit contributions to Arctic sovereignty. It is clear that Inuit have contributed significantly to Canada's Arctic sovereignty, particularly in Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord. They also contributed significantly to resource exploration and development. It is also very clear that there was significant suffering that resulted from government action. Importantly, these are all *consequences* of the relocation project.

husband and I deserve to be paid compensation, for we are watching over for your interests as well as of those remaining there. Because we are the only ones left, we should be given some attention, even if only periodic. I wanted to say this because it is big burden for me. Thank you for giving me the chance here to say it.

**The Chairman:** Thank you. I have two names on the list at this stage for the second round, Mr. Anawak and Mr. Skelly.

**Mr. Anawak:** [*Member speaks in native language*]. Thank you. Thank you all for being able to come here, and be heard by those present here. It is certain that you have touched those listening to you. I feel for the experiences you have gone through, although I have never experienced your hardships. As a fellow Inuk sitting here, I am touched. As you know, and as John stated earlier, the *Qallunaat* (white people) were feared in those days. I myself know of this, because when we were living at Naujaat (Repulse Bay), their word was the law. Perhaps I do not feel exactly as you do, but I have an idea of how you must feel.

I am sorry I do not recall the name of the person who said earlier about the difference of this case with the case of the Japanese or the Chinese. Your experience has been different from those. It is sure that we were very capable of helping and extending assistance to those in need, or to *Qallunaat* who were just arriving. This applied to help among fellow Inuit and those less fortunate. In hindsight, it now is clear that, had we known how negative the consequences would become later on, we would not have been as willing to being part of those schemes. I would like to ask, in regard to the matter in which you were done wrong to. A great wrong was done unto you, for sure. It was said earlier that this was done not in wartime, not in wartime at all. You were done a great injustice in peacetime. There was no war in the world, and they had absolutely no grounds to do this.

It is very clear now that the reason why you were sent there was to lay Canada's claim to that area of land. Your words are written here in your papers, and it is certain that they will make impressions upon my fellow members here.

But there is the fact that Governments change, and Ministers of Indian Affairs change. What John Amagoalik said about this earlier is true. It seems that they are waiting, and waiting for you to die off, so that this issue will be no more. That is what they are waiting for. I wanted to say this here.

It may not be possible for us to work on it day by single day, but we will not let it be forgotten. This, my fellow member and I will do. And even if I am not a full member for this committee, the member right next to me will stay abreast of this issue. Now, to get to my

question. When the Inuit were moved, either to Grise Fiord or to Resolute Bay, was there any heat or heating of any sort in their houses? And, how did these people buy tea, coffee, flour, and that sort of thing? Also, what did these Inuit do, what were their preoccupations once they were there? What kind of work was there for the people, both at Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay? And, because it seems clear that they were sent there to work at something, did they get paid in money for whatever work they did? If so, how much were they paid? And, why do the people not take this up with the Department of Indian Affairs? Is it because the amount of money you are seeking as compensation is so high? Or is it because the Department has no regard or belittles your claim, because there are so few of you? What is it? These are the questions I had. I'm sorry I am restricted to five minutes, I can say more about it. Thank you.

• 2045

**The Chairman:** Thank you. That was perfectly timed for five minutes' worth of questions, and perhaps there are several people who would like to respond to those questions, please.

**Ms Flaherty:** *[Witness speaks in native language]*. I will respond to only part of the question. The other parts can be answered by these people. You just asked how our houses were heated, what we had for tea and other foods. There were already people there when we went there in 1955. Nobody lived in what you would call a house, and I clearly remember that they brewed a sort of vegetation, because they had no tea.

Also, my parents built a *qarmaq* (sod, stone and wood shelter), but it went up in flames. I was minding the place at the time, and I had to rush out all my younger siblings to save them. Perhaps Samwillie can answer the part about how food was scarce.

**Mr. Elisasialuk:** *[Witness speaks in native language]*. I do remember this very well. Everything was scarce then. The Government issued money to buy store goods, with a so called budget of \$5,000. This was used to get all necessary food and clothing. But flour ran out around March or April.

And they would do without flour for all that time until the ship came again that season. We lived entirely on seal meat. This despite the fact that we were entitled to go to a place with a supposedly plentiful food supply. This was false.

Then there was the question of housing. They had no housing at all. I mentioned earlier about living in a tent during winter. The sand spewed haze, with the bitter cold renewing itself. I also want to answer a question stated earlier.

I said earlier that we were never paid for work that we did for

the police. You also asked how we lived. Our one and only source of income was from foxes we caught by hunting in the winter. Since there was no merchandise to spend what little we earned on, we could have as much as \$200 all year and make it enough to provide what little food there was to buy. There being practically nothing to buy, it was like we were camped in some outpost somewhere. We were always hungry.

Whatever little money we had stayed put, because there was nothing to buy. It was like we seemed always to be on the hunt. Then also they were never paid even when they did work. We were hungry all year round. We did not have flour. This was especially depressing, because we had been sent to a land of plenty. Thank you for having the chance to say this. There was no fuel oil either. None. I remember we built a stove out of discarded drums, and since there was no wood, we burned seal oil and rags. We tried to heat ourselves this way. That was the way we were. It was extremely cold, 40 below, and dark. That is how we were treated when we went there. We were literally dumped to a bare and empty place. We were landed to a place with nothing other than our tent to live out of. It was harrowing to be placed there at first to a place with no vegetation. Thank you.

• 2050

**Mr. Patsauq:** To further relate what happened to us when we were placed at Resolute Bay in 1953 there was absolutely no houses and no material to build houses with. We were put in a place that was empty, just as if we were camped out in our original land. We had to live in tents. We had to build igloos when it was winter. We used *qulliqs* (soap stone lamps) for heating, just as we had done in Inukjuak. We never had any wooden houses; for many years. Then my father and others collected scraps of discarded wood dumped by the *Qallunaat* (white people), and tried to build houses. They built the houses, but there was no stove, no light, no heating. They heated these houses with *qulliqs* and candles, nothing else. That was the way we were. We left our land with nothing and arrived to a land with nothing.

**The Chairman:** Sarah Amagoalik, you wanted to speak next.

**Ms Amagoalik:** [*Witness speaks in native language*]. I can add further to what he has just said. We were landed on a bare shore, I said earlier. There was no other place possible. It started snowing just as we went about pitching our tents. The autumn had already arrived, it was bitterly cold, and already freezing. There was not much water. We could not fetch water from anywhere. We had to melt ice for water, and this was an entirely new burden. Then when winter came, we had to settle into igloos. We moved into them as we were

already accustomed to doing so, when it was winter. Then when spring came, we gathered wood scraps from the dump, the dump of the *Qallunaat*. We gathered this scraps all winter and spring. There was lots of wood at the dump, and they transported what they collected by dogteam. Then when summer came around, they started to build houses from the wood from the dump. Thus, they collected scraps. There was not much to insulate these houses with. They even insulated them with cloth rags. So they went about building these scraps from the dump, and even made them attractive. So when we got these houses, they were actually one room shacks with no other rooms. We had stoves, old drum stoves that we made ourselves. There was also a lot of coal discarded at the dump. So we went there to scrounge coal that we would use in our home made stoves. There was no other light. Old coal was our only source of heat all winter. After another winter went by, we were allowed one small light.

That was the way we were when we started building houses there in Resolute, our land. I wanted to add this to what was being said. I will say more if others make further comments. Thank you.

• 2055

**The Chairman:** Andrew Iqaluk.

**Mr. Iqaluk:** *[Witness speaks in native language]*. I would like to return for a minute to the Japanese how they were treated and how they were done justice to. If they can be thought of as examples or comparisons, I know that where they were has a very short winter if in fact they have any at all. They have trees, lakes and likely they have birds. They have trees that they could use to provide themselves with heat. They had easy access to water supplies. That was how they were.

Over where we were, they had to find salt-free ice for their water, from sources in the salt water. In our home made shacks which cannot really be called houses as such, the pails of water in our houses froze, and the frozen, expanded ice caused its container to stretch and expand, and formed rounded humps on its bottoms. This was in a place where people were sleeping.

I cannot compare ourselves with them (the Japanese). We went through harsh scarce times. Whereas they were in a summery climate, and suffered much less than we did. Then they were compensated for these experiences. We, on the other hand, have suffered a great deal. Thank you.

**The Chairman:** Thank you very much. The last questioner is Mr. Skelly.

**Mr. Skelly:** Mr. Chairman, I wonder if you would entertain a motion

at this point. I set this proposal out for consideration. It would read:

- That this committee report to the House of Commons the recommendation that the government acknowledge the role played by the Inuit people of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in the protection of Canadian sovereignty in the north.
- That the government issue an apology for wrongdoings carried out against the people of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay.
- That the government compensate the Inuit of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay for their service to Canada and for the wrongdoings inflicted upon them.

• 2100

If the committee is in a position to put that motion forward, I do not think it particularly threatens the government or anyone else. It would be an apology on behalf of the Canadian people. This government did not inflict those wrongdoings and we are certainly not the perpetrators. But it is basically the government's role, as representatives of the people of Canada, to convey sincere regret that these incidents took place and recognition of service to Canada in the form of protection of Canadian sovereignty and to attempt to provide some justice through compensation for what happened.

I do not think this motion severely binds the committee. There would certainly have to be some consideration of the exact wording and of the mechanism with which the motion would be delivered to the House by way of report.

I certainly feel such an action would be very worthwhile for this committee and would encourage the government to take a step forward to begin investigation and dialogue that could lead to the government carrying out these activities on behalf of Canadians. I would move that motion if the opportunity existed.

**The Chairman:** I believe we have discussion.

**Ms Blondin:** My own motion refers specifically to the three points made by Mr. Amagoalik and probably contains the same content.

I move that we, as a committee, recommend to the Government of Canada that it recognize the contribution of the High Arctic exiles, the Inuit of Grise Fiord and Inoucdjouac, in maintaining Canada's sovereignty, in an official statement by the Prime Minister and in a plaque or a monument to so designate this contribution in that locale, and that Canada formally extend an apology to the High Arctic exiles for their forcible relocation, expressing regret for their treatment in such a manner.

This motion is carefully worded to recognize wrongdoing by government *and* the contributions by Inuit of Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord. The formal apology (eventually given in 2010) also reflects this nuance.

Note the slight difference between Skelly's proposed motion (protection of sovereignty) and Blondin's (maintenance of sovereignty).

My last motion will deal with compensation, but I did not finish it. It has basically the same content.

**The Chairman:** Is there any discussion?

**Mr. Horner:** I might not object to the motion, but I do not like the word "forcible." We have evidence from one group that they were moved, but there is no evidence that they were forced to move. I am not sure there was any evidence that they were coerced. They may have been intimidated. They may have been promised certain things, which is, I suppose, coercion, but I am not sure that "forcible" is the correct term.

**Mr. Anawak:** I do not think it really matters what word is used. The point is still that these people were moved against their will to a place that was totally foreign to them and that there has to be some recognition of that fact.

**Mr. Horner:** I am not arguing that point. I am arguing the term "forcible."

**Mr. Skelly:** The objective we should try to achieve is a strong recommendation from the committee that the government pursue this step. The motion I have put forward recognizes that, at any level that is appropriate.

Even division of families was an element of wrongdoing. People who were shipped with active tuberculosis was wrongdoing. We recognize that the government itself did not commit that wrong, but rather the urgencies of a long time ago. If we were to pass a motion such as this, the committee would have to apply the proper wording for the feeling it wants to convey and to meet the objectives it would want to achieve from the House. Passing this motion would not be the be-all and the end-all of the issue, but we would have recognized the need to move forward.

With respect to the wrongdoing that has been charged, I do not think the government's apology would deal with some of the serious charges that have been made in this case.

**Mr. Horner:** No.

**Mr. Skelly:** Those can be dealt with separately. But we would recommend as a group that the government pursue this matter by: (a) extending an apology; (b) providing recognition; and (c) beginning the process of examining compensation.

**Mr. Horner:** Which motion are you now dealing with?

• 2105

**The Chairman:** I think we could perhaps deal with something like this and then work together on specific recommendations to the

The discussion regarding coercion in the relocation is examined in detail in Inuit, government, and academic testimony to the RCAP.

House. The gist of what we want to do is encompassed in these three, is it not?

**Mr. Horner:** Absolutely.

**Mr. Koury:** Yes, that would be okay.

**The Chairman:** Is that all right?

**Ms Blondin:** It basically meets all of the points that I was trying to scribble out in my motion. I do not think it will not meet the approval of all of the members here because it addresses the three recommendations that Mr. Amagoalik made.

What I wanted to say was that perhaps it might be an oversight on our part since we have the people here. They might want to speak to the motion that was proposed. I do not know whether that is in order or not.

**The Chairman:** It has not actually been moved yet. It has been proposed and it has been discussed.

**Mr. Anawak:** I would also caution on rushing a motion through. We should take a little more time. Maybe we could come up with a properly worded motion that would clearly address the concerns.

**Mr. Koury:** I agree with you.

**Mr. Skelly:** Mr. Chairman, I think it is imperative the committee take action in a formal way. If this motion were seconded and then passed and then a subsequent motion referred it to a subsequent meeting of the committee for amendment and developing the idea, at least that would mean that we have taken a formal action here, which we all believe should be taken.

There is a need to polish any second motion and to include what is required.

We could take the formal action and then there could be a motion to refer it to the next meeting of the committee. That would allow the steering committee to chew it around and come back with recommendations as well. I appreciate what you are saying about not hurrying it.

**Mr. Anawak:** Do we have to have an initial motion then? I am asking for direction. Do we need the initial motion or do we give notice of motion, that a motion will be drafted at the next meeting?

**Mr. Horner:** All right.

**Mr. Skelly:** I could live with that.

**The Chairman:** Is that all right?

The role of the SCAA is to examine and enquire into all matters referred to them by the House and is empowered to study and report on all matters relating to the mandate, management and operation of the DIAND. (Government of Canada, "Standing Orders (1990)," 108 and 109) The SCAA is empowered therefore to present a report of its findings to Government, which includes a proposed course of action and evidence to support that action. Upon request of the committee, the Government is required to act upon the report and table a comprehensive response. Mr. Skelly and Ms. Blondin's proposed course of action here is to adopt a motion outlining the committees' proposed course of action and to begin the process of tabling a report and requesting the Government response.



**Mr. Skelly:** The understanding would be that the draft that would follow—

**The Chairman:** The gist of which would deal with the three items that were mentioned in Mr. Skelly's draft proposed motion earlier mentioned. Is that agreeable to all members? I see all members nodding. Are most members nodding and agreeing with that?

**Ms Blondin:** Can I just make a comment?

**The Chairman:** Yes, Ms Blondin.

**Ms Blondin:** I think for the benefit of the intervenors that we have here that perhaps we should stress the fact that in giving recognition to the contribution the High Arctic exiles made to the maintenance of Canada's sovereignty in the High Arctic it should be done in a very formal way.

You are not dealing with thousands of people. You are dealing with a small group. This should be done in a way that gives recognition in a formal ceremony or in a rather official capacity, so that it does give official recognition of their contribution, be that in terms of a plaque or a monument in that location, or individual certificates or individual — I do not know what they could be — from the Governor General or from whoever — a designated official. I think it is really important it not just be a press release.

**The Chairman:** Right. I hear you, yes. Mr. Anawak.

**Mr. Anawak:** I realize that the questioning was sort of over, but I think what we should also do now is acknowledge Zebedee Nun-gak, who is one of the very key players in this whole exercise, and perhaps, Mr. Chairman, you could just sort of take that moment to—

**The Chairman:** Sure. Before I do that, and I appreciate that, can I just read out the gist of what it is that we have agreed to do so it is clear for everybody?

• 2110

The committee agrees that it will, through the steering committee, prepare a motion stating in effect that the committee will report to the House of Commons and it will make recommendations that say, in effect, the following three things: first, it recommends that the government acknowledge the role played by the Inuit people of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in the protection of Canadian sovereignty in the north; secondly, that the government issue an apology for wrongdoings carried out against the people of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay; and thirdly, that the government compensate the Inuit of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay for their service to Canada and for the wrongdoing inflicted upon them.

I think that catches the gist of all we have spoken of.

**Mr. Skelly:** And that is accepted as an undertaking by the committee?

**The Chairman:** That is accepted as an undertaking by the committee.

Mr. Zebedee Nungak, we welcome you to the committee. We are sorry you were not able to make it earlier. Perhaps you have a few things you would like to say. I am sure you do. Unfortunately, we have been going for three hours now and all members have asked questions. But we are fortunate to have you join us. I welcome your participation at this point and thank you for joining us.

**Mr. Zebedee Nungak (Vice-President, Makivik Corporation, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada):** Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Are you in fact Mr. Hughes?

**The Chairman:** I am Mr. Hughes, yes.

**Mr. Nungak:** It is good to put a face to an anonymous official I have been begging for months to let this happen. I appreciate the chance for whatever happened to have happened. I do not want to take up too much time.

The issue you dealt with tonight . . . I am sure the people who have spoken on their own behalf have done so in a manner that would make me proud. I have been dealing with them for many years, trying to get the attention of the government. But I would like to point out that the issue before you has been mentioned in passing in so many other articles – for example, the April 1955 and June 1988 issues of *National Geographic* and the December 1987 issue of *Equinox*. I do not want to bore you with the other publications in which this issue has cropped up now and then.

I would like to quote a short passage from *Equinox* magazine, which carried an article by the Kidluksuuk Expedition, an expedition of Inuit and Katladlit Canadian people who went by dog team from Igloolik to High Arctic Greenland. There is an account of the whole trip, but I want to read a very small section which I think is very revealing of the issue before you today.

The Inuit team members were temporarily shocked out of their fatigue, however, to be greeted by people speaking a Quebec dialect of Inuktitut.

This was in Grise Fiord.

As we soon learned, though, in a tale that ranks with the World War II internment of Japanese Canadians as a blemish on our reputation as a humanitarian nation, there was a good reason. In the early 1950s the federal government, for a variety of reasons, decided it should establish

Zebedee Nungak was a strong political advocate of Inuit rights, beginning in the 1970s and was involved in negotiating the JBNQA. As vice-president of Makivik Corporation from 1988-1995, he championed the issue of High Arctic Relocation compensation.

a resident population on Ellesmere Island. Accordingly, several families from Port Harrison, Quebec, and Pond Inlet were uprooted and moved to a site near that of today's Grise Fiord. The elders, particularly those from Port Harrison, still speak of the difficulties of their first winter, abandoned on a strange shore with only tents, covered with donated buffalo skins as shelter.

Those were donated buffalo skins from the federal government. That was the extent of the benevolence of the federal government at the time it did this experiment.

• 2115

That is my own comment. I go back to quote:

It was colder and darker than anything they had known. Many of them despaired of ever making it through their first endless Arctic night.

I am sure the people who have spoken before me tonight have impressed upon you the depth of the experience that these people have had. I myself have been affected in an indirect way by this whole experience, but this is a story about them, not about me.

Mr. Chairman, I have practically begged you for many months to hold this hearing. The hearing took place, and tonight we want to walk away from here assured that the issue is going to be dealt with and that the responsible minister of government and the people who are responsible for the redress that these people deserve will be put on notice that there are outstanding unfinished pieces of business.

A nice letter to me by the previous Minister of Indian Affairs, Pierre Cadieux, asking me to please go away because we have already been given this, this and that is not adequate. The new minister and a new commitment by the government should be made to address this issue.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I apologize for my late coming into the thing; this is what happens when the weather plays tricks on our neatly laid plans. Thank you very much.

**The Chairman:** Thank you very much, Mr. Nungak. I think we all appreciate the problems that the weather plays on tricks with our travel plans.

I would like to say, just to respond to a couple of your points, that this committee can report to the House of Commons and make specific recommendations to the House of Commons on things that a government should do. That is our strength, and our strength is also in giving the opportunity here for you to air your circumstances so that more Canadians can understand your own experience. I think we are part of the way there already. This committee has made a

commitment to word specific recommendations to the House and to report to the House on the representations we have heard here tonight. We give you that commitment, and we fully intend to.

I would like to thank our guests here tonight. You have travelled a very long way, and some of you have waited a very long time for this opportunity. I am pleased that this committee agreed, as an all-party group, to hear you and to give you the opportunity to speak so that we could deal with this very unhappy page in a difficult chapter in Canadian history. We will do what we can as a committee to help redress that. Thank you all very much for coming tonight.

The meeting is adjourned.

**Standing Committee on Aboriginal  
Affairs, June 18, 1990**

HOUSE OF COMMONS

**Issue No. 40**

Monday, June 18, 1990

**Chairman:** Ken Hughes

Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Standing Committee on  
**ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS**

RESPECTING:

In accordance with its mandate under Standing Order 108(2), a study on literacy

RESPECTING:

Follow-up on Grise Fiord Issue

INCLUDING:

Third Report to the House (on Grise Fiord)

WITNESSES:

(See back cover)

Second Session of the Thirty-fourth Parliament, 1989-90

STANDING COMMITTEE ON ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS

Chairman: Ken Hughes

Vice-Chairman: Allan Koury

Members

Ethel Blondin

Gabriel Desjardins

Wilton Littlechild

Robert Nault

Robert E. Skelly

Stanley Wilbee— (8)

(Quorum 5)

Martine Bresson

Clerk of the Committee

(Government of Canada, "Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 34th Parliament Second Session vol. 3 no. 33-42," 1990, *Library of Parliament*, Queen's Printer of Canada)

## MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

MONDAY, JUNE 18, 1990

(57)

[Text] The Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs met at 7:30 o'clock p.m. this day in Room 112-N, Centre Block, the Chairman Ken Hughes, presiding.

*Members of the Committee present:* Ken Hughes, Allan Koury, Wilton Littlechild, Robert Nault, Robert Skelly and Stan Wilbee.

*In attendance: From the Library of Parliament, Research Branch:* Teresa Nahanee, Research Officer.

*Witnesses: From the Nation Aboriginal Network on Disability:* Johanne Francis; James Smoky Thomkins, Vice-Chairman; Charles Brooks, Technical Advisor from Secretary of State. *From the Native Council of Canada:* Martin Dunn, Constitutional Co-ordinator. *Individual:* Bob Pilot, Retired R.C.M.P. Officer.

In accordance with its mandate under Standing Order 108(2), a study on Literacy.

Ray Skelly moved that the Committee adopt the following recommendation:

- That the Government acknowledge the role played by the Inuit people who were relocated to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in the protection of Canadian sovereignty in the North;
- That the Government issue an apology for the wrongdoings carried out against the people of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay;
- That the said apology be carried out in an official ceremony of due solemnity and respect;
- That the said apology be accompanied by some form of official recognition of the contribution of the Inuit of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay to Canadian sovereignty — for example by the erection of an historic monument or marker and by the issuing of certificates recognizing this important and valuable contribution, to those relocatees still living or if deceased, their surviving family;
- That the Government consider compensation to the Inuit of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay for their service to Canada and for the wrongdoings that have been inflicted upon them.

After debate, the question being put on the motion it was agreed to on division.

It was agreed, — That the Chairman present the recommendation to the House as its Third Report.

It was agreed, — That pursuant to Standing Order 109 the Committee request a comprehensive response from the Government.

It was agreed, — That the document submitted by the Makivik Corporation Inuit Tapirisat of Canada be printed as an appendix to this day's *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*. (See Appendix "ABOR-9")

At 11:16 o'clock p.m., the Committee adjourned to the call of the Chair.

Roger Préfontaine  
*Committee Clerk*

Although the motion to write a motion was agreed to unanimously, the motion to report to the house was agreed to on division (a split vote).



[Text]

## EVIDENCE

[Recorded by Electronic Apparatus]

Monday, June 18, 1990

• 2131

A discussion on literacy took place from 1927 to 2130

**The Chairman (Ken Hughes):** Order, please. We are now considering a different issue, following up on the question of Grise Fiord. I welcome Mr. Bob Pilot to the meeting this evening.

I would like to advise colleagues that we have circulated, and they should have received earlier, copies of a letter from the Deputy Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada regarding the testimony we heard on March 19. There is also a letter from Norman Inkster, Commissioner of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, in which he says they are carrying out an investigation, but until that investigation is completed he will not appear or make a presentation to the committee. The letter from the Deputy Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs constitutes the response from the department on that. We have the response from the RCMP. The only other individual or organization that requested an opportunity to appear before the committee was Mr. Pilot, and he will explain why in the course of his discussions.

For the information of colleagues, I have also circulated a text of a draft motion. One was Mr. Ray Skelly's original motion, and there is also an additional draft text prepared by the research staff as a result of our steering committee. We will discuss that at the end of the meeting.

At this point, I would like to thank Mr. Pilot for contacting us. We look forward to his presentation.

**Mr. Robert Pilot (Former Deputy Commissioner of the Northwest Territories):** Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee. It has been a long day for all of you and for myself. I will try to be brief but at the same time provide as much information as I can to your committee.

First I should perhaps tell you a little bit about myself, just to bring my comments into some perspective. My name is Robert Pilot. I am retired from the public service of the Northwest Territories, having spent 36 years of service in the north. I was a member of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police from 1952 to 1965, serving in such northern detachments as Frobisher Bay, now known as Iqaluit, Craig Harbour, Grise Fiord, Pond Inlet in the eastern Arctic, and Fort Providence in the western Arctic.

In 1965 I left the force to join the federal Department of Northern Affairs as a northern administrator, and after a nine-month orien-

Bob Pilot was RCMP Constable stationed throughout the Arctic, including Craig Harbour (1955-1960). In 1965 he joined the Department of Northern Affairs as an administrator, and in 1969 joined the Government of the Northwest Territories, becoming Deputy Minister of Federal-Provincial Relations for the Government of the Northwest Territories in 1986

tation course here in Ottawa my family and I moved to Broughton Island in the eastern Arctic to assist in the development of local government and to introduce the new housing program that was being established by the federal government. In 1968 I transferred to Pond Inlet in the same capacity.

• 2135

In 1969 I was promoted to assistant regional director, Fort Smith, with the Government of the Northwest Territories; in 1971 promoted to regional director, Baffin region, and lived in Frobisher Bay until 1975, at which time I was promoted to director of the executive offices in Yellowknife; appointed deputy commissioner of the Northwest Territories, 1979 to 1984; 1984 to 1986, deputy minister and principal adviser to the elected executive committee of the Northwest Territories; and in 1986 I moved to Ottawa as deputy minister, federal-provincial relations for the Northwest Territories, and retired in 1988.

However, more relevant to this committee is that period of my career as a member of the RCMP in the eastern Arctic, and in particular at Grise Fiord. I will go into a little detail, if I may, Mr. Chairman, just to give the committee a full idea of my career.

As I mentioned earlier, I joined the RCMP in 1952, and after training in Vancouver and Regina I was posted to Ottawa for a short period of time, and then assigned to Frobisher Bay on summer duties before being transferred to Calgary, Alberta. In 1954 I was again transferred to Iqaluit, or Frobisher Bay, this time as the second man on the attachment, with a corporal in charge. Iqaluit was a United States Air Force base, with 50 to 60 personnel in population, both military and civilian. The majority of the Inuit lived in small camps surrounding the bay, with six or eight families living near the base where the men were employed.

Besides routine police duties on the base, the RCMP were responsible for the medical and social well-being of the Inuit in the area, which gave an opportunity to start learning Inuktitut and the customs of the people. It also provided me with an opportunity to travel by dog sled, and I made several long patrols around the bay to Inuit communities and also travelled to the community of Lake Harbour on the south coast of Baffin, and north to Pangnirtung.

In 1955 I was transferred to Craig Harbour, a detachment on the southeast coast of Ellesmere Island. To travel to Craig Harbour was via a government hospital supply ship called the *CCGS C.D. Howe*. I boarded the ship at Coral Harbour, Southampton Island in the Hudson Bay, in mid-July and arrived at Craig Harbour early September. Also on board was an Inuit family from Inukjuak, Port Harrison, Joseph E. Flaherty and his family, one of whom was Martha, who

was about four or five years of age at the time. And I understand that Martha also had an opportunity to appear before this committee.

Craig Harbour was a two-man detachment with a corporal in charge. There were two Inuit families living at the detachment site, an RCMP special constable, Kaiak, who was from Pond Inlet, and Tomassee, who was from Port Harrison, who looked after the trading post. The remaining seven Inuit families lived on Lindstrom Peninsula, 60 miles west of the detachment on Ellesmere Island. The corporal in charge of the detachment was a man by the name of Glen Sargent, who had extensive northern experience. He came north with Superintendent Henry Larsen on the famous RCMP schooner *St. Roch* in the mid-1940s, and later was in charge of detachments on Herschel Island and Spence Bay in the Western Arctic before coming to Craig Harbour in 1953, at the same time as the Inuit from Port Harrison and Pond Inlet were being moved in.

I was told by Glen that the main reason for building a detachment at Craig Harbour in 1922 had been to establish Canadian sovereignty over the Arctic islands. However, since the Inuit had moved to the area, sovereignty became a secondary concern and providing assistance to the Inuit was the main purpose.

• 2140

Like Frobisher Bay, the RCMP were responsible for the medical care and welfare of the Inuit. However, unlike Frobisher Bay, there was no air strip, no military medics to give assistance in the event of an emergency, and no telephones.

After the ship departed, we were isolated and would not see anyone from the south until ship time the following year, unless we travelled to Resolute Bay by dog team, a distance of approximately 300 miles, which we usually did each spring.

Because the RCMP had a large boat, the only boat in the area, a great deal of time was spent with the Inuit men during September and October assisting them with their hunt for walrus and whale, which were required for dog food during the winter months. During the winter, the Inuit men would travel to Craig Harbour about once a month to trade, and because it was a long two-day trip they usually came by themselves. We seldom saw the women and children unless they were sick, and then we would travel to the camp to provide whatever assistance we could.

During my first winter at Craig Harbour, I spent two months living at Lindstrom Peninsula with an Inuit family by the name of Ukpauliapik, trying to learn the Inuktitut language and their customs and trying to learn to drive a dog team.

By the spring of 1956, it was decided that Craig Harbour would be closed and a new detachment built at Grise Fiord, about 12 kilome-

Kaiak (sometimes Kayak) and Thomassie. The Special Constables were Inuit hired by the RCMP predominantly to act as guides, interpreters and cultural mediators. Often the families would live alongside the RCMP Detachment sites.

Sovereignty concerns in 1922 were largely based on interpretations of international law and principles of effective occupation. Several events during the intervening years, including the 1931 Eastern Greenland case decided by the Permanent Court of International Justice (PCIJ) and changes in United States foreign policy toward the Canadian Arctic during the Second World War, altered perceptions of sovereignty concerns. It is important to recognize that interpretation of international law and international norms and relationships are constantly evolving. As such, the concerns of 1922 cannot be transitively applied to 1953.

Akpaliapik family from Mittimatalik.

tres from Lindstrom Peninsula. Many of the Inuit men were hired, and the old buildings at Craig Harbour were dismantled and transported to the new site by dog sled, where a new trading post or store and warehouse were built. The ship arrived in late August of 1956 and stayed for two days while the Inuit received medical attention and materials for three new buildings, plus the annual supplies of trade goods, and the RCMP supplies were offloaded from the ship.

All of the Inuit men were employed to assist in the building of the new detachment, which was an office and living quarters, a warehouse, and a house for the special constable. All buildings were closed in by early October, and we again assisted the Inuit men in their annual walrus hunt.

Like Craig Harbour, there were only two families living at Grise Fiord: Special Constable Kaiak and his family, and Joseph E., the man who came up on board the ship in 1955 when I arrived, and his family. Tomassee had decided to move back to the camp on Lindstrom Peninsula to be closer to his relatives and more company for his wife. A small wooden house had been built at Grise Fiord for Joseph E. and his family.

That year the RCMP — or at least the corporal and I — invited all the Inuit to join us at the new detachment for Christmas service and dinner, which became an annual event during the three years I was at Grise Fiord.

During my time at Grise, I spent a lot of time travelling by boat and dog sled. On average, I spent three to four months away from the detachment, with the longest single patrol from Grise Fiord to Resolute Bay, back to Grise Fiord, north to Alexandra Fiord, a detachment on the east coast of Ellesmere Island, across Kane Basin to Unartuk in Greenland, back to Ellesmere Island, south to Devon Island and across the ice cap in an attempt to reach the old detachment at Dundas Harbour, and then back to Grise Fiord. We — that is, the special constable and the employed civilian, Ukpaulipik — driving three dog teams, were away two months and travelled well over 1,000 miles. Patrols such as this were considered regular police routine and did not vary much. Survival occupied much of our time, the same as it did with the Inuit, and patrolling took up most of the rest. There was always plenty of game in the Grise Fiord area — such as seals, walrus, whale, and polar bear — and I never saw anyone in want or hungry.

The RCMP assisted Tomassee at the trading post by keeping financial records for each of the families, and, after consultation with Tomassee and the Inuit men, the preparation of requisitions for supplies, which were sent to the Department of Northern Affairs.

Craig Harbour, the original site of the RCMP Detachment is located on the north shore of Jones Sound, along the southeastern edge of Ellesmere Island. The community of Grise Fiord is located 55km northwest, across the bay. The second Craig Harbour Detachment site was much closer to Grise Fiord. The names Grise Fiord and Craig Harbour are often used interchangeably to describe this cluster of locations along the southeastern coast of Ellesmere Island.

There were times when supplies in the store did run short, and I mean items such as sugar, tea or flour, the basic staples. This usually happened just before ship time, so the RCMP would lend whatever supplies they could to the store and have them returned after ship time.

Personally, I have only pleasant memories of my years at Craig Harbour and Grise Fiord. The Inuit were my teacher, my guide, and my friend. Without their support and assistance and companionship, I would not have survived some of the situations I found myself in when travelling by dog team and by boat.

That briefly tells a little of my experiences and what it was like. I hope I explained what it was like in those areas some 30 years ago.

I now would like to talk about the question of promises and the purpose for the Inuit being at Grise Fiord. First and foremost, there was never any doubt in my mind and in the mind of Glen Sargent that the Inuit had been made a promise that should they wish to return to Port Harrison or Inukjuak the government would take them back.

During my term as regional director in Baffin and later as the deputy commissioner, I attempted to have the federal government recognize this commitment. This goes back as far as 1973, when several families from Grise Fiord asked for financial assistance to return to their homeland. But I was always informed that the government had made no such promise.

We all know that the government finally accepted their responsibility and commitment in 1988, almost 15 years after the Inuit had first expressed a desire to return home and after being away from their home for almost 35 years.

On the question of sovereignty, it is a well recorded fact that in 1920 Canada's title to the Arctic islands was by no means secure, since much of the land had been neither discovered nor occupied by Canada, only claimed. As a result, nothing more than gestures of sovereignty were made until a foreign country showed interest in our Arctic islands.

According to J.B. Harkin's papers, which I have reviewed — Harkin was the commissioner of Dominion Parks in the Department of the Interior and was the civil servant primarily concerned with Arctic sovereignty in that period of time — at a meeting of experts in the north at which people like Stefansson were included, it was decided that Canada ought to assert its authority over Ellesmere Island for two reasons. First, "The islands might be worth something." An analogy of Alaska was a suggestion, but most important consideration was sentimental.

I quote again, "Ellesmere and the other northern islands have

The 1931 Eastern Greenland Case made Canada's title much more secure, as evidenced by the 1950 report by Vincent C. MacDonald. For the full report, see Kikkert and Lackenbauer (2014). For further reading, see Cavell (2008).

J.B. Harkin was not involved in the High Arctic Relocations and left the public service in 1936. Though it is possible that some of his thinking about Arctic sovereignty persisted, it is notable that none of the key bureaucrats within DRD in the early-1950s would have worked with Harkin.

always been regarded in Canada as Canadian and there doubtless would be a strong sentiment against their being taken possession of by a foreign flag.”

How was sovereignty to be established? According to Harkin it was suggested that a number of Inuit families be moved from Fullerton on the west coast of Hudson’s Bay, where food was failing, to Ellesmere Island where a couple of police constables could help them establish and at the same time protect the musk ox from Greenland hunters.

There was a two-year delay before the first detachment was established at Craig Harbour on Ellesmere Island in 1922, and for some unknown reason Canadian Inuit were not moved at that time. However, the RCMP hired Inuit from Etoch, Greenland, to act as their guides.

By the late 1940s, Greenland Inuit were no longer employed by the RCMP and Inuit from the Pond Inlet area were hired as special constables and moved to detachments on Ellesmere Island and Devon Island. Over the years the purpose for these detachments never changed: to show the flag and to mean sovereignty over the Arctic islands.

However, I believe that the suggestion of the 1920s that Inuit families be moved to establish a permanent settlement still remained in the minds of some civil servants. Perhaps the poor hunting and over-population in and around Port Harrison in the late 1940s and early 1950s helped to revive that idea, and perhaps poor hunting and over-population were the primary reason for the move. However, in saying that, I also believe that the secondary motive for having them move was for sovereignty.

-2150

If I or any RCMP member was there to show the flag and to establish sovereignty, and we were there on a two or three-year assignment, then the Inuit who were living and hunting in the area on a permanent basis were also there to maintain and establish sovereignty.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, although I have not read the transcript of statements made before this committee in the past, I do understand through newspaper reports that an allegation was made of sexual abuse and trading of food for sex by the RCMP. I would like to go on record as saying I never heard of such a thing happening during my time at Craig Harbour or Grise Fiord. Obviously I cannot speak for those who were there before me, nor can I speak for those who followed, but it certainly did not happen during my time.

I firmly believe Canada has an obligation to follow up on a commitment made by the Hon. Bill McKnight in March of 1988 when he

It is possible that this thinking remained within the civil service, though it is notable that the key figures within DRD joined the civil service in the late-1940s and early-1950s.

Pilot’s suggestion is logical, but does not account for the nuances of sovereignty, including how and by whom it can be established. For further reading on sovereignty, see Smith (2014).

agreed to provide historical recognition of Grise Fiord's and Resolute Bay's contribution to Canadian sovereignty.

These are my words. Mr. Chairman, I do not work for the Inuit Tapirisat. I do not work for or am not representing the RCMP. I am only representing Bob Pilot, because I was stationed at Grise Fiord, and when I read the newspaper article I was quite taken aback. I felt that having been stationed in Grise Fiord, I should at least place my comments on record. I will reiterate that at no time during my period of time there did I hear of such an allegation.

Following my time at Grise Fiord I served in Pond Inlet, as I mentioned. Then I returned as a senior federal and territorial representative in Baffin Island, and during that time I assisted many of the Inuit at Grise Fiord to return to Port Harrison, failing the federal government's failure to live up to their commitment. But during that time, and as the Inuit themselves became more familiar with the justice system and had the ability to speak out, at no time did they speak out to me that there had been an abuse of the Inuit women at Grise Fiord by the RCMP.

I would like to thank you for the opportunity to be here, and I am certainly prepared to answer any questions if I can be of any help to you or your committee members.

**The Chairman:** Thank you very much, Mr. Pilot.

**Mr. Nault (Kenora—Rainy River):** Thank you, Mr. Pilot, for coming. Could you tell us what year you were in Grise Fiord?

**Mr. Pilot:** I went to Craig Harbour in 1955. The Inuit people from Port Harrison were already there living at Lindstrom Peninsula. I stayed there until 1959 and left Grise Fiord in the spring of 1960.

**Mr. Nault:** Mr. Chairman, we have just received this letter that was sent to us by the Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs. I have been trying to read it over as quickly as possible. I am interested in Mr. Pilot's comments in a few of these areas, one of which I am not quite sure of, Mr. Chairman, and I would like to be fair before I make this statement. Is this the department's policy or their response to the accusations that were made by the people that particular day when we had them in front of the committee?

• 2155

**The Chairman:** I thought this had been circulated by the clerk.

**Mr. Nault:** It is the first time I have seen it.

**The Chairman:** It has been circulated, and it is my understanding that this is the department's response.

Robert Nault was Member of Parliament for Kenora-Rainy River from 1988 to 2004 and a member of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs from April 1989 to May 1991

**Mr. Nault:** I would like to know about this particular situation on page 4. It relates to the allegation of the prime reason for relocation of the people to the Arctic. It basically states that the report that makes the claim is based on the Coolican task force report.

This report was prepared 30 years after the event for the then minister by a non-governmental task force. It is not a statement of government policy.

Your statements basically suggest that it was always a well-known fact that individuals you dealt with in the Inuit communities felt very strongly that this was the main reason they were there. Mr. Pilot, how can this statement be made in this letter, on one hand, and an individual who was there from 1955 to 1959 basically contradict it completely?

**Mr. Pilot:** Mr. Chairman, I have not read the report or the letter that is referred to, and I imagine that would be the official government stand on this situation. As far back as I can remember in my dealings with the federal government, we could never get them to budge on the statement that the Inuit were there for any sovereignty purposes. However, a press release from the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs in 1988 stated that the Hon. Bill McKnight did indeed recognize the importance of the Inuit people being at Grise Fiord and at Resolute Bay. That press release was dated March 28, 1988, and it said:

A letter from Northern Affairs Minister, Bill McKnight to Makivik stated the move was made to establish Canadian sovereignty in the north. It is the first time the government has officially admitted what the true intent was.

It goes on to say:

McKnight has agreed to provide historical recognition of the two communities' contribution to Canadian sovereignty.

I am basing my statement on my historical background, having lived there and talked to people that were involved in the move in the early days, and then on a more recent statement made by the then Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs.

**Mr. Skelly (North Island—Powell River):** I have a point of order, Mr. Chairman. In the appendices there is apparently documentation by John Munro that in 1983 he stated that they were there for sovereignty purposes, and then Bill McKnight in 1987 stated they were there for sovereignty purposes, and tonight Mr. Pilot sort of confirms that they are there for sovereignty purposes. Nobody here is challenging that, are they, on the basis that what two ministers have already said and what we are hearing tonight again confirms that?

The "Living Treaties: Lasting Agreements: Report of the Task Force to Review Comprehensive Claims Policy" (December 1985), often referred to as the Coolican Report (1986), is referenced in the Annexes of the Makivik written submission. The Report, generally, recommended that the federal government adopt a new approach to Indigenous land claims and self-government. See Coolican (1985).

Robert Skelly was Member of Parliament for Comox-Alberni from 1988-1993. He was a member of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs from April 1989 to September 1993 and was the New Democratic Party's critic on Indian Affairs and Northern Development from 1989 to 1993.



**Mr. Nault:** I am, because the fact is that Harry Swain says it is not a fact. I am having difficulty understanding why we would get one statement from the deputy minister, basically saying it is not a policy of the Department of Indian Affairs, and on the other hand we get statements by ministers in the past that it is. Mr. Chairman, I guess we will have to have Harry Swain come forward and tell us what is going on in the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs if that is the case. I would just like to get some clarification from somebody about whether the people Mr. Pilot was dealing with felt that was their main purpose. Then we will go to the second stage of trying to get somebody in the department. There just seems to be a large contradiction here.

Harry Swain was Deputy Minister of DIAND from 1987 to 1992.

• 2200

**The Chairman:** Perhaps we could draw our own conclusions from the material we have in front of us tonight, and deal with the question at this meeting.

**Mr. Nault:** I was there on that particular night, and I think those who were there were taken a little aback by some of the witnesses' statements. Basically, to take you back to that night, some of the things that were talked about were sexual favours. Some of the other aspects talked about included starvation, having to go to the local garbage dump to survive, which was something that took us aback. But now we are told and your submission is basically that everything was good and well, and people were well fed and were happy.

Why would these people come in front of us and say that it was a very harsh and difficult life, and that they were in fact barely surviving as a people? I am looking for some input on those types of statements that were made and that were quite shocking to us all. I think we just found it hard to believe in the sense that this was going on in our country. Was that in essence not the case?

**Mr. Pilot:** No, it was quite shocking to myself. I cannot speak again for why such statements were made, and again it could have happened before my time, which I had never heard of, and it could have happened after my time. What I want to speak to is that it did not happen during my time.

Unfortunately, I did not get into the archives today. I went in and did some research a few days ago. We were obliged to submit reports annually to the RCMP for two purposes. One was called "Conditions Amongst the Eskimo", in which we summarized the year with the Inuit people, their health, the economic situation, the game situation, etc. The other report was called "Game Conditions" in the area.

I submitted reports for three years based on my discussions with the Inuit men on how they were doing and how much game there

These are documents that are internal to RCMP "G" Division, some of which are available/accessible, but others are not as many RCMP files remain restricted. See S. Grant (2016).

was in the area. I also took my information from the amount of furs that were traded at the store. That information would have been quite helpful to you here tonight if I had been able to retrieve it in time from the archives, because it tells how many seal skins were traded, how many bear skins were traded, how many walrus were shot, etc. It would have given an indicator as to how the people were faring as far as native or off-the-land foods were concerned.

You have to cast your mind back to the 1950s. We are not talking about the 1990s, where you have satellite stations and life fairly comfortable in these northern communities. Life was primitive. Life was harsh. There is no doubt about it. They were living at Lindstrom Peninsula in sod huts. We were living at Craig Harbour and Grise Fiord in wooden houses, and fairly comfortable.

The people were living an extremely primitive way of life, but they came from that way of life. That was nothing out of the norm. They came from Port Harrison, where they lived and were nomadic and lived on the land, lived in tents and lived in igloos and sod huts or whatever was available to them. Wooden houses had not been introduced to the Inuit people until the 1960s.

So indeed the memory of the young people of Grise Fiord, and of Resolute Bay I think more particularly, was probably very, very harsh. I do not think they had the amenities they would have had at Port Harrison had they stayed there, because there was a large Hudson's Bay trading post and there was also another trading post by the name of Baffin Island or Baffin Land Trading. So the people had access to a better variety of foods.

We at Grise Fiord and at Craig Harbour were limited to what the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs of the day would ship to us. We would send out the requisitions on the basis of what the consumption was in the community, and what we got was what the department of the day thought we needed. I make that as an accurate fact. For example, the men would work very hard at saving their money to buy a boat, a canoe. Back in 1955 or 1956 a canoe cost perhaps \$700. They would save and skrimp [*sic*] to get enough money to tell me they had enough money in their savings account, so I should order a canoe. We maintained the accounts for the people. They would be quite excited waiting for the ship to arrive, and when the ship arrived there would be no canoe onboard. You can imagine the disappointment. It was because somebody down in the organization had wondered if the people really needed a canoe, or could they afford a canoe.

-2205

The people in Grise Fiord were fairly well off. I was looking at a report that was done for the ITC, Inuit Tapirisat, a number of years

ago, which outlined the amount of money that was in each of the Inuit men's accounts during 1956. It said they all had around \$300 of credit. In 1956, \$300 was a fair amount of money. I was getting a dollar a day in the RCMP for being in the north. So they had money, and, in casting your mind back to the era, they had a fairly good income. As I say, wildlife was good and they were good hunters. They may have been poor providers and considered poor people in Port Harrison — and the people from Pond Inlet were sent to Grise Fiord to help them and guide them in their transition from living in an area in Hudson Bay to an area of isolation and long dark periods and no vegetation and mountains — but the Inuit from Port Harrison adapted very quickly and in so doing they became excellent hunters and providers.

Just to answer your question, no, I never saw the people hungry. We were responsible for providing welfare. We had the opportunity and we had the mechanism within the detachment, which had been given to us by the federal government, to give welfare to the people if they needed it, but at no time during my period did the people come and ask for welfare.

**Mr. Skelly:** Do you basically agree that sovereignty was an issue for moving those folk from northern Quebec into the two communities?

**Mr. Pilot:** It is an assumption on my part, yes. If the RCMP were there to what we call maintain a flag station . . . I talked to many senior members of the force who had been stationed in the High Arctic back in the 1930s and 1940s, before I went north, and they all said to me that the purpose of places like Grise Fiord — well, at that time there was not a Grise Fiord — of Craig Harbour, Dundas Harbour, and Bache Peninsula was for sovereignty. We were called flag stations. The RCMP were to put up the flag to show the sovereignty over the Arctic Islands because both Denmark and Norway back at the turn of the century had indicated that they had an interest in claiming those islands for their country.

**Mr. Skelly:** So you were there basically, if I understand this correctly, from 1955 to the spring of 1959?

**Mr. Pilot:** I am getting a little old and my memory gets fuzzy, but I think it was the spring of 1960. I was asked to remain an extra few months to build some houses for the Inuit people at Lindstrom Peninsula.

**Mr. Skelly:** Are you aware that the RCMP G Division in Yellowknife is presently conducting an investigation into the allegations that were made on the meeting of March 19?

**Mr. Pilot:** I heard it tonight.

**Mr. Skelly:** So you are not playing any role in this investigation, or they have not had any discussions with you?

**Mr. Pilot:** No, they have not contacted me.

**Mr. Skelly:** How many RCMP officers were at the station during the period you were at Grise Fiord? It would have been 1955 to 1960.

**Mr. Pilot:** I can go back to when the detachment was reopened or when the people from Port Harrison and from Pond Inlet came in 1953 to Craig Harbour and then eventually down to Lindstrom Peninsula. At that time there were two members, Glen Sargent, the corporal in charge, who had many years of northern experience, and a man by the name of Cley Freyer. When Cley Freyer left in 1954, a man by the name of Gallagher joined Corporal Sargent at the detachment. Constable Gallagher left in 1955, and I arrived in 1955. Corporal Sargent stayed until 1958. I took over the detachment in 1958, and it became a two-man detachment with a man by the name of Keuhn and a man by the name of Donohue.

• 2210

I was to be in charge of the detachment for only one year but was asked to stay on for a short period of time because we were introducing housing for the Inuit people. Some material had been sent in on the ship in 1959 to build some wooden houses on Lindstrom Peninsula.

There is always an amusing side to every one of these stories. Material was sent in to build six or seven houses, called a rigid frame house, which had a strange angle to it. When the Inuit saw the plans, they thought it was ridiculous — the houses were only about eight feet high — and suggested that the walls be straightened out and that the door, which was only about this high, be made a regular-sized door to enter to the house. By doing so we managed to get an extra house out of the materials that were sent in.

After I left the north in 1960, I was asked to appear before probably the same or a similar type of committee to tell about the building of houses in Grise Fiord, and I explained to them how silly the rigid frame had been and that we had managed to get an extra house. That prompted applause from the gallery.

**Mr. Skelly:** In 1953, when the Inuit first arrived there, you would not be in a position to testify about the conditions. You had not been involved in any of the negotiations at Inukjuak and you had not travelled with them or you had not been there when they landed until, I guess, two years after. So the conditions they talked about — the first winter with no fuel and living in tents and things like that — would not have been part of your direct information; that during the period of adjustment there definitely had been some problems.

One of the things mentioned in the testimony by one of the Inuit was that when they were removed from Inukjuak one of the members of the community had tuberculosis and that by the time they had finished everyone who had moved there had tuberculosis. There was no medicine and no medical treatment. Do you have any experience or information about that?

**Mr. Pilot:** The only Inuit who had tuberculosis when I was at Craig Harbour and Grise Fiord was a man by the name of Larry, and he had been medically evacuated on the ship to Montreal for treatment. In 1958, an elderly woman by the name of Muckpino, who was a Pond Inlet Inuit lady, was identified as having tuberculosis, but that family was moving back to Pond Inlet. I do not believe she was taken out. Because of her age she was left at Pond Inlet.

**Mr. Skelly:** This is testimony from Marqoosie Patsuak, and he says:

In Resolute Bay, the first group to be moved in 1953 were over 30 in number. Each and every member of that group became infected with the disease, because at the time of the move there was one among them who had tuberculosis. This one infected person infected everybody else in the group, and all of us suffered from this disease. There was no medicine, no medical personnel there at all.

He goes on to explain what a difficulty that was.

**Mr. Pilot:** You are talking about Resolute Bay. There were two different situations here.

• 2215

**Mr. Skelly:** Yes.

**Mr. Pilot:** In my opinion, the situation at Resolute Bay was undoubtedly more severe than the situation in Grise Fiord. When we travelled, as we did each year from Grise Fiord to Resolute Bay by dog sled, the Inuit people who went with me and guided me across the ice and the islands to get to Resolute Bay were happy to leave Resolute Bay and come back to Grise Fiord. They found Resolute Bay to be extremely depressing, and I believe and I saw that the Inuit people there were living in a poorer environment and conditions than the people at Grise Fiord, albeit that the people in Grise Fiord were still living in sod huts. The people at Resolute Bay had made houses out of packing cases and out of any kind of old lumber they could get their hands on. They were not properly insulated and they were not properly heated, whereas the sod huts, although it may not have been a very hygienic situation to be living in, did provide warmth and shelter and were far superior.

Many a time when I would go to Lindstrom Peninsula to administer to any sick Inuit person, I would stay with the family in their

hut and I found it comfortable. Again, you have to qualify it; it was primitive. It was like stepping back in the pages of time and you have to think of it in that light.

**Mr. Skelly:** Did you speak Inuktitut at the time you were there?

**Mr. Pilot:** I learned Inuktitut, yes, and I could speak it for you this evening, if you wish me to.

**Mr. Skelly:** No, no. The interest I have in this is in terms of RCMP communications with the people they are working with. When you went there in 1955, did you speak the language?

**Mr. Pilot:** I was starting to speak the language. I was starting to learn it in Frobisher Bay. [*Witness continues in Inuktitut*].

**Mr. Skelly:** At what point would you have been fluent enough to communicate effectively with —

**Mr. Pilot:** It took me about three or four years.

**Mr. Skelly:** So, 1955 through to . . . As you left that particular location, you had started to become fluent in it.

**Mr. Pilot:** There was no written language, you have to remember that. You were learning from . . . I had a dictionary given to me that had been written in the 1920s by the Anglican mission, and the language had changed considerably between the 1920s and the 1950s with a lot of little subtleties that were used and the romance of the language had changed. I learned to speak Inuktitut from Kaiak's mother. Her name was Pennipau. She had travelled with Henry Larsen on the *St. Roch* through the Northwest Passage. She travelled back from Tuktoyaktuk with her son by dog sled.

If you can picture this — too bad you do not have a map here — from Herschel Island in the western Arctic, which is the furthest and most extreme westerly detachment before you enter into Alaska, they were let off the *St. Roch* in 1944 and came back to Pond Inlet. It took them three years, travelling by dog sled. Pennipau knew what was important for the RCMP to know. She was about 70 or 80 years of age and she would come to the detachment every night after supper and sit with me and teach me Inuktitut.

It was only when I was travelling with the men years later, when I would get up enough nerve or courage to start speaking to them, and they would chuckle and laugh at me, that I realized I was speaking more like a woman than like a man because they have their different dialects and subtleties. So I had to start concentrating more on speaking to our special constable, Kaiak, and learning all the niceties of the language. I would say by 1958, I was feeling comfortable in speaking Inuktitut fluently.

**Mr. Skelly:** The differences in perception that come up from the presentations of the witnesses are very interesting. The witnesses were literally in tears the night they were here. It was a very moving experience. The testimony had to be interrupted while men and women literally cried at the table, and then went on with the story. Most of them had never been to Ottawa, they had never been in front of a formal committee, and it was a very moving experience for anybody who was here.

One of the things they were talking about was the communication process, and that is why I asked the questions about your learning of Inuktitut and at what point you became fluent enough to work with people in it. They also said they were very apprehensive about both the negotiation process at Inukjuak and then later on in dealing with people in Resolute and in Grise Fiord. It says the white men were authoritative and fearsome, especially policemen. They go on and talk about a reluctance to express their concerns. I am wondering if that as well was perhaps a communication thing.

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You say you did not see them in hunger or in difficult circumstances and you knew of no abuse. But I am wondering to what degree that might have occurred, that simply the communication in many cases was not there. They had a fear of communicating perhaps because the language base was not there. They had to use interpreters, so there was a reluctance to approach them.

**Mr. Pilot:** I had this expressed to me by an Inuit man years later. As a young boy he would go past the RCMP detachment — and this is in Pond Inlet — and look through the window. He said they were like gods in there. They were afraid of the RCMP or any white man. It was “*kabluna*”, the big eyebrows. He said it was only years later that he figured he did not have to be afraid of these people. They were just ordinary people and he could speak out and say what he wished to them.

We did not see them very often at Grise Fiord, there is no doubt about that. They would come, as I say, to the detachment to trade. My memories are happy ones. I have some lovely movies of the Inuit people dancing, square dancing I guess you would call it, in the RCMP detachment at Grise Fiord. They all would come over at Christmas time. We became the focal point of the community. There were only two policemen. Glen Sargent was there for five years and he was highly respected. He spoke Inuktitut fluently.

Although we were in an isolated and remote detachment, Glen was still a disciplinarian and we had detachment routines that we had to follow. It may sound silly when there are only two of you, but

we had a routine we adhered to. Each month we did our reports. We had a radio to maintain, we had rations to issue, we had books to be kept for the trading post.

When the Inuit came in to trade, they always came to the detachment. We had tea and bannock together, and it was there that we would ask them what the hunting conditions were like, how many seals they had got, etc. All of that was recorded in what we called our daily diary. At the detachment it was important to keep a daily record of events.

I know that the young children had a great fear of the white people, of the "*kabluna*". Any time the women and the children came to the detachment at Grise Fiord, the children cowered in the corner. They would not come forward and play. We would ask them to come over, but they would not come to see us because they were afraid of us. The children were afraid, but the adults were not. We had a couple of very aggressive Inuit men from Port Harrison. They certainly were not afraid to express their opinions.

**Mr. Skelly:** In terms of the work, you mentioned the construction of the RCMP detachment buildings and the houses, loading and unloading ships. In their testimony they talk about the first winter when they had to unload the ships and there was no firewood. There was coal for the RCMP office, but when they got to unloading theirs, there was no firewood, etc. Throughout their testimony they describe the kind of work they did for the RCMP. They claim they were not paid in any way for this work. Did the RCMP pay them for work done?

**Mr. Pilot:** During my time at Grise Fiord and at Craig Harbour, any time the Inuit — other than the special constable, of course — were employed to either travel by dog sled and be a guide for us or to help us around the detachment, off-loading the ship and supplies and that, they were paid by voucher. I do not believe it was a great amount of money, but I do not recall any time, and in particular when we built the attachment where all the men were employed for almost a month with us, that meant they could not go out hunting and trapping for a month. They did receive a salary or a wage for that time with us. I remember that very well.

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**Mr. Skelly:** So you actually paid them in vouchers, and records were kept.

**Mr. Pilot:** Money was never used. You can appreciate that. It was always paid in kind.

**Mr. Skelly:** And that was what? Access to the trading post?



**Mr. Pilot:** Yes. They would be credited in the ledger for whatever amount of money. We would have to substantiate, because all of the invoices then would be sent to the RCMP headquarters, G Division, and the money would then have to be transferred to the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs to balance the books, as you could say.

**Mr. Littlechild (Wetaskiwin):** First of all, thank you, Mr. Pilot, for coming in front of the committee with your information. Toward your concluding remarks you made a reference to the fact that the Inuit were also there to exercise sovereignty, but you did not finish the sentence. Were they exercising sovereignty for Canada, or were they exercising Inuit sovereignty?

**Mr. Pilot:** I would speak for Canadian sovereignty. That was my impression. We have to remember that if you go back in archaeological finds on Ellesmere Island you will find that the Inuit did live there at one point in time. We found sites, stone houses, that had been left there perhaps centuries ago when people were travelling during the migration from the Bering Sea to Greenland, so that all the islands at one point in time . . . at least the bottom of Ellesmere Island was indeed established and had been occupied by the earlier generations of Inuit.

But the sovereignty I was referring to is the Canadian sovereignty — number one, I guess, because of the interest of foreign countries in the Arctic islands in the 1920s. Then we also have to look that in the 1950s the United States weather bureau was establishing weather stations across the Arctic islands. I am only assuming — I have never read this, and I have done a lot of research. I have over here a file that must be that thick just on Grise Fiord, because I have always maintained an interest in the history of Grise Fiord.

**The Chairman:** For the purposes of the record, “that thick” is what, six inches?

**Mr. Pilot:** I would say about three inches thick, if not more.

**The Chairman:** Three inches, four inches. Thank you.

**Mr. Pilot:** I knew, because of my request some 15 years ago to the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs to recognize that they, being the Government of Canada, had made a commitment to move those people back if they so wished, for some unknown reason the government always resisted that acknowledgement. They would not acknowledge that a commitment had been made to move them back.

The Inuit always talked to me about if they become disenchanted they would want to go home. And as long as hunting conditions were good, which they were at Grise Fiord up to a certain period of

This system of credits for services rendered and goods sold was not communicated effectively to Inuit. The issues with payment for services and goods are discussed in great detail in the RCAP testimony below.

Wilton Littlechild was Member of Parliament for Wetaskiwin from 1988 to 1993 and a member of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs from April 1989 to May 1991

Mr. Littlechild seems to be referencing the distinction between Inuit self-determination and Canadian authority over Arctic lands.

The development of weather stations across the Arctic, and particularly the United States’ investment in the Canadian Arctic, is an oft-cited concern for Canadian Arctic sovereignty. While there is significant evidence that Canadian officials had concerns about over-representation of the United States in Canadian territory, there was not an acute threat of the United States challenging Canada’s claim to the Arctic islands in the 1950s. For further reading on the Arctic weather stations, see Heidt and Lackenbauer (2022).

time, the people were happy. They had a good income and a good lifestyle. If hunting conditions were poor, then the opposite occurred, and the people became very homesick. It is understandable.

**Mr. Littlechild:** Could you describe the nature of the accounts that were held for the Inuit? You mentioned that some accounts had \$300, which at the time was a lot of money. What was the nature of the account? Would the Inuit request someone to open an account? Would it be a trust account? What was the nature of the account?

**Mr. Pilot:** It was very primitive. I was not an accountant and neither was Glen Sargent. We were given counter slips to record the game or the fur that the Inuit man brought into the store. Tomassee, because he was an Inuk and understood the quality of fur, would appraise and put a value on that fur, which was within a range that we had been told by the Department of Indian Affairs that seal skin or polar bear skins were worth. We would then credit \$50 or \$100 for that skin in a ledger under the name of Ukpauliapik or Sam Willie (Samwillie)

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Akpaliapik is the most common spelling.

We would also record the moneys received for family allowances in that ledger. Again, family allowances were sent in kind. It was just a ledger page sent to us saying that because Ukpauliapik had three children, he had received x number of dollars between September and December, and we would then record that in the ledger. When the man came to buy his produce — he would take a bag of flour or whatever — we would record it on the counter slip and deduct it in the ledger. That was the way we maintained a balance. They were very astute. They knew how much they had, and they would come in and ask to look at the ledger to see where they stood. They would ask us to set up a separate ledger for them if they wished to buy a big item, like a boat, and then we would maintain that ledger for them, telling them they now had \$700 saved towards a boat. There was never any money, never a penny spent, and no money exchanged hands between anyone. It was always in a record book.

**Mr. Littlechild:** Thank you.

**Mr. Nault:** Could you tell me the average price paid to them for a polar bear skin or a seal skin in 1956?

**Mr. Pilot:** I think the polar bear skins were probably selling for around \$50, if my memory serves me right, if it was a good 8- or 10-foot polar bear. Seal skins were maybe \$3 to \$6. They usually got more money for their carvings. The Port Harrison Inuit were exceptionally good carvers.

**Mr. Nault:** In a season, how many polar bears would an Eskimo or Inuit get on average?

Carving and handicrafts was encouraged by the Northwest Territories Council and the DRD as a means of diversifying the Inuit economy away from reliance on white fox fur beginning in 1949/1950.

**Mr. Pilot:** There was no quota system.

**Mr. Nault:** I know, but on average, because of the plentiful game you were talking about, would they get 5 or 10 in a year? How many do you think a fairly good hunter would get?

**Mr. Pilot:** I would say three to five a hunter. I think the store would take in maybe 50 polar bears during a season. The season would be March, April, May.

**Mr. Nault:** I was just curious. Thank you.

**Mr. Pilot:** Our biggest income was from white fox skin, and we would take literally thousands of skins in. After they were graded, they would sell anywhere from \$15 to \$30, depending on the fur market. That was one of the reasons we would travel to Resolute Bay in the spring each year. We would try to get our fox furs to market as soon as possible. We would transport all of the fox furs we had accumulated at that time to Resolute Bay, which took sometimes three or four teams, and ship them out on the RCAF aircraft to Edmonton, Alberta.

**Mr. Nault:** One of the things we did hear about from the people was the change in diet when they moved. It created a large difficulty for them, because they were more accustomed to eating things like caribou. When they moved to the far north, there was no such thing. Could you tell me what their main staple was — their main wild meat diet? You indicated that seal and whale were used to feed the dogs. Does that mean the people did not eat those? I was always under the impression they did.

**Mr. Pilot:** The main diet was seal meat. Then there was whale. They liked whale meat and ate a lot of it, and caribou when we could get it. Caribou were few and far between. It was the Parry caribou, which were about the size of a dog. We would organize hunts with the Inuit people to go out caribou hunting, because it was very difficult to find them, and we would make long excursions by boat into the fiords until we spotted a herd. Then we would shoot perhaps 12 or 15 caribou. I would say seal, rabbit, whale, and in dire conditions they might eat the walrus, but the walrus meat was extremely oily, black and yucky. I never liked it myself.

White fox fur was a key part of the fur trade economy of the Arctic in the 1940s. Declining revenues from white fox, combined with a perceived decrease in overall white fox population in the late 1940s had caused significant concern among the Northwest Territories Council and the DRD, leading to the commissioning of the 1950 *Survey of Economic Conditions among the Eskimos of the Canadian Arctic*. Taking advantage of the abundance of white fox in the High Arctic was considered an opportunity to manage the supply side of the white fox fur trade.

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**Mr. Nault:** What would the average price of a boat have been in those days then? To have it shipped all the way from the south to the north, by the time it got there by ship — and I imagine they had to pay transportation costs, as they all do in the north — what would it cost?

**Mr. Pilot:** If my memory serves me well, it was about \$600 or \$700.

**Mr. Nault:** So would it be fair to say that it would take these people a good two or three years to save enough money to—

**Mr. Pilot:** Sometimes two years, yes — and then be disappointed that it did not arrive—

**Mr. Nault:** Did not show up for two more?

**Mr. Pilot:** Yes.

**Mr. Skelly:** One of the witnesses testified that they were allowed one caribou a year and that there were threats that they would be fined \$5,000 for shooting a musk-ox. Were limits placed on what game they could take?

**Mr. Pilot:** Musk-oxen of course were protected animals, and the people themselves did not hunt the musk-oxen unless they happened to come into the community or into their camp. Each year we managed to have two or three kind of get caught in the camp and they would have to be destroyed. So that provided some fresh musk-ox meat for them. But I do not remember ever threatening them with any fines. The Inuit themselves would come over and say, we are short of food, can we shoot a musk-ox? And, off the record, yes, they went out and shot a musk-ox.

Because the caribou were limited, we would always have an organized hunt. In my three or four years there, I saw only about 50 or 60 caribou at any time. So we would hunt them only during the one or two months of the year when the skin was prime and they could use clothing. We would always take about 10 or 12 caribou, and they were used by the Inuit people themselves for clothing.

**Mr. Skelly:** Inukjuak said that as soon as they left there, their welfare was cut off — I guess that would have been through the Department of Indian Affairs — so that once they went to Grise Fiord and Resolute, they received no more money from the department.

**Mr. Pilot:** As I say, we were responsible for issuing welfare, and I do not believe any welfare was ever issued while I was there. They never requested it; let us put it that way. As I say, game conditions were good at Grise Fiord. I am not a hunter, but I could go out on the ice and shoot a seal, which I was always pretty proud of. If I could do it, imagine what the Inuit themselves could do, because they were exceptionally good hunters and trappers.

**Mr. Skelly:** So basically your story is that these people were in fine shape, with lots of game, other than for primitive conditions, which were acceptable? At that point in time, they had no problems?

**Mr. Pilot:** Yes.

**The Chairman:** In the time you were there. That is what you are speaking of.

**Mr. Pilot:** During my time. I can speak only to my period of time. There is no doubt they had difficulty with diet, because they were land-based people at Port Harrison, living mostly off animals from the land, whereas in Grise Fiord and Pond Inlet and areas like that they lived on animals from the sea because that was where the greatest abundance of animals was.

A few years ago the CBC did a television documentary of Grise Fiord, and it would be worthwhile for the members to see that documentary. They spoke to the elders of Grise Fiord, many of whom have passed away now, and they all explained how difficult they found it when they arrived in Grise Fiord. At Port Harrison it is flat; at Grise Fiord there are mountains. At Port Harrison they had willows they could burn in their little stoves; there are no such things as willow branches and trees in Grise Fiord. So their adaptation to a new way of life was harsh.

Another thing I do not think was ever brought out at the committee but which my records indicate was that they were very poorly outfitted when they arrived at Craig Harbour in 1953. Glen Sargent, who passed away, unfortunately, this year, wrote me a long, very critical letter. I wrote to him, as a matter of fact, about five or six years ago, asking him what his memories were of the people and their move to Grise Fiord and to Resolute Bay and to Craig Harbour. He wrote me a long letter outlining his interpretation of events. What he said, because he was at Craig Harbour when they arrived, was that they were extremely poorly outfitted, poor in clothing, poor in traps, poor in rifles, for example, and the materials they would need to sustain themselves on the land.

It is likely that Pilot is referring to the September 26, 1989 *The Fifth Estate* documentary entitled "High Arctic Exiles".

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You have to remember that if you have to travel only by dog sled you need dogs and you need a sled, and that means you have to have pieces of wood that are three inches thick by about 12 feet long, if not longer, to make your sled out. All of these things had to be taken into consideration and should have been sent with them to establish a new life. According to Glen Sargent, they arrived very poorly outfitted.

**Mr. Skelly:** According to my recollection of your testimony, you said that they went in 1953 and you arrived when — 1955?

**Mr. Pilot:** In 1955, two years later.

**Mr. Skelly:** Two years later, at a point some 70 miles away. And then

you relocated a year or two later?

**Mr. Pilot:** One year later.

**Mr. Skelly:** One year later. That would be 1956. So when you encountered them on a daily basis it was three years after their arrival there.

**Mr. Pilot:** And it was not on a daily basis neither, because they still lived on the land and our detachment was located at what is now known as Grise Fiord. The Inuit did not move from Lindstrom Peninsula to Grise Fiord until 1960-61.

**Mr. Skelly:** What is the distance from Lindstrom Peninsula to Grise Fiord?

**Mr. Pilot:** About 12 miles, I think — 16 kilometres.

**Mr. Skelly:** So there was still irregular contact.

**Mr. Pilot:** They could come over in the morning and go back in the evening, whereas when we lived at Craig Harbour it was a two-day trip. And in the wintertime it was a long, hard trip to come into Craig.

**Mr. Skelly:** So basically that contact was not always there on a regular basis, even when you were at Grise Fiord.

**Mr. Pilot:** No.

**Mr. Nault:** I go back to what Mr. Skelly was saying. If they just moved and it was only three years, are you saying that they adapted that quickly, that all of a sudden they went from a more land hunting, traditional way of life, which is a completely different way to hunt than on the ice, I am sure. I am pretty good in the bush with trees, but you put me out there on the tundra and I would be lost, I am sure. Are you saying then that they adapted very quickly and that they were capable, good hunters, after just three years of being there?

**Mr. Pilot:** Definitely. I have no difficulty saying that at all. Purely survival, do not forget. And you learn very quickly if you are in that position. You are 60 miles away from Craig Harbour, the only source of food and supplies and coal oil and naphtha gas and ammunition, and you have to get out there and hustle.

Glen Sargent wrote to me and he said the people out distanced the Pond Inlet Inuit after the first year. They out-hustled them, they out-hunted them, they had more furs and they had more seals than the Pond Inlet people, and the Pond Inlet people, the *Matelimiut*, were people from and living off the sea. I have always admired the Port Harrisons and held them in high esteem for their ability to adapt,

and the way they did adapt, and the way they looked after themselves when they were at Grise Fiord.

**The Chairman:** Mr. Pilot, just for the record, I wonder if you could reconfirm something we started into at the beginning of the conversation, and that is why it was that you asked to appear before us. I just want to confirm on the record that you are here as an independent individual, that you have not been contacted either by government agencies or by representatives of the Inuit people or the Inuit people themselves, to prompt you to appear here. Can you just give us that assurance?

**Mr. Pilot:** Yes, that is exactly right. Mr. Chairman, one morning several weeks ago, or perhaps a month ago now, I was reading *The Ottawa Citizen* and came across an article saying "Inuit abused by RCMP—MPs." I read it through. It was at breakfast, and I sort of chuckled and I said to my wife that it was quite amusing; I could not believe people were saying that. But then after reflecting on it, I said it is not amusing at all, because they have not mentioned any names, and Bob Pilot was living and working at Grise Fiord at that time, and historians are going to say that dirty rotter was sexually abusing the Inuit women and keeping food from them. Based on that I called your office, Mr. Chairman, as I felt I should make representation, for the record, for my personal satisfaction.

• 2245

Over the years, after living in the north for 30-some years, I became good friends with John Amagoalik. I know Martha Flaherty extremely well. I bounced her on my knee when she was a kid. Her family lived in Grise Fiord. In 1956 we moved to Grise Fiord and lived there. I know the people, and I was shocked by this statement. Since that came out in the paper I got lots of phone calls from academics wanting to study Grise Fiord and wanting to know what my sexual habits were. So I felt I should really go on record.

I said to one young man, I think from Cambridge University, who came to Ottawa to study the sovereignty and relocation problem, that I do not think it ever entered my mind. It was not that I was celibate or anything like that, but I do not think we were obsessed with sex back in the 1950s. And that is a true statement.

I think the Inuit themselves may have got caught up in this whole situation that we hear in the press almost every day about abuse in schools, abuse of children, and abuse of boys in different areas, and thought that perhaps this was a time to express a concern that something may have happened to them, which I am unaware of, and that they should express themselves.

I felt that I should express myself that I have no guilt. I stand here

This is a reference to Alan Marcus, who completed his Master's thesis on the High Arctic Relocations in 1990.

before you, or sit here before you, to say that I did not participate in nor did I ever threaten the Inuit. I considered them my friends. The Inuit saved my life on several occasions, and I have always held them in high esteem because of that.

**The Chairman:** One other point. I see that you are sporting an Order of Canada pin, and I wonder if you could tell us when you were awarded this.

**Mr. Pilot:** I was awarded that in 1987. According to the citation that was read at Government House, it was for my service to the people of the Northwest Territories.

**The Chairman:** Thank you.

**Mr. Skelly:** I know Mr. Pilot has not read the testimony. Even Martha Flaherty's testimony is pretty specific. She says:

I also want to tell about how women were abused sexually. I will not name any one person to blame for this. I was only a small child at the time, but I know which people were used for this purpose. These people did not have food, and they would only be given food after being used for sexual purposes. I will also say later about garbage and how we lived off the garbage of the police. My mother is yet still alive, and I am determined to fight for this issue while she lives. But I want to make it clear that I will carry on with this even if she dies.

The testimony was consistent. It was very emotional. I would certainly recommend that you read the testimony. If you do not have a copy, there are copies at the table.

**The Chairman:** He has just received a copy.

**Mr. Skelly:** It is certainly a very, very different perception of life in that area. And of course it may have occurred, as you point out, that you were not there during the entire period. There may have been some particularly bad instances.

**Mr. Pilot:** I personally think they should name names; if they have any information it should be put on the record. I do not think you can make accusations by innuendo and by almost threats, saying "if anyone disputes our word we will name names." As I said earlier, I have nothing to hide.

I am pleased to support the Inuit in their sovereignty claim. I have always been a supporter of them in their claim that a promise had been made that the government would pay for them to return to Inukjuak, if they so desired. As I said earlier, I could never for the life of me understand why the federal government dragged its heels for 15 years and then made a promise that, yes, sovereignty was an issue and they should be recognized for it, and then flip-flop on that. I can understand the frustration of the Inuit people.



• 2250

**The Chairman:** Mr. Pilot, on behalf of all members of the committee, I would like to thank you very much for taking the initiative to contact us and for your testimony here this evening.

**Mr. Pilot:** You are welcome.

**The Chairman:** Colleagues, there is a draft motion, and I would entertain discussion on that draft motion or entertain somebody moving the motion if that is the desire of the committee.

**Mr. Skelly:** In order to promote the discussion, Mr. Chairman, I would move that the draft motion be adopted.

**The Chairman:** This is based on the instructions of the subcommittee of March 26. The motion is that the committee recommend to the House that the government acknowledge the role played by the Inuit people who were relocated to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in the protection of Canadian sovereignty in the north; that the government issue an apology for the wrongdoings carried out against the people of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay; that the said apology be carried out in an official ceremony of due solemnity and respect; that the said apology be accompanied by some form of official recognition of the contribution of the Inuit of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay to Canadian sovereignty, for example by the erection of an historic monument or marker and by the issuing of certificates recognizing this important and valuable contribution to those relocatees still living or, if deceased, their surviving family; that the government consider compensation to the Inuit of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay for their service to Canada and for the wrongdoings that have been inflicted upon them. That having been moved by Mr. Skelly, is there discussion?

**Mr. Littlechild:** Yes, Mr. Chairman, on the fourth part. Unfortunately, I was not at the hearings. Was the Inuit sovereignty ever in question in the debate?

**The Chairman:** There seems to be some debate, at least in some quarters, as to whether or not this was a sovereignty question.

**Mr. Littlechild:** Although it may appear to be contradictory, I am wondering if we can put "Canadian and Inuit sovereignty" in the third line of that paragraph.

**The Chairman:** Do you mean where it says that the said apology be accompanied by some form of official recognition of the contribution of the Inuit at Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay to Inuit and Canadian sovereignty?

**Mr. Littlechild:** Yes, or “Canadian and Inuit”, either one.

**The Chairman:** Is that an acceptable amendment? Are you moving this as an amendment?

**Mr. Littlechild:** Yes.

**Mr. Wilbee (Delta):** I would think that the whole resolution is a little bit premature. I think we have some contradiction here in Mr. Swain’s letter, and there is also the fact that there is an RCMP report being prepared. I think Mr. Pilot mentioned a couple of interesting things. Before we make any decision about what should be done, I think the archives he mentioned, the furs and that type of thing and the CBC documentary should be researched for material for this. I think if you are going to start asking the Canadian government to do this, you need to make sure it is as historically accurate as possible. I think that until at least that much research is completed, it should be tabled, or whatever you choose to do with it.

Stan Wilbee was Member of Parliament for Delta from 1988 to 1993 and was a member of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs from April 1989 to May 1991

**Mr. Nault:** Mr. Chairman, in reading this particular motion, I do not find any difficulty in it. If you read it, there are two areas you can look at. One is the fact that this particular group of people were relocated, and the discussion we are having simply is that either we agree or disagree with the belief that they were moved for the sovereignty issue. My feeling is that everyone seems to think they were moved for that reason, and a few ministers in the past have recognized that.

• 2255

The other area people might take exception to is the fact that it refers to the wrongdoing. You can interpret that in different ways. We have heard today, for example, that moving people from their original homes could be considered to be a wrongful type of attitude for a Canadian government or a wrong way for Canadian people to act. That was a policy of years gone by that we would not tolerate in this day and age.

Secondly, we were told today, for example, that they were moved and they were put on the shores with very little in the way of supplies — for example, dog sleds — which is a wrongdoing itself if you are going to relocate some citizenry and all of a sudden you realize that they are not capable of fending for themselves because of the lack of adaptation and equipment. So in essence, an apology would be a small price to pay for someone looking after our sovereignty needs for all those years.

As for looking at the film, I would say to Mr. Wilbee that I would love to take a look at it. It would be an interesting learning experience for me, but I do not think it changes what this particular motion

says. It is pretty clear that (a) they were there for sovereignty, and (b) there was some sort of wrongdoing. We are not saying it was sexual or anything of that nature, because that is something I am not quite sure we will ever be able to know unless we start getting the RCMP officers who were there at the time to come forward one by one, and I do not think that is what we are here to do.

**Mr. Skelly:** Mr. Chairman, I would point out that this was unanimously agreed to already and that the objective was simply to permit the steering committee to word it in an acceptable manner. So we have already agreed to this.

The second thing is that I would like to call to the attention of the committee that the Inuit of Grise Fiord were not asking us to make a statement about Inuit sovereignty. Their whole basis of a claim for support, some compensation and an apology, was the role they had played in Canadian sovereignty. They had not asked for anything to do with Inuit sovereignty at that point.

I wonder if Mr. Littlechild might consider the implications of extending that motion beyond their immediate request. They simply requested that they be recognized for what they had done for Canadian sovereignty. They had been used for that purpose.

So two points. First of all, it has already been unanimously agreed to; the content in the motion reads almost identically to what we had there, and we had unanimously agreed to it and the steering committee went back just to change the wording. Secondly, this amendment exceeds what the Inuit group themselves wanted. They wanted to be recognized for the role they had played in assisting Canadian sovereignty. There is testimony in the record to that effect.

**The Chairman:** Mr. Littlechild, did you want to respond to that discussion on the proposed amendment?

**Mr. Littlechild:** Yes. If that is the expressed desire of the witnesses, fine — because as I said, I was not here. I just would not want to jeopardize a claim they may have as far as their own Inuit sovereignty is concerned by an implied assumption or acceptance of Canadian sovereignty in something like this. But if that was their expressed desire, I can withdraw that. There is no problem.

**The Chairman:** If I might speak to this, I think this does reflect fairly what their request was, and I do not think our adding or not adding “Inuit” would have any effect, probably, on any other activities they are involved in in terms of claims.

**Mr. Koury (Hochelaga—Maisonneuve):** I fear that with what is in here and our acceptance of this and what Mr. Pilot said tonight, it comes into contradiction. I would like to hear more before I would

Allan Koury was Member of Parliament for Hochelaga-Maisonneuve from 1988-1993 and was vice-chair of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs from April 1989 to May 1991

readopt this motion. Here it is all stated facts and we do not know the other side of the story and that is the situation. I think it is a little premature on our part to go ahead and dump it in. I would recommend that we at least hear a couple more and from there we could make an assessment or a judgment.

• 2300

**Mr. Skelly:** Mr. Chairman, I can understand Mr. Koury's concern except for one thing, that I no longer want to touch this with a ten-foot pole. This is not a court. Mr. Pilot was here without legal counsel. We have no legal counsel of our own to proceed. We should not be looking at matters of wrongdoing. That is the subject of an RCMP investigation and we are not dealing with that. Even the Inuit said we do not want to proceed with that. That is part of the record. The RCMP have done the correct thing by becoming involved in it. But they said, and what Mr. Pilot did agree with was the matter of sovereignty, saying it was clearly there. He said they wanted to go home and the government made a promise and commitment that they only agreed to later. In the testimony here it says from the point they left Inukjuak to the point three years later when Mr. Pilot arrived, there were some very rough times. He does not dispute that in any way. He just simply says that from his experience while he was there, it was different only in Grise Fiord. He said that Resolute was a very tough place.

Now, as we go from this, if we pass this motion, it then becomes the responsibility of the government to twice in the annexes here by letter and report acknowledge the sovereignty issue. It is already acknowledged by McKnight and Munro. They also acknowledge very much later the movement back of these people, acknowledge much later the promise that they could go home. And then the question of the hardship and the whole method by which it came about is a subject of negotiation between the Inuit and the government. I do not think that we as a committee have to look at that any longer. We certainly do not want to fool around with the question around doing it. They made that charge in front of this committee. That is in the G Division of the RCMP and that is right where it ought to be. The business of the government negotiation with the Inuit on exactly what happened there, they have all the records and the logs and they are the ones who should be sitting down with them. Sovereignty is acknowledged. The promise to return if they wanted to was acknowledged and the definite hardship, even Mr. Pilot tonight acknowledged that. So if we pass this resolution the government will be under some pressure to begin some discussions.

**Mr. Koury:** If we pass it tonight, or in 15 days from now, or in two

months from now, if there is a responsibility on the part of the government you can be sure that I will pass it eventually. But as it stands now, I think there are too many, as we say, objections, because they differ a little bit from our witness tonight and what we have heard. I was very sympathetic, I still am, providing there is the whole truth because now we are accepting something in totality while we hear something only partially. That is my reasoning on this, because I cannot accept and I cannot vote for it. I will vote against it. I do not care if you all vote for it.

**Mr. Wilbee:** I think Mr. Swain's letter says these records indicate quite simply that there was no malice or wrongdoing by departmental offices in the relocation project. Yet the thing here says that the government issue an apology for the wrongdoings carried out against the people. I think certainly the least you have to do is see what Mr. Swain's comments are. All of us, as Canadians, have had some kind of disagreement with government over the years and feel that we have been hard done by under government rules and regulations. I certainly cannot, as I say, vote for this recommendation tonight.

**The Chairman:** Can I just clarify that point? Mr. Littlechild, you are next on the list to speak. Both the Department of Indian Affairs and the RCMP were specifically contacted by the clerk of the committee asking them if they would like to appear before the committee, and these are the responses we received back from them. I think that they have had their full opportunity to appear, to explain their story in as complete a manner as they wish. As a result, I am not sure that if we were to offer the opportunity Mr. Swain would even take it up.

• 2305

**Mr. Skelly:** On a point of order, Mr. Swain already did take it up in the Industry, Science, and Technology, Regional and Northern Development Committee. He was questioned in that committee about this matter, and since he was no way supporting or rejecting it, he said it is just archival records that extend away back with no one able to testify to their veracity.

**The Chairman:** That is right. Do you have a text there, and can you read his exact response to the question?

**Mr. Skelly:** While you are continuing the debate I will pull out the relevant quotes.

**Mr. Littlechild:** I have a question with respect to timing. Were we not under some time element here to get the report into the House before we adjourn?

Harry Swain testified before the Industry, Science, and Technology, Regional and Northern Development committee on May 24, 1990.

**The Chairman:** We are only under a self-imposed time restraint, but having heard from the witnesses back in March, having given full notice to anybody who was interested that we would hear them if they wanted to be heard, having heard only from Mr. Pilot, and having received written responses from the RCMP and the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, and having canvassed those organizations, I think we have probably come to the point where we have given fair time to everybody who was interested to respond.

To everybody who was available, who is still alive, who has memories that they want to bring to bear on this issue, I think we have provided a fair and full opportunity for all who might want to appear before the committee. Other members of the committee may have other perspectives on that.

**Mr. Nault:** Mr. Chairman, I do not understand what the reluctance is of certain members, because if you look at it in its simplest form the fact is that there was some wrongdoing, and the fact is that we moved people from their true home for sovereignty reasons. And the fact is they were not paid for that. They were stuck up there — go have a good time hunting and surviving. They spent all their time surviving, which is what Mr. Pilot said. And in essence they were augmenting a police force, showing that there was a presence of the Canadian flag, so to speak.

I am just suggesting that all this says is that relocating a group of people for that purpose is wrong, and I do not see any reason why we cannot just say that. That is what this says, and I do not think we are saying there was anything any more hidden than that.

I know the testimony is very explicit and gets into detail, but I do not think this motion talks to that. I think Mr. Skelly is correct. I am not prepared anyway as a member to start getting involved in the more detailed aspects of their testimony by bringing in other individuals, because if we do that I have to bring in my own lawyer.

**Mr. Wilbee:** They are saying that the major reason for moving them was sovereignty, yet this other report says that the major reason for moving them was the fact that they were running out of food where they were. They were becoming over-populated and the basic motivation was the assurance of food supplies and somewhat enhanced employment opportunities.

Then there seems to have been some effort to anticipate and avoid the inevitable problems of relocation. We have heard testimony tonight that it was not adequate, but to imply that their motivation for moving these people was strictly Canadian sovereignty is not borne out by other witnesses.

**Mr. Nault:** Mr. Chairman, again I do not mean to argue with our

friend, but if I moved him from Vancouver because it is over-populated, which a lot of people would say, he would not be overly pleased about that.

Secondly, the fact remains that two ministers, one on our side and yours, have said that this is the issue. So whether a bureaucrat happens to disagree with us, I think the two ministers have stated pretty clearly that this is the case. I think anyone who has lived there . . . Mr. Pilot is a perfect example of that: he has always believed that was the reason why. I do not have any difficulty believing him.

• 2310

**Mr. Wilbee:** I do not think he said that.

**Mr. Nault:** Sure he did.

**Mr. Wilbee:** He said that was one of the reasons, but not the reason. The other reasons were the food supply.

**The Chairman:** Colleagues, I do not know that we are going to resolve this issue other than through a vote probably. Mr. Skelly, can you enlighten us on the comments made by the deputy minister before the other standing committee?

**Mr. Skelly:** There is not a lot that can be developed there. They get into a discussion about archival records, and—

**The Chairman:** This is specifically on the issue of the northern exiles?

**Mr. Skelly:** Yes, they were right directly on the archival issues.

**The Chairman:** What date?

**Mr. Skelly:** May 24, 1990, just last month. So in terms of Swain's letter, he sort of makes a comment that he wrote this letter based on the fact that there might have been charges of wrongdoing by his department. Brother Bob was there, and he picks it up and says it is not any wrongdoing against your department. The suggestions of wrongdoing at this point were the sexual abuse by the RCMP and the severe living conditions the Inuit went through.

My understanding of what should transpire is that if the motion goes to the House it becomes a recommendation that the government — they are not compelled to do anything, but that they look at this, that they begin to address the question of what happened, to take a look at the factual information of the Inuit. If it looks like there is a solid base, then move forward and do the right thing; if there is no factual base there is nothing to do. So the government is not compelled by anything. I think this committee would be influential in having them sit down at the table.

**The Chairman:** This motion would become a report to the House, and the government would have to respond within 150 days.

Motion agreed to

**The Chairman:** I will report this to the House at the earliest opportunity, which I presume will be tomorrow.

Unless there is an extensive dissertation you would like to get into, I would like to adjourn the meeting to the call of the Chair.



## **Appendix “ABOR-9”: Annexes to the SCAA, June 18, 1990**

**APPENDIX "ABOR-9"**

SUBMISSION REGARDING  
GRISE FIORDE/RESOLUTE BAY INUIT RELOCATION ISSUE  
TO

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS STANDING COMMITTEE ON  
ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS

March 1990  
MAKIVIK CORPORATION  
INUIT TAPIRISAT OF CANADA

The Appendix "ABOR-9" (included in the Minutes of Proceedings for the June 18, 1990 meetings of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs) contains the written submission from Makivik Corporation dated March 1990. The Appendix "ABOR-6" (included in the Minutes of Proceedings for the March 19, 1990 meetings of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs) contains the Appendices for this written submission. It is unclear why these were separated in the official record.

For clarity, they are produced here in their entirety with the written submission (ABOR-9) followed by the appendices (ABOR-6), rather than attached to the minutes of proceedings. Differences in content or substance are noted throughout.

(Government of Canada, "Annexes to Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 34th Parliament Second Session vol. 2 no. 20-32," 1990, *Library of Parliament*, Queen's Printer of Canada)

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## ANNEXES

Map

## A. BACKGROUND TO ISSUE

During the 1950's, in particular, in the years 1953, 1955 and 1957, a number of Inuit of Inukjuak (Port Harrison), Québec were relocated by the federal government to Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord in the High Arctic. The primary stated purpose by the Government of Canada for this relocation was to reduce the hunting pressure on the resource base of Inukjuak. The High Arctic was said by government to be rich in resources. Additional stated justifications for the relocation were the potential for employment, especially at Resolute Bay as well as the need for a Canadian "presence", especially in Grise Fiord. It should be noted that prior to the 1950's, R.C.M.P. detachments on Ellesmere Island were supported not by Canadian Inuit but by Inuit from Greenland. Canada attempted to facilitate the adaptation of northern Québec Inuit from Inukjuak to the High Arctic by a concurrent relocation of Inuit families from Pond Inlet to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in 1953.

Inukjuak is characteristic of many Arctic communities in that it was originally used by Inuit as a large seasonal village. Later, it became the site of a Hudson Bay Company post that served the outlying villages. Activity slowly increased and new agencies began to establish themselves in Inukjuak. By the early 1960's, it had become a central community site and represented a consolidation of the previously disbursed regional population. Throughout the 1970's, the growth of Inukjuak continued and by the 1980's, this community had become a major centre of the region and of all of northern Québec.

Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord, on the other hand, were not the creations of Inuit community life but instead were artificially created by government. Although the areas which these two communities serve and even the sites themselves have been used by Inuit for centuries, there was not the same development sequence related to Inuit population as there was in Inukjuak and other northern Québec villages. Resolute Bay was formed in 1947 as a meteorological station for a joint Canadian-American expedition known as Arctops. In fact, a different site was intended for this base but bad ice conditions and a late arrival of ships made Resolute Bay the only alternative site.

With respect to Grise Fiord, it was selected as the site of a new community by the federal government and was created in 1953. It was located close to an R.C.M.P. post that served as a source of trade goods. The relocation of northern Québec Inuit families to Grise Fiord enabled the R.C.M.P. detachment to use Canadian Inuit as guides and hunters rather than to have to hire Inuit families from Greenland.

At the time of the relocations in the 1950's, Inuit involved had been told by federal officials that the moves were "experimental"

It is unclear who the authors and researchers were for this report, though it was jointly submitted by ITC and Makivik. Annual Reports from Makivik Corporation suggest the paper was originally written in January 1987 and prepared by Makivik, ITC, and the Kativik Regional Government (KRG), and submitted on January 20, 1987 to DIAND Minister Bill McKnight. See Makivik (1986-1990).

This paper appears to be relatively unchanged from the 1987 version, with the notable exception of Part B, which provides an overview of developments between 1987 and 1990. The original version appears in Annex 5 of the Appendices to this submission (ABOR-6). See "Annex 5" in this volume. For further discussion of Makivik activities, see Hossack (2025).

and that Inuit would be moved back to Inukjuak if they did not like the new conditions in the High Arctic. The relocation process began in July 1953. Seven families were moved to Grise Fiord and four families were moved to Resolute Bay. In 1955, six more families were transported to Resolute Bay by ship and one family was moved to Grise Fiord.

However, as early as 1954, many of the relocated Inuit were asking the federal government to be moved back to Inukjuak. In 1966, several of the original families that had been relocated from Inukjuak to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay requested permission to the federal government to return to Inukjuak but this request, like many others, was ignored and even actively discouraged by Canada. In the late 1970's, two families returned to Inukjuak and another family to the Hudson Bay area, all at their own initiative and at their own expense without any cooperation, understanding or assistance from the federal government. Indeed, until very recently, the federal government has virtually ignored all requests of Inuit in Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord to move back to Inukjuak.

The relocation of Inuit from Inukjuak to the High Arctic was ostensibly based on three primary considerations: the first involved an assumption about the need to move people from areas considered as "resource poor" to those areas thought to be "resource rich" in exploitable natural food resources; second, was the assumption about the need to improve economic conditions by shifting Inuit from areas that did not have a potential for wage labour to those areas which appeared to have such a potential; third, was Canada's post World War II concern with an increased Canadian presence in the High Arctic. The first and second of the above reasons were those used by government to encourage Inuit to relocate.

There is overwhelming evidence to suggest that the central, if not the sole, reason for the relocation of Inuit to the High Arctic was the desire by Canada to assert its sovereignty over the Arctic islands and surrounding area. Indeed, there is little factual evidence to explain why some areas of the Arctic were determined by the government to be "resource poor" and other areas to be "resource rich". In fact, none of the archival data is specific on this point, but it does appear from this material as though the assessment by the government of resource potential in the Arctic was based primarily upon observations set out in the reports submitted to the Federal Department of Resources and Development (Northern Administration and Lands Branch) during the late 1940's and early 1950's.

Moreover, there is no evidence to support the federal government's assumption in the early 1950's of the severe depletion of game resources in the Inukjuak region of Québec. However, it should be

The government's own records indicate that it did not have a good idea of what the game conditions were, as indicated by a memorandum from mammalogist John S. Tener and Chief biologist Victor E.G. Solman of the Wildlife Services Division in 1952. See John S. Tener and Victor E.G. Solman (1952) However, it is likely that this was based primarily upon the "Survey of Economic Conditions Among the Eskimos of the Canadian Arctic" completed by James Cantley in 1950 and on reports made by the annual Eastern Arctic Patrol. See Cantley (1950) and Northwest Territories Council Eastern Arctic Patrol (1949).

noted that in the early 1950's economic and health conditions in the north were bad almost everywhere due mainly to the failure of the government to establish policies or programs to significantly improve either the economic system of the north (fur trading) or the health delivery system. The Inukjuak region was certainly subjected to poor economic and health conditions at the time, but probably no more so than any other areas in the Arctic. Consequently, justification for the relocation to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay based upon poor economic conditions or a poor natural resource base did not hold up under closer scrutiny.

Archival material from the 1950's supports the view that the primary reason of the Government of Canada for moving Inuit from Inukjuak to the High Arctic was to establish Canadian occupation there and confirm Canadian sovereignty. Further, in 1983 Canada confirmed that this relocation of Inuit was undertaken in order to entrench Canadian sovereignty claims to the High Arctic. The former Honourable John Munro, Minister of D.I.A.N.D., presented a discussion paper prepared by Environment Canada entitled "Environment Canada and the North" at the third General Assembly of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference held in Frobisher Bay in July, 1983 (see Annex 1 to the present submission). This federal paper, in discussing the evolution of resource-use policy in Canada's north, provides as follows (page 59):

It is worth noting that before World War II, priority was given to traditional forms of northern occupancy in large areas of the North. However, the prime reasons for this were not entirely due to concern for Native welfare and northern environmental quality. Issues of Canadian sovereignty were the principal concerns. Both the Native people and the environment were used as important elements in formulating strategies to advance Canada's jurisdictional claims in the Arctic.

For example, at the turn of the century. Otto Sverdrup discovered Axel Heiberg and Ellef Ringnes Islands and claimed them for Norway. In response, Canada reasserted her claim to the islands of the High Arctic. To confirm this claim, Canada created a game preserve in the Arctic Islands in 1926, and stated that the hunting grounds of the Arctic should be preserved for the Native Eskimos (Inuit). Various additions were made to the preserve up until 1945, at which time over 1.3 million square kilometres (over one-half a million square miles) were set aside covering all the Arctic Islands and a large part of the rest of the Northwest Territories. *To further entrench the sovereignty claim, the government relocated Inuit people from northern Québec to the Arctic Islands in the mid-1950's.*<sup>1</sup>

Again, in December 1985, D.I.A.N.D. confirmed that Canadian sovereignty was the basis of the Inuit relocation in its Report of the Task Force to Review Comprehensive Claims Policy entitled "Living Treaties: Lasting Agreements". This Report provides at page 60 as

Archival evidence suggests the federal government's DRD and the Northwest Territories Council were aware of the situation and considered ways to address these problems, though did so slowly and ineffectively in the early 1950s. See Clancy (1987), Lackenbauer and Clancy (2019), and Tester and Kulchyski (1994) for further reading.

It is unclear what archival material is being referenced here. Federal government records from the 1950's do not indicate that sovereignty was a primary consideration.

This extract is from Annex E of the Environment Canada Discussion Paper. The entirety of this annex is reproduced in Annex 1 of this submission, appearing in this volume as "Annex 1" in "Appendix "ABOR-6": Annexes to the SCAA, March 19, 1990".

Although this statement is included in the Annex to the discussion paper, there is no citation or other substantiating information provided. The paragraphs in this Annex reference the creation of a game preserve in the Arctic Islands and the protection of wildlife resources as contributing to sovereignty efforts in the 1920s, prior to the discovery of oil and gas/mineral resources following the Second World War, which prompted the development of these resource industries. The paragraphs also do not reference the changing nature of international law and sovereignty developments in the 1930s, following the Eastern Greenland case.

1. Emphasis in submission.

follows in this regard: (see Annex 2 to present submission)

For a number of years Canada has been concerned about possible challenges to its sovereignty in the waters of the Arctic archipelago. The voyage of the American icebreaker *Polar Sea* last summer drew attention to the issue once again. *Thirty years ago, the federal government strengthened Canadian sovereignty by moving several hundred Inuit from northern Québec to Ellesmere and Cornwallis islands in the High Arctic, where they established the communities of Grise Fiord and Resolute.*"<sup>2</sup>

Similarly, in 1985 the Research Branch of D.I.A.N.D. published a report entitled "The Government of Canada and the Inuit, 1900-1967" in which the following statement appears at pages 119-120 in regard to relocations of Inuit in the North during the 1950s.

"The police in particular had been proposing some type of relocation since at least 1950, and believed the High Arctic Islands would have sufficient resources to support one or two communities.<sup>21</sup> It should be noted, too, that the police were anxious to relocate their Craig Harbour post to Cape Sabine and to employ Canadian Inuit as hunters and guides instead of Greenland Eskimos, who had heretofore been used by Ellesmere Island detachments.<sup>21</sup> Government officials admitted they were taking a risk, as no proper resource survey had been done in the Resolute area, but plans and preparations went ahead because all thought it a worthy and noble experiment. Fundamental, also, was the issue of Arctic sovereignty. *"The Canadian Government is anxious to have Canadians occupying as much of the north as possible and it appeared in many cases the Eskimo were the only people capable of doing this"*<sup>22</sup>.<sup>3</sup>

(The last footnote in the above quotation is an excerpt from minutes of a meeting held on August 10, 1953 in Ottawa by the then federal Department of Resources and Development concerning the relocation of Inuit families from northern Québec to Cornwallis and Ellesmere Islands in the High Arctic).

Further, as recent as September 30, 1987 and February 5, 1988, former D.I.A.N.D. Minister, Bill McKnight confirmed in letters to Makivik Corporation (see Annex 3 of this submission) that Canadian sovereignty was the basis for the Inuit relocation of the 1950s.<sup>4</sup>

Since the 1950's, the Inuit involved have made repeated requests to the Government of Canada to be returned to their homes in Inukjuak. Since 1978, Makivik Corporation as well as Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (I.T.C.), at the insistence of their respective memberships as expressed through Annual General Assembly meetings (See Annex 1),<sup>5</sup> have made representations to various D.I.A.N.D. Ministers and Deputy-Ministers concerning the plight of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay Inuit and the need for the Government of Canada to act to rectify its negligent and inhuman treatment of those Inuit it relocated in the 1950's. The more Makivik and I.T.C. called for action by the federal

This extract is taken from "Living Treaties: Lasting Agreements: Report of the Task Force to Review Comprehensive Claims Policy (December 1985)." A longer extract is presented as Annex 2 (ABOR-6).

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## 2. Emphasis in submission.

This description provides a useful picture of the broad concerns and anxieties related to Arctic sovereignty in the 1985 context, including the sailing of the *Polar Sea*. The Coolican Report's emphasis on re-evaluating the Canadian Constitution and altering the approach to Indigenous rights and land claims places the statement that government was "strengthening Canadian sovereignty" in an important context as definitions of sovereignty became increasingly nuanced and complex.

It is also worth noting that this statement exaggerates the size and scope of the High Arctic Relocation project - fewer than one hundred Inuit were moved from Inukjuak and Mittimatalik to Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord in 1953 and 1955 combined. The growth of the communities and their contributions to Canadian sovereignty once established are important considerations when examining the current state of Canadian Arctic sovereignty. The next lines of the extract (found in Annex 2 of ABOR-6) suggest a strengthening of national sovereignty through acceptance of Inuit land claims that further complicates the relationship between historical (1950's) and contemporary (1980's/1990's) government actions that contribute to national sovereignty claims.

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3. The footnotes from this quotation are not included in the submission. Emphasis in submission.

For the minutes of the August 10, 1953 meeting, see Document 50 in S. Grant (2016).

4. Both of these letters to Minister McKnight (here reproduced in Annex 3 of ABOR-6) suggest that Inuit made "contributions to Arctic sovereignty."

5. This reference appears to be an artifact of the original January 1987 position paper submitted to DIAND. Annex 1 here refers to the first appendix of the 1987 position paper, reproduced here as "Annex 5" in "Appendix "ABOR-6": Annexes to the SCAA, March 19, 1990".

government on this issue, the more D.I.A.N.D. made promises of housing and other remedial and compensatory measures for Inuit of Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay but never followed through on any of such commitments. Makivik and I.T.C. repeatedly referred the federal government to the fact that it had made promises to Inuit who had been relocated that if they did not like Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay that they could be returned to their homes of origin in Inukjuak. Because of Makivik and I.T.C. repeated demands for action from D.I.A.N.D., D.I.A.N.D. finally gave a contract to an independent consultant (Mark M. Hammond) and commissioned this consultant to determine whether there had in fact been a promise by the Government of Canada to the relocated Inuit to finance their return to their original homes in Inukjuak and Pond Inlet.

This Report, entitled "Report of Findings on an Alleged Promise of Government to Finance the Return of Inuit at Resolute and Grise Fiord to their Original Homes at Port Harrison (Inukjuak) and Pond Inlet" (D.I.A.N.D. Contract No : 84-099) was submitted to D.I.A.N.D. on August 3, 1984 (see Annex 4 to the present submission). The Report indicated that Inuit who were moved to the High Arctic in the 1950's "quite likely received a promise from government that they could return after two years, if they so desired." The Report emphasized that if such Inuit did not receive a specific promise in this regard, it is clear that they were not discouraged from thinking that they did.

The Report also raises serious doubts as to the "resource richness" of the Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay area in that documents from the 1950's suggest that the Canadian Wildlife Service advised against adding to the number of hunters in the Resolute Bay area and also in the High Arctic until it could conduct systematic faunal surveys to determine what hunting pressure the land and water could in fact sustain.

The Report (at page 1) concludes as follows:

"Briefly my findings are:

1. Pond Inlet Inuit moving in 1953 received such a promise in no uncertain terms;
2. Port Harrison Inuit moving in 1953 quite likely received such a promise, but if they did not, it is clear that they were not discouraged from thinking that they did; and
3. Pond Inlet and Port Harrison Inuit moving in 1955 probably moved with the same understanding as Inuit moving in 1953 . . . Inuit at both Resolute and Grise Fiord were asking government as early as 1956 to facilitate reunion with relatives and friends left behind at Port Harrison and Pond Inlet."

The contents of the Hammond Report are reproduced as "Annex 4" in "Appendix "ABOR-6": Annexes to the SCAA, March 19, 1990". Here, extracts of the conclusions are cited in-text.



Several meetings took place between Makivik, I.T.C. and D.I.A.N.D. Deputy-Ministers since 1982, but until 1988 none of these resulted in any actions by D.I.A.N.D. to rectify the situation of Inuit of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay.

In particular, on February 26, 1985 and again on April 3, 1985, Inuit representatives from Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord along with the Inuit Committee on National Issues (I.C.N.I.) and Makivik, as well as the Mayor of Inukjuak, met with D.I.A.N.D. Minister Crombie to discuss a proposed relocation of Inuit of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay back to Inukjuak. At that time, Inuit concerns were described to the Minister as encompassing three main areas; (1) matters relating to carrying out a complete relocation to Inukjuak financed by the federal government; (2) social disruption which families involved have suffered and continue to suffer and the compensation which Inuit seek as a result; and (3) the contribution the relocated families have made in assisting Canada to assert its sovereignty in the High Arctic and the recognition which should be bestowed by the government to those Inuit involved.

At the April 3, 1985 meeting the then Honourable Minister Crombie confirmed that he was taking action to secure additional housing for Inukjuak in connection with the proposed relocation and that it might be possible to obtain a letter from the Prime Minister giving appropriate recognition to the contribution of Inuit to Canadian sovereignty. Unfortunately no concrete action by the federal government resulted from either of these meetings and consequently, on May 7, 1984, a telex drafted in clear terms calling for federal government to act on the Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay issue was sent to the then D.I.A.N.D. Minister, John Munro; the then Minister of Justice, Mark MacGuigan; the then Commissioner of N.W.T., John H. Parker and the then Minister of Justice for N.W.T., Richard Nerysoo.

On February 12-15, 1986, many of the complaints and demands of Inuit of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay were reviewed in a major meeting in Frobisher Bay between I.T.C., I.C.N.I., Makivik Corporation, the Kativik Regional Government, the Northern Village Corporation of Inukjuak and Inuit representatives of the families affected by the Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay relocations of the 1950's. Aside from the twenty representatives of the concerned communities, present also were Mark R. Gordon, President of Makivik Corporation; Rhoda Inuksuk, President of I.T.C.; Zebedee Nungak, Co-Chairperson of I.C.N.I.; John Amagoalik, Co-Chairperson of I.C.N.I.; Sam Omik, Vice-President of B.R.I.A., and Simeonie Nalaturuk, Chairman of the Kativik Regional Government. This meeting resulted in a telex being sent on February 14, 1986, to the then D.I.A.N.D. Minister, David E. Crombie, the then Minister of Labour, Bill McKnight and the then

David Crombie was Member of Parliament for Rosedale (Toronto) from 1978 to 1988. He was Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development from 1984 to 1988.

The Inuit Committee on National Issues (ICNI) was created by ITC in 1979 to represent Inuit to the federal government on issues related to the constitution and other aspects of federal policy.

Richard Nerysoo was elected to the Northwest Territories Legislature in 1979 and became government leader (Premier) of the territory in 1984.

John Munro was Member of Parliament for Hamilton East from 1962 to 1984 and Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development from March 1980 to April 1984.

Rhoda Innuksuk was the first female president of the ITC from 1985 to 1988.

Québec Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing, André Bourbeau, calling for a minimum of ten (10) new housing units to be built in Inukjuak in the summer of 1986 to alleviate housing shortages caused by those Inuit who have already moved from Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay back to Inukjuak and also for those Inuit currently in the process of relocating. Secondly, the telex indicated that a detailed list of compensatory and other measures all directly related to the Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay relocation issue would be submitted to the Minister of D.I.A.N.D. in the near future for attention and action.

This telex was signed by the leadership of I.C.N.I., I.T.C., the Kativik Regional Government, Makivik Corporation, Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay Inuit, as well as the Vice-President of the Baffin Region Inuit Association (B.R.I.A.) and the Northern Village Corporation of Inukjuak. No immediate action by either government resulted from this telex and no housing units were constructed for Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay Inuit in Inukjuak in either the 1986 or 1987 construction seasons.

As a result, several field trips to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay and meetings with community representatives were undertaken by Makivik during 1986 and 1987 to determine with more precision the concerns and demands of the Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay Inuit in light of the obvious reticence of Canada to act. The results of these trips and meetings resulted in preparation by Makivik, I.T.C., and the Kativik Regional Government (K.R.G.) of a Position Paper dated January 20, 1987 and entitled "Position Paper Regarding Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay Relocation Issue." This Position Paper (see Annex 5 of this Submission) was submitted to the then D.I.A.N.D. Minister Bill McKnight along with a formal request for structured discussions and negotiations between Makivik, I.T.C., K.R.G. and D.I.A.N.D. on all matters raised by the Position Paper.

Briefly, the Position Paper set forth the following minimum remedial and compensatory measures requested at that time by Inuit of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay:

1. Thirteen (13) housing units to be built in Inukjuak;
2. Moving expenses reimbursement for families already relocated to Inukjuak between 1970 and 1985;
3. Personal property losses for families already relocated to Inukjuak between 1970 and 1985 (approximately \$80,000);
4. Heritage Trust Fund of \$10 Million for original families relocated to the High Arctic;
5. Municipal and education infrastructure supplements for Inukjuak;

André Bourbeau was a Member of the National Assembly of Québec from 1981 to 2003 and was Minister of Municipal Affairs, Responsible for Housing from 1985 to 1989.

This paragraph appears as an item in Part B of Annex 5 (ABOR-6), outlining in detail the actions taken in 1986. See "Annex 5".

These compensatory measures are defined in greater detail in Part E of the 1987 Position Paper, here reproduced as "Annex 5" in "Appendix "ABOR-6": Annexes to the SCAA, March 19, 1990".

6. Economic and social assistance supplementary support for Inukjuak;
7. Housing and transportation costs for future moves of Inuit to Inukjuak;
8. Travel costs for yearly visits by aircraft;
9. Official recognition of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay Inuit contribution to Canadian history;
10. Consultation budget request from Makivik (approximately \$100,000);
11. Reimbursement to Makivik of negotiation costs (approximately \$100,000).

Note that this is a request for recognition of contributions to Canadian history, not specifically to Canadian sovereignty.

#### B. DEVELOPMENTS SINCE 1987 CONCERNING GRISE FIORD/RESOLUTE BAY INUIT

Since submission of the above-mentioned January 20, 1987 Position Paper, D.I.A.N.D. undertook by letter dated September 30, 1987 to Makivik (see Annex 6 of the present Submission) to fund construction of ten (10) new housing units in Inukjuak and to reimburse and cover all moving costs of past and current relocations of Inuit from Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay to Inukjuak. Makivik accepted the above D.I.A.N.D. offer by letter to D.I.A.N.D. dated November 11, 1987 (see Annex 7 of the present Submission) but only subject to certain reservations, namely, that the D.I.A.N.D. offer was only "a step forward towards remedying the current situation of Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay Inuit" and that the D.I.A.N.D. offer addresses "only some of the requests made" in the January 20, 1987 Position Paper. More specifically, Makivik clearly stated in its November 11, 1987 letter to D.I.A.N.D.:

Since the measures you outline in your September 30 letter address only some of the requests made to you on January 20, 1987 in the Makivik-I.T.C.-K.R.G. "Position Paper regarding Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay Relocation Issue," we intend to continue discussions with your Department concerning other remedial and compensatory measures outlined in our Position Paper.

Following from the above D.I.A.N.D. offer, D.I.A.N.D. and Makivik executed a Contribution Agreement on March 4, 1988 in the amount of \$200,000: \$50,000 of this amount to reimburse moving expenses of Inuit who relocated at their own expense to Inukjuak between 1970 and 1985; \$150,000 of this amount to defray moving costs of Inuit relocating to Inukjuak during 1988-89. Further, Canada funded construction of ten (10) housing units in Inukjuak in the summer of 1988. As a result, during the summer and fall of 1988, six (6) families

This section is of the original position paper has been completely revised from the 1987 version to reflect the activities conducted during the intervening years.

(approximately thirty-five persons) relocated to Inukjuak from Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay.

More recently, Makivik communicated by letter dated March 23, 1989 with the D.I.A.N.D. Minister Pierre Cadieux concerning the remaining and outstanding remedial and compensatory measures necessary to fairly resolve this issue (see Annex 7 of this Submission). The Makivik letter also specifically requested a meeting with the D.I.A.N.D. Minister in this regard. The D.I.A.N.D. Minister Pierre Cadieux responded to this Makivik request by letter dated May 12, 1989 (see Annex 8 of this Submission) indicating that Canada had fulfilled all its commitments in this regard and that a meeting was not necessary.

Consequently, given the above negative response of the D.I.A.N.D. Minister to what we feel are reasonable requests, Makivik felt it had no alternative but to come before the present Standing Committee to set forth our concerns, our requests and the overall history of this issue.

### C. NATURE OF SUFFERING , INCONVENIENCE, SOCIAL DISRUPTION AND PREJUDICE

The August 3, 1984 Report (Hammond Report) discussed above, contains a number of archival extracts from R.C.M.P. reports and material of the then Federal Department of Resources and Development (Northern Administration and Lands Branch) which only begin to shed some light on the motivations and actions of the federal government at the time of these relocations in the 1950's. This documentation also tends to confirm the complete lack of consultation and information with the Inuit concerned at the time and the purposeful refusal by the federal government to comprehend the fundamental social, economic, physical and psychological changes Inuit from Inukjuak had to undergo in these relocations. Some of the R.C.M.P. reports drawn from the archival material of the 1950's even raises certain social and environmental concerns which might result from the relocations and affect the Inuit but fails to address them in any meaningful way.

For example, concerns were expressed with regard to insufficiency of land-based wildlife in the Resolute Bay area and Grise Fiord area. In addition, some concern was expressed with respect to the unfamiliarity of the environment, in particular, the long periods of darkness on Ellesmere Island, in contrast to the Inukjuak area and that this might cause some "discontentment" amongst Inuit being relocated and might even effect their "morale." Some concern was mentioned in this documentation of the lack of availability of a sufficient pool of potential spouses for those who had relocated to Resolute Bay and

These letters are reproduced as "Annex 7" in "Appendix "ABOR-6": Annexes to the SCAA, March 19, 1990".  
Cadieux, Pierre

These letters are reproduced in "Annex 8" in "Appendix "ABOR-6": Annexes to the SCAA, March 19, 1990".

Ministerial changes during the advocacy period 1984 and 1990 certainly contributed to challenges with both communication and commitments made by Ministers and their staffs. Between summer 1984 and March 1990 when this paper was submitted, there were five Ministers of Indian Affairs and Northern Development: Doug Firth (June 1984-September 1984); David Crombie (September 1984-June 1986); Bill McKnight (June 1986-January 1989); Pierre Cadieux (January 1989-February 1990); and Tom Siddon (February 1990-June 1993).

Grise Fiord and the inability of Inuit relocating to be able to find suitable candidates for marriage in order to maintain the productive and reproductive potential of their population.

The archival material merely touches upon the possibility of individual family and community life disruption. However, a fuller description and impact of the suffering and abuse encountered by the original relocated families and many of their descendants is more fully appreciated from descriptions provided by the people themselves during our meetings during 1986, most of which have been recorded for historical and other purposes.

From these discussions the following types of suffering, social disruption and damage generated by the initial relocations in the 1950's have become apparent. These sources and types of suffering, disruption and damage are by no means exhaustive.

1. Climate:

Unlike Inukjuak where the summer is approximately three and one-half ( $3 \frac{1}{2}$ ) months in duration, summer in Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay is no more than a period of six (6) weeks. Unlike Inukjuak, in Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay there is no daylight from the month of October through to the month of February inclusive. As well, there is no darkness there from April to October. Unlike Inukjuak, there is no snow on the ground with which to build igloos until January whereas in Inukjuak such snow is available for construction by November. Temperatures and weather conditions generally are much colder and more severe in Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord and are of greater duration than in Inukjuak.

In regard to ice conditions, ice formations remain throughout the spring and summer in Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay whereas in Inukjuak the ice disappears in late spring. This has serious consequences for the use of boats and canoes in Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay because use of water craft is only possible in the months of August and September whereas in Inukjuak, such activities can take place for at least five or six months. The people also expressed great concern over the fact that there is very little rain in Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in comparison to Inukjuak.

Overall, Inuit described the difference in climatic conditions between Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay and Inukjuak as "very different."

2. Hunting Strategy, Availability of Renewable Resources and Dietary Changes:

The relocation from Inukjuak to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay represented a fundamental change in the diet of Inuit involved.

Representatives of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay continually remark on the balanced diet they enjoyed in Inukjuak (i.e., a balance of land, game and marine game) whereas in Grise Fiord and Resolute, the diet consisted mainly of sea mammals. This represented a major change in diet and in hunting patterns for these Inuit. More particularly, in Inukjuak there was an abundance of berries, birds, eggs, fish, caribou, seal, walrus and whale. In contrast, in Grise Fiord and Resolute, there were no berries, few birds, no mussels, very rarely caribou and for the most part, the food sources were derived from whales, seals, walrus (i. e., sea mammals). Representatives remarked repeatedly on the limited selection of birds in the High Arctic in contrast to the great abundance and variety of birds in Inukjuak. There appeared to only be eider ducks but no geese in the High Arctic. Not only was there a major change in diet for those relocated, but the season available for using the water for hunting and fishing was also extremely limited, as above-described . Consequently, Inuit who had been relocated had to adjust to a different diet with limited means and seasons in which to obtain food. Long periods of darkness also complicated the search for food in Grise Fiord and Resolute.

In addition, the new residents of Grise Fiord and Resolute were required to completely relearn a hunting strategy suitable to the environment and resources of the region. While game was present, it was inaccessible until the hunters developed knowledge of the land required to hunt effectively. This caused a great degree of stress both personally for the hunters involved and affected the level of food availability for the group.

### 3. Employment and cash income:

Employment was easier to find in Inukjuak than it was in Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay during the 1950's to the 1970's. This made cash much less available which in turn meant that Inuit in Grise Fiord and Resolute were much more dependant on the R.C.M.P. detachment and military activities in Resolute Bay. In Inukjuak cash could also be obtained through the sale by Inuit of country food to non-Natives. This was not possible in either Grise Fiord or Resolute Bay. In fact, most Inuit who did perform services for the R.C.M.P. detachment in Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay, such as hunting or acting as guides, received no payment whatsoever for their work over several years despite the fact that federal minimum government wage policy as of 1948 for Inuit was Sixty Dollars (\$60.00) per month. One example that many Inuit remember in particular is the dismantling and removal of the RCMP buildings in Craig Harbour . These dismantled buildings were moved

over forty miles with Inuit assistance by dog teams and these Inuit were paid absolutely nothing for their efforts. Even though it was often the government policy at that time for such minimum salary to be paid as a credit note at the local Hudson Bay store in addition to food supplies and segregated housing, these wages were not paid in whatsoever form to Inuit relocated to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay. Indeed, no Hudson Bay store even existed at Grise Fiord. Many Inuit have asked for an investigation into what they refer to as "forced labour" or "slave labour" during that period.

4. Population size:

The difference in population size also generated severe stress and anxiety for those Inuit relocated from Inukjuak to Grise Fiord and Resolute. Whereas there was a larger population of individuals in Inukjuak (several hundreds), in Grise Fiord and Resolute there was only a very small population of Inuit (less than 100 persons in both Resolute and Grise Fiord). Even the population today suggests strong differences between Grise Fiord (180 persons, including Inuit and non-Inuit) and Resolute Bay (225 persons, including Inuit and non-Inuit) and Inukjuak (850 persons, including Inuit and non-Inuit). As discussed earlier, the population size greatly affected the ability of young Inuit in Grise Fiord and Resolute to find spouses since the biological pool was extremely small.

Indeed, there are accounts of Inuit in Grise Fiord having to go forth many years in search of a spouse in other communities such as Resolute and Frobisher Bay before finding someone to marry. Such severe social deprivation did not exist in southern Inuit communities such as Inukjuak.

5. Religious practices;

The spiritual needs of the people were also negatively affected by the relocations. In Inukjuak in the 1950's there was a church and a permanent Minister to serve the spiritual needs of the population. In Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay there were no such religious facilities or Ministers until the beginning of the 1960's. Inuit of Grise Fiord and Resolute who had been relocated from Inukjuak received no spiritual guidance for several years and thus were lacking in a basic support system at a time of extreme change and stress in their lives.

6. Community and family life;

The relocation to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay disrupted both the community and the "sense of community" that existed in Inukjuak: it separated and divided families. From a cohesive community with intense family ties in Inukjuak, Inuit were moved

This (1990) version of the position paper is more explicit about the injustice regarding wage employment, including providing these examples of unpaid labour.

to an uncertain new existence in an alien environment without the availability and proximity and support of family relatives and friends. Many of the Inuit involved in relating their experiences to fieldworkers have likened these relocations of the 1950's to the plight of refugees in Europe during and after World War II: people without a land, without a home and without a family.

Like the lack of spiritual support in the early years in Grise Fiord and Resolute, there was also lack of yet other important support systems (community, family ties and friends) to help these people during the most traumatic changes in their lives.

From a cohesive community in Inukjuak these people were moved to a place of no community. From many friends and family ties in Inukjuak, these people were moved to an area of no family ties and no friends. Such was the lack of complete community in Grise Fiord and Resolute that an individual could not even find a spouse: he or she had to travel to other communities where there existed cultural differences and language differences in order to try and make contact with another human being to marry and to create a family and to hence carry on life.

Children and other descendants of the original families relocated to Grise Fiord and Resolute have lost their social and cultural roots and ties. They also have foregone much of the knowledge, teachings and customs that they would have gained in Inukjuak had their families never been relocated to the High Arctic (for example, hunting skills; carving skills; and general knowledge of the lay of the country). Many of the children of the families originally relocated now feel home less: they do not feel they belong in Grise Fiord or Resolute and they do not feel they belong in Inukjuak .

So profound are the impacts of these relocations of the 1950's that the social and cultural consequences are felt, and will be felt, by many generations of descendants of the original relocated families.

#### 7. Government, Medical and other services:

Unlike Inukjuak in the 1950's, Grise Fiord and Resolute had no Hudson Bay store or other supply store and no governmental services. Governmental services did not appear in Grise Fiord and Resolute until 1962. Instead of a Hudson Bay store, there was simply a government trading store in Grise Fiord. This lack of a store was highly significant for the Inuit because such a store back in Inukjuak and other Inuit communities further south provided credit to Inuit which enabled them to purchase the staples they needed to hunt and fish and generally carry on their traditional activities. There was no credit provided to Inuit in either Grise Fiord

This (1990) version of the position paper makes careful mention that there were no other supply stores, illustrating the lack of services and supports available.



or Resolute. This made traditional life extremely difficult and stressful. Moreover, instead of the presence of various government services as existed in Inukjuak, in Grise Fiord there was only the R.C.M.P. detachment which was also responsible for dispensing all services normally handled by other government departments including medical services, welfare, postal services and so on.

There are documented cases of relocated Inuit having received welfare-type payments in Inukjuak and such payments abruptly coming to an end when these individuals were relocated to Grise Fiord. Numerous potential retroactive claims exist amongst Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay Inuit involved in these relocations. More particularly, in the early 1950s in Inukjuak, Inuit who were entitled, were receiving up to Forty Dollars (\$40.00) per month as federal Old Age Pension, Family Allowance payments of approximately Six to Eight Dollars (\$6.00 - \$8.00) per month, often paid in the form of food and clothing by missionaries or medical officers; federal disability allowances for individuals aged 18-69 up to a maximum of Forty Dollars (\$40.00) per month.

In regard to medical services, though there was a medical nursing station in Inukjuak in the 1950's, there were no permanent medical facilities in Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay except for a R.C.A.F. nurse in Resolute Bay. Even this nurse had no authority to send Inuit south for treatment. Many original family members of the original families relocated who are deceased would still be living today if there had been medical facilities available to them in Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in the 1950's.

With respect to education facilities and services, though these existed in Inukjuak, there were no schools in Grise Fiord or Resolute Bay until 1962.

#### 8. Food Staples, Fuel, Clothing and Basic Supplies:

A special note is required in regard to staple foods such as tea, sugar and flour as well as clothing material and simple utensils, fuel and supplies. Strong evidence has been collected from Inuit of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay that while Inuit men were being used for various jobs by non-Natives, the Inuit women were forced to forage for scraps of food, wood, clothing scraps and broken utensils in the garbage dump of those communities; in the garbage of the R.C.M.P. detachment. Accounts exist of Inuit huts in Grise Fiord being heated by sparse scraps of wood from old crates found in the garbage dump. This resulted in Inuit huts frequently having no heat during the period of extreme cold. The R.C.M.P. detachment houses, on the other hand, were heated with coal-fired furnaces with ample coal supplies brought yearly by sea-lift and

This (1990) version of the position paper expands the conversation about welfare by including language such as "welfare-type payments", which includes old-age pensions and family allowances.

This example is not present in the 1987 version of the position paper.

There is no discussion of Food Staples, Clothing and Basic Supplies in the 1987 version. This is a new, and very useful, additional item of discussion.

unloaded by unpaid Inuit labour.

In addition, there is evidence that many government supplies from the south destined for Inuit in Grise Ford and Resolute Bay (rifles, duffle cloth) never arrived. F.J.G. Cunningham, Director of the Department of Resources and Development, in a letter dated December 15, 1953 to the Secretary of the Advisory Committee on Northern Development, stated as follows in this regard:

It seems particularly unfortunate that all the shortage should be made up of those items which are the most necessary for the Eskimo, and I understand that the lack of such items such as rifles and duffle cloth will make their life more difficult than it need have been this winter. What happened to the \$1,124.00 worth of goods no one appears to know, but the fact remains that the Eskimos, during the most difficult period of the year, will have to do without some of the necessities of life.

Recorded discussions with Inuit of Grise Fiord and Resolute who had been relocated in the 1950's reveal extreme suffering, depression, anxiety and physical and mental deprivation both during the initial relocations and in the 30-35 years subsequent thereto. In discussions with the original families and their descendants, the picture becomes clear that these Inuit were plummeted into a hostile, unfamiliar environment with little consultation or explanation concerning the reason for what was transpiring; inadequate equipment; a violent break with family and friends; an elimination of all spiritual support; a radical change in diet and availability of food: all for the purpose of enabling the federal government to assert and establish its claims of sovereignty in the High Arctic.

More recently (since 1975), these individuals have also been deprived of enjoyment of their rights and benefits under the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement executed in 1975 of which these Inuit are acknowledged beneficiaries. They have been prevented from using their traditional hunting and fishing areas and from taking part in the various governmental and other entities provided for in the Agreement. The James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement is an aboriginal treaty recognized and protected under section 35 of the *Constitution Act, 1982*. It does not appear, however, that they were ever considered in the original computation of the overall compensation monies provided to northern Québec Inuit under the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement. It is significant, however, that despite the relocation to N.W.T. in the 1950s, the Government of Québec has formally recognized that these Inuit have never ceased being Québec citizens and beneficiaries of the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreements (see Annex 9 of this submission).

This discussion of the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement is more detailed than the March version; it is evident that more details about the agreement and how it was computed and processed were uncovered in the time between the two editions of this paper, likely aided by publication of the Coolican Report and additional work taking place regarding land claims between 1987 and 1990.

#### D. GRISE FIORD/RESOLUTE BAY RELOCATIONS AS VIOLATION OF CIVIL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS

The history of the Inuit of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay relocated from Inukjuak in the 1950's and federal government inaction to rectify such tragedy constitute violations of almost every relevant provincial, national and international Convention, Charter, Covenant, Resolution or law dealing with human rights and freedoms.

More particularly, and by way of example only, the following provisions of human rights documents may have particular relevance to this issue:

1. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights provides in part as follows:

**"Article 5**

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment."

**"Article 12**

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondents, nor to a tax upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks."

**"Article 17**

- 1 Everyone has the right to own property alone or as well as in association with others.
- 2 No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property."

**"Article 23**

- 1 Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.
- 2 Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.
- 3 Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.
- 4 Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests."

**"Article 25**

- 1 Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control . . ."

**"Article 27**

- 1 Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community , to enjoy the arts and to share in the scientific advancement and its benefits . . ."

The *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* was adopted and proclaimed by the General Assembly in 1948. The *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* has been accepted by Canada.

2. The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights provides in part as follows:

**"Article 10**

The States Parties to the present Covenant recognized that:

- 1 The widest possible protection and assistance should be accorded to the family, which is the natural and fundamental group unit of society , particularly for its establishment and while it is responsible for the care and education of dependant children . Marriage must be entered into with the free consent of the intending spouses . . ."

**"Article 11**

- 1 The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions . . ."

**"Article 12**

- 1 The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health . . ."

The *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in December 1966 and entered into force in January 1976. The *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* has been accepted by Canada.

3. The *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* provides in part as follows:

**"Article 7**

No one shall be subject to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. In particular, no one shall be subjected without his free consent to medical or scientific experimentation."

**"Article 12**

- 1 Everyone lawfully within the territory of a State shall , within that territory , have the right to liberty of movement and freedom to choose his residence . . .
- 4 No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of the right to enter his own country."

**"Article 17**

Typically, international treaties do not have backward jurisdiction (i.e. they cannot be applied retroactively to actions taken prior to a state becoming a signatory). However, there are exceptions for actions that persist (i.e. begin prior to a state becoming a signatory and continue after). Canada acceded to both the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights in 1976.

- 1 No one shall be subject to arbitrary or unlawful interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to unlawful attacks on his honour and reputation.
- 2 Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks."

The *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in December 1966 and entered into force in March 1976. The *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* has been accepted by Canada.

4. The *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* contained in the *Constitution Act, 1982* provides in part as follows:

"Life, liberty and security of the person

- 7 Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of the person and the right not to be deprived thereof except in accordance with the principles of fundamental justice."

"Treatment or punishment

- 12 Everyone has the right not to be subjected to any cruel and unusual treatment or punishment.

The *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* has become part of the Constitution of Canada by virtue of the enactment of the *Canada Act, 1982* by the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

5. The *Québec Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms* (R.S.Q., c.C-12) provides in part as follows:

- 5 "Every person has a right to respect for his private life."
- 6 "Every person has a right to the peaceful enjoyment and free disposition of his property, except to the extent provided by law."
- 7 "A person's home is inviolable."
- 8 "No one may enter upon the property of another or take anything therefrom without his express or implied consent."
- 43 "Persons belonging to ethnic minorities have a right to maintain and develop their own cultural interests with the other members of their group."

Application of these provincial, national and international statements of human rights and freedoms to the facts relating to the Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay relocations of the 1950's set forth earlier in this Statement demonstrate a clear division between what the Government of Canada promises to do and what in fact it has done and continues to do to some of its citizens. Indeed, Canada's treatment of Inuit relocated to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay constitute violations of human rights guarantees at every level of government and jurisdiction.

Though the Inuit of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay have not to date chosen to pursue their claims through the established human rights bodies either within the United Nations or under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms itself, they clearly have justification for so doing should federal inaction continue with respect to their demands for remedial and compensatory measures to assist in alleviating some of the hardship they have suffered and continue to suffer.

#### E. COMPENSATORY AND REMEDIAL MEASURES

The following constitute compensatory and remedial measures necessary to equitably and effectively attempt to redress their losses, inconvenience, pain and suffering as a result of the relocations of the 1950's effected by the Government of Canada. These measures are intended to apply to the original seventeen (17) families relocated to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay from Inukjuak and Pond Inlet during the 1950's as well as to their children and other descendants.

In demanding these measures Inuit of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay recognize that no amount of compensatory and remedial measures can possibly ever fully rectify the suffering and loss brought about by these relocations. However, these Inuit feel that the following measures are the minimum ones that the Government of Canada must now carry out in order to compensate them and recognize their significant contribution to Canadian sovereignty and Canadian history.

The 1987 version suggests 19 original families.

##### 1. Housing:

Thirteen (13) housing units are required to be built in Inukjuak in order to accommodate families wishing to move from Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay and some families which have already undertaken such a move at their own initiative. Canada funded construction of ten (10) housing units in the summer of 1988 but three (3) housing units remain to be built to meet the needs of Inuit relocating to Inukjuak both during and since 1988.

##### 2. Moving expenses:

Moving expenses relate to those individuals and families who have already relocated to Inukjuak from Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay over the last fifteen (15) years (six (6) families) and those moving expenses related to individuals and families who still intend to move back to Inukjuak.

These moving expenses must include airfare from Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay to Inukjuak for all family members as well as cargo and freight expenses for the movement of all their household and other property and equipment. With respect to the former of these costs, Canada has reimbursed approximately \$50,000 in moving

expenses to the six (6) families who relocated to Inukjuak at their own expense between 1970 and 1987. However, with respect to moving costs incurred between March 1988 and October 1989, these costs amounted to approximately \$204,000, and Canada to date has reimbursed to Makivik \$150,000 of this amount.

3. Personal Property Losses for those Inuit already moved back to Inukjuak between 1970 and 1987  
Total personal property losses and moving costs associated with Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay Inuit who have already relocated back to Inukjuak since 1970 amounts to a total of \$94,485.00.

This amount represents replacement costs of various items F.O.B. Inukjuak in 1989 prices. This personal property was lost or left behind in Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay when the six (6) families moved back to Inukjuak. Annex 10 of this Submission contains a detailed break-down of personal property losses by family with a list of specific items lost and their current replacement cost values. All such losses can be substantiated by duly executed affidavits.

4. Property Losses of Inuit relocated to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in 1950s

Aside from the personal property lost when Inuit moved back on their own to Inukjuak between 1970 and 1987, some property was lost or destroyed in the relocation to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in the 1950s. Those property losses amount to approximately \$150,000 in present dollars and relate to a Peterhead boat belonging to Mr. Simeonie Amagoalik and used by the community of Inukjuak at that time. A photograph of this boat is contained in Annex 11 of the present Submission.

5. Heritage Trust Fund

Canada should establish and fund a Heritage Trust Fund of \$10 Million as compensation to the original seventeen (17) families relocated by Canada to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay from Inukjuak (and Pond Inlet). This Fund would be administered by a Board of Trustees made up of representatives drawn from the original seventeen (17) families as well as Makivik representatives. Terms and conditions of administration of the Fund would include restrictions on use of capital and income of the Fund. The capital of the Fund could be conserved so as to provide a perpetual fund producing revenues for the seventeen (17) original families and their descendants. These specific terms and conditions would be discussed with and established by the original seventeen (17) families in consultation with Makivik and I.T.C.

The \$10 Million would be payable into the Fund by Canada in

The 1987 version includes only those who moved to Inukjuak between 1970 and 1987 (six families) and notes that Canada had, at that time, reimbursed \$50,000. This (1990) version provides updated numbers, inclusive of costs and reimbursements to October 1989, and accounts for inflation-based costs.

This legal note does not appear in the 1987 version.

This section is not included in the 1987 version.

This photograph has not been reproduced.

The 1987 version refers to 19 families

one sum upon the signature of an agreement providing for all the remedial and compensatory measures set out in the present Submission.

The Heritage Trust Fund would compensate Inuit of Grise Fiord, Resolute Bay (and Pond Inlet where relevant) on a once and for all basis, in addition to the other measures provided for here, for the suffering and injustice which they underwent due to Canada's "experiment" of the 1950's.

Annex 12 of the present Submission contains a list of the original families relocated by Canada to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in 1953, 1955 and 1957. This list does not enumerate all descendants of these original families but merely the original families and immediate family members thereof. An asterisk next to a name indicates that the individual is deceased.

This annex has not been reproduced.  
A list of relocatees collated from the  
*RCAP Supporting Evidence* is included as  
Appendix B of this volume.

#### 6. Municipal and Education Infrastructure Support:

A review will have to be made with the Northern Village Corporation of Inukjuak in conjunction with the Kativik Regional Government to determine the precise measures which must be taken to augment the municipal and educational infrastructure of Inukjuak so as to accommodate the ten (10) additional housing units built in 1988 and the remaining three (3) housing units to be built and the additional population represented by same.

For example, Inukjuak may require an additional water truck and sewage truck as a result of these additional housing units and the Kativik School Board facilities Inukjuak may require additional space and facilities as a result thereof.

Precise determination of actual needs will have to be done by the Northern Village Corporation of Inukjuak and the Kativik Regional Government themselves.

#### 7. Economic and Social Assistance:

Special economic and social support systems have to be provided to the community of Inukjuak in order to facilitate the adjustment and incorporation of families relocating from Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay to Inukjuak in the coming summer and following .

More particularly, numerous social problems exist because of the differences between Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay Inuit and those in Inukjuak. Social integration into the community has been difficult for those six (6) families that have already moved and similar problems are anticipated for the other families currently relocating and those still intending to relocate.

Such additional social support systems should include provision of additional social workers and psychologists to work with indi-



vidual families within the community and with the community itself in order to provide for a smoother integration of the relocating families to Inukjuak. A specific program must be developed in this regard and such program should extend beyond simply the year in which the actual return of these people takes place. Canada should defray all costs associated with such special social programs and assistance.

With respect to economic support programs, these will be necessary because of the additional burden that Inuit relocating to Inukjuak will place upon the already high unemployment situation in Inukjuak. Such economic assistance should take the form of additional funds and job stimulation programs for Inukjuak not only in the year in which the individuals and families actually move back to Inukjuak but for an extended period of perhaps three to five years. Canada should bear the cost of such a program.

#### 8. Housing and Transportation Costs for Future Moves

Canada must engage in an undertaking to build housing units and defray all transportation costs (persons and freight) of any Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay Inuit (the original families) or their children or descendants) who decide to move back in future to Inukjuak, namely, within the three (3) years following the date of an agreement with Canada being signed including the remedial and compensatory measures contained in the present Submission.

#### 9. Travel Costs for Yearly Visits

Some Inuit originally relocated from Inukjuak but choosing to remain in Grise Fiord or Resolute Bay want to be able to visit their family and relatives in Inukjuak and then return to Grise Fiord or Resolute Bay at regular intervals during each year. Similarly, Inuit relocated back to Inukjuak may wish to regularly visit relatives in Grise Fiord or Resolute Bay. Current air flights from Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay are extremely limited in number and high in cost, making such visits virtually impossible for the concerned Inuit. Consequently, Canada should create a travel compensation fund in the amount of \$2 Million to cover all current and future travel needs as above-described of the Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay Inuit, namely, members of the original families, their children and descendants wishing to make such visits.

With respect to the amount of the above requested Fund, two points are to be noted. First, our experience with chartering aircraft for round- trips (Inukjuak to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay return) during 1988 has demonstrated that such aircraft charters costs an average of \$68,000 for each trip. Second, Canada's

The suggestion of a specific travel compensation fund is new in the 1990 version.

actions in the 1950s with respect to these Inuit has been a direct cause of the original community being split into the several geographic locales which now necessitate expensive travel in order to re-establish or continue basic family and communal ties.

This final paragraph is new in the 1990 version.

10. Official Recognition of Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay Inuit:

Some form of special and formal recognition must be undertaken for Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay Inuit and for their special contribution to assisting Canada in establishing its sovereignty in the High Arctic. It is suggested that such special recognition take the form of a specially minted silver or gold medal to be given to each of the original families and each of their descendants in the context of a special ceremony to be conducted by the Prime Minister of Canada.

Additional forms of recognition could involve installation of special bronze plaques in Resolute Bay, Grise Fiord, Pond Inlet and Inukjuak to commemorate the contribution of these people to Canadian history. An appropriate inscription for such plaques could easily be worked out between Canada and these Inuit.

One other possible additional form of recognition in this regard could be the printing of a special Canadian stamp or coin recognizing the importance and contribution historically of these Inuit.

These recommendations for official recognition do not change between 1987 and 1990. Ultimately, the federal government does not officially recognize Inuit in any of these ways. In 2009, the NTI announced that they had commissioned two monuments (one for each of Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord) to commemorate the Inuit who were relocated and to promote and preserve the history of the relocations. The monuments were unveiled in 2010. The federal government's official apology in 2010 included a statement of recognition. For further reading on the NTI monument project, see Prouty (2016)

11. Funding of Current and Future Meetings

To date, Makivik Corporation has been bearing the full costs of any discussions, consultations and negotiations undertaken in regard to the Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay relocation issue. As far back as 1986, Makivik submitted a detailed funding request to the former D.I.A.N.D. Minister, William McKnight, in the amount of \$91,162.00. Such monies were intended for use by Makivik and Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay Inuit for travel, consultation and negotiation purposes. Because no response had been made to that request, this request for funding was again repeated in the January 20, 1987 "Position Paper" which was submitted to the same Minister. We have received no specific response to either of these requests for funding. Consequently, we are again requesting that such funding be made available to Makivik so that we can effectively carry out our work with respect to the Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay Inuit relocation issue.

This number is calculated in "Appendix 4" to the 1987 Position Paper. This appendix is not reproduced in this volume.

12. Reimbursement of Negotiation Costs

Canada must reimburse to Makivik all expenses and costs incurred by Makivik since 1980 to date with respect to the Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay relocation issue. Total amounts of monies

spent to date for meetings, travel, discussions, negotiations, research and consultations with community representatives remain to be fully tabulated but are minimally estimated to be \$175,000.

This number increased by \$75,000 from the 1987 version.

#### ANNEXES

1. Discussion Paper prepared by Environment Canada entitled "Environment Canada and the North," dated July 1983.
2. Report of the Task Force to Review Comprehensive Claims Policy entitled "Living Treaties: Lasting Agreements," dated December 1985.
3. Letters addressed to Makivik Corporation from former D.I.A.N.D. Minister Bill McKnight, dated September 30, 1987 and February 5, 1988.
4. Report entitled "Report of Findings on an Alleged Promise of Government to Finance the Return of Inuit at Resolute and Grise Fiord to their Original Homes at Port Harrison (Inukjuak) and Pond Inlet" (D.I.A.N.D. Contract No. 84-099) submitted to D.I.A.N.D. on August 3, 1984.
5. Position Paper submitted by Makivik, I.T.C. and the Kativik Regional Government entitled "Position Paper Regarding Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay Relocation Issue," dated January 20, 1987.
6. Letter addressed to Makivik Corporation from former D.I.A.N.D. Minister Bill McKnight, dated September 30, 1987.
7. Letter addressed to D.I.A.N.D. Minister, Pierre Cadieux from Makivik Corporation, dated March 23, 1989.
8. Letter addressed to Makivik Corporation from D.I.A.N.D. Minister, Pierre Cadieux, dated May 12, 1989.
9. Letter addressed to Makivik Corporation from former Minister of Municipal Affairs, André Bourbeau, dated March 6, 1986.
10. List of Personal Property Losses for Inuit already moved back to Inukjuak between 1970 and 1987.
11. Photograph of Peterhead boat belonging to Simeonie Amagoalik .
12. List of original families relocated by Canada to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in 1953, 1955 and 1959.

NOTE: These Annexes can be found under separate cover.

[Map of High Arctic]

These Annexes have been reproduced below as "Appendix "ABOR-6": Annexes to the SCAA, March 19, 1990". The map of the High Arctic has not been reproduced.

**Appendix “ABOR-6”: Annexes  
to the SCAA, March 19, 1990**

**APPENDIX "ABOR-6"**  
ANNEXES

TO:

SUBMISSION REGARDING GRISE FIORD/RESOLUTE BAY INUIT  
RELOCATION ISSUE TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS STANDING  
COMMITTEE ON ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS

March 1990  
MAKIVIK CORPORATION  
INUIT TAPIRISAT OF CANADA

This appendix, "ABOR-6" is included in the Minutes of Proceedings for the March 19, 1990 meetings of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs and contains the Appendices for the written submission. (Government of Canada, "Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs Minutes and Evidence (34:2) Vol. 2 Annexes")

*Annex 1***Environment Canada and the North****Discussion Paper****July 1983**

[Extract - Annex E] A COMMENT ON THE EVOLUTION OF  
RESOURCE USE POLICY IN CANADA'S NORTH

It is worth noting that before World War II, priority was given to traditional forms of northern occupancy in large areas of the North. However, the prime reasons for this were not entirely due to concern for native welfare and northern environmental quality. Issues of Canadian sovereignty were the principal concerns. Both the native people and the environment were used as important elements in formulating strategies to advance Canada's jurisdictional claims in the Arctic.

For example, at the turn of the century Otto Sverdrup discovered Axel Heiberg and Ellef Ringnes islands and claimed them for Norway. In response, Canada reasserted her claim to the islands of the High Arctic. To confirm this claim, Canada created a game preserve in the Arctic Islands in 1926, and stated that the hunting grounds of the Arctic should be preserved for the native Eskimoes (Inuit). Various additions were made to the preserve up until 1945, at which time over 1.3 million square kilometres (over half a million square miles) were set aside covering all the Arctic Islands and a large part of the rest of the Northwest Territories. To further entrench the sovereignty claim, the government relocated Inuit people from northern Québec to the Arctic Islands in the mid-1950s.

The policy stipulating wildlife and native occupancy as the priority uses of this very large area held until alternative uses came to light. After World War II, new resource use alternatives were emerging and a process began that led to the dismantling of the Arctic Islands Preserve. Subsequently, most of the former preserve area was opened to other forms of resource use.

This is an extract from Annex E of the full Discussion Paper, entitled "Environment Canada and the North: The Perceptions, Roles and Policies of the Department of the Environment Regarding Development North of 60°" presented in July 1983. The full discussion paper is available via Government of Canada Publications.

*Annex 2***Living Treaties: Lasting Agreements****Report of the Task Force to Review Comprehensive Claims Policy  
December 1985**

[Extract] Governments treat land and sea differently. Although sovereignty is exercised over both, the rights exercised by governments and private citizens are more limited offshore than on land. Non-aboriginals’ concept of the ocean is not unlike that concept of land held by many aboriginal people, in which the ocean is a resource to be shared, rather than property to be divided up and owned by corporate or private individuals.

Notwithstanding the complexity of jurisdiction over oceans in comparison to land, claims agreements should include provisions for the offshore and its resources. Because ocean resources play such an important role in many aboriginal cultures and economies, the offshore should be included in negotiations. No judicial decisions have been handed down concerning aboriginal rights in offshore areas. So, as the concept of aboriginal rights is still evolving and while that process continues, the federal government should approach negotiations with an expansive, rather than a restrictive, view of the law.

Offshore negotiations proceeded with the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador notwithstanding the existence of a decision of the Supreme Court of Canada establishing federal authority over the continental shelf. Yet the Government of Canada went beyond this legal decision and agreed to share with Newfoundland the management of, and benefits from, offshore oil and gas. The government also should negotiate the offshore claims of aboriginal groups. To do otherwise would be to undermine negotiation and to invite litigation.

Recognizing the natural and legal differences between land and sea, topics for negotiation could include access to wildlife and fishery resources, participation in decision making for conservation and resource allocation, and a sharing of the benefits from sub-sea minerals and hydrocarbons. The sharing of benefits from non-renewable offshore resources will have to be discussed in light of proposals regarding onshore resources. Like developers of onshore resources, potential offshore developers must be protected through rights-granting and dispute-resolution mechanisms that are clear, certain, and expeditious. Canada also must be able to protect the national interest offshore, which may be larger than that on land as a result of international, environmental, and defence considerations.

For a number of years Canada has been concerned about possible challenges to its sovereignty in the waters of the Arctic archipelago. The voyage of the American icebreaker *Polar Sea* last summer drew

This extract from “Living Treaties: Lasting Agreements: Report of the Task Force to Review Comprehensive Claims Policy” (December 1985), often referenced as the Coolican Report, recommended that the federal government adopt a new approach to Indigenous land claims and self-government. See Coolican (1985).

This discussion of maritime vs terrestrial sovereignty provides important context for discussions about national sovereignty objectives in the 1950s. Canadian concerns about Arctic sovereignty, and particularly the differences between terrestrial and maritime sovereignty under international law escalated in the mid- to late-1950s as the international community debated questions of sovereignty over Antarctica. For further reading, see Kikkert (2015) and Lajeunesse (2018).

attention to the issue once again. Thirty years ago the federal government strengthened Canadian sovereignty by moving several hundred Inuit from northern Quebec to Ellesmere and Cornwallis islands in the high Arctic, where they established the communities of Grise Fiord and Resolute. Acceptance by Canada of the Inuit claim to the boundaries of the land-fast sea ice could strengthen Canada's claim to historical use and occupancy of arctic waters. Today, a role for Inuit in strengthening Canadian sovereignty would have their full support.

The final two sentences of this paragraph provide important context for the argument about Inuit contributions to Canadian sovereignty in the High Arctic, but are not included in the quotation cited in the position paper.



*Annex 3***Letters to Mark Gordon, President Makivik Corporation, from Minister Bill McKnight**

Mr. Mark Gordon  
 President  
 Makivik Corporation  
 P.O. Box 179  
 PORT CHIMO, Quebec  
 JGM ICO

Dear Mr. Gordon:

Your legal counsel, Mr. Sam Silverstone wrote to me on January 21 forwarding a comprehensive list of compensation items you are seeking on behalf of those people who moved to Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord in the 1950's, including housing for those who have moved or wish to relocate back to Inukjuak.

There have been ongoing discussions with Quebec housing officials on the provision and erection of the housing units which I, as well as my predecessor, have promised for Inukjuak. In this regard, I am now pleased to be able to inform you that approval has been received to provide the required funding for the ten units in question. We will be moving quickly to complete the agreement with Quebec in order that the housing can be constructed next summer.

In regard to the relocation costs, I believe that I had indicated the Department would be willing to consider reasonable removal costs which were incurred (or which will be incurred) by people relocating to Inukjuak. Authority has been received to provide up to \$50,000 in the current year to compensate those families who have already moved and a further \$150,000 for those who move back in 1988-89.

As well, resulting from a resolution passed at ITC's annual general meeting held in Iqaluit, my colleague, the Minister of Environment, is suggesting that they consider recommending Grise Fiord or Resolute Bay as a National Historic Site. It might be possible to place a commemorative plaque in one of the communities, recognizing the contribution of the communities towards asserting Canadian Arctic sovereignty. Alternatively, the relocation of Inuit from Northern Quebec to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay could be recognized specifically as an event of national historic significance. This would be through the Historic Sites and Monuments Board's publication *Recognizing Canadian History*. I would be pleased to support either of these initiatives if it is the wish of ITC to proceed along these lines.

My officials will be in touch with you soon concerning the administration of the relocation funds.

Yours sincerely, [Original Signed] Bill McKnight

No date but another copy indicates this was written September 30, 1987

Feb 5, 1988  
 Mr. Mark Gordon  
 President  
 Makivik Corporation  
 P.O. Box 179  
 FORT CHIMO, Québec  
 JCM ICO

Dear Mark:

Thank you for your letter of November 11, 1987, concerning the steps I propose to take in order to fulfill commitments made to Inukjuak people for relocation from Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord. Your positive response is appreciated. Your letter did raise several points which I have addressed below.

Regarding the ten housing units, I am pleased to inform you that the agreement covering their purchase and erection is with the Government of Quebec for signature and that our Regional Office expect to have it finalized within the next few weeks. Since the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement makes municipal infrastructure and related community services the responsibility of the province, it is my understanding the Government of Quebec will be reviewing community facilities in Inukjuak to ascertain their capability of accommodating the additional housing units.

I understand your concern about the distribution of funds available for relocation costs. However, the authorities that are in place for these expenditures are fairly restrictive and do not allow me to unilaterally reallocate the amounts. I would also like to point out that the approvals do not extend to the replacement of property left behind. Allowable expenditures include such items as transportation, air freight, hotel accommodation, meals and unforeseen costs directly related to transportation of the returnees.

My colleague, the Honourable Tom McMillan, has already written to the president of Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC) on October 16, 1987 suggesting two options for recognition of the Inuit contribution to Arctic sovereignty. Either Resolute Bay or Grise Fiord could be designated a national historic site and/or the Inuit relocation to the High Arctic could be recognized as an event of national historic significance by an article in "Recognizing Canadian History." By copy of this letter I am adding my support to ITC's resolution and suggest that Ms Innusuk follow up on Mr. McMillan's suggestions.

Finally, I wish to comment on your statement that you plan to continue discussions on other items which were included in your position paper. The provisions which I have outlined to you cover the promises which I and my predecessors have made on this issue. As a result, I do not believe it would be fruitful for you to pursue this

matter since it could jeopardize the existing approvals which I have put in place.

In view of the above, I have enclosed a contribution agreement, in triplicate, authorizing the payment of relocation costs. After signature, all copies should be returned to my Associate Deputy Minister, Mr. Jacques Gérin, for execution on my behalf, and he will ensure the funds are requisitioned as quickly as possible. In this regard, I wish to draw your attention to the need to receive all documentation (concerning expenses incurred by those who have returned to Inukjuak on their own) prior to the end of fiscal year 1987-88, since Treasury Board authority for the \$50,000 does not extend past March 31, 1988. It would also be helpful if you could provide an indication of how many more families plan to return in 1988-89.

Yours sincerely,  
Bill McKnight

cc. The Honourable Tom McMillan, P.C., M.P.  
Mr. Dennis Patterson, Government Leader  
Ms R. Innuksuk, President, ITC  
Encl.

*Annex 4***REPORT OF FINDINGS ON AN ALLEGED PROMISE OF GOVERNMENT TO FINANCE THE RETURN OF INUIT AT RESOLUTE AND GRISE FIORD TO THEIR ORIGINAL HOMES AT PORT HARRISON (INUKJUAQ) AND POND INLET**

BY

MARC. M. HAMMOND

3 AUGUST 1984

IN FULFILMENT OF:

CONTRACT NO. 84-099

INDIAN AND NORTHERN AFFAIRS CANADA

The contents of this report presents the views and conclusions of the author, and not necessarily those of the contractor (The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development)

As instructed by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (contract no. 84-099), I submit herewith my findings on the matter of whether the federal government promised to finance the return of Inuit whom it moved in 1953 and again in 1955 from Port Harrison (northern Quebec) and Pond Inlet (Baffin Island, N.W.T.) to Resolute (Cornwallis Island, N.W.T.) and Craig Harbour (then to Grise Fiord, Ellesmere Island, N.W.T.), should these Inuit request a return in future.

**Findings**

Briefly, my findings are: (1) Pond Inlet Inuit moving in 1953 received such a promise in no uncertain terms; (2) Port Harrison Inuit moving in 1953 quite likely received such a promise, but if they did not, it is clear that they were not discouraged from thinking that they did; and (3) Pond Inlet and Port Harrison Inuit moving in 1955 probably moved with the same understanding as Inuit moving in 1953. As these are my primary findings, it is appropriate to note secondarily – for the benefit of those legal specialists who will judge the viability of a promise called 30 years after it was made – that Inuit at both Resolute and Grise Fiord were asking Government as early as 1956 to facilitate reunion with relatives and friends left behind at Port Harrison and Pond Inlet. In later discussion, I will speculate on why, with a mounting number of voices, these Inuit did so.

**Documentary Background**

As a basis for further discussion of my findings, particularly the equivocal nature of the second, I present in chronological order the following extracts from documents which I believe are the most important of those documents I have consulted (see Consulted Documents) for understanding the move of Inuit to Resolute and Craig

Harbour (later Grise Fiord). Authored by D.R.D. (Department of Resources and Development) and R.C.M.P. (Royal Canadian Mounted Police) officials, these documents are presently housed at Ottawa in either the Federal Archives Division, P.A.C. (Public Archives of Canada) or the Information Access Directorate, R.C.M.P. The source of each extract is given immediately after the number of the extract; this extract number will be used for reference in later discussion. Those extracts which seem to bear directly on the question of a promise are supplemented with an appended copy of the original document. Folio numbers in an extract refer to original pagination. All italics within quotes are my own.

#### 1948

EXTRACT NO. 1 (Source : P.A.C., Federal Archives Division, RG 85, Vol. 107, File 253-2-304, pt. 2K. 'Extract from S.J. Bailey's Report, dated at Churchill, August 24, 1948')

Eastern Arctic Patrol calls for further investigation of '... the welfare of the natives [i.e. Inuit] from Port Harrison south into Indian territory, as there is reportedly *over-population combined with lack of both native food and fox ...*' (fo. 2).

EXTRACT NO. 2 (Source: P.A.C., Federal Archives Division, RG 35, Vol. 1127, File 201-1-8, vol. 2A. 'Report on the Eastern Arctic Patrol, 1951, Montreal to Churchill')

Eastern Arctic Patrol reports: 'Although conditions among the Eskimos all along the Quebec coast have not been good since the price of white fox declined so drastically two years ago, there are indications now that these people are trying to adjust themselves to the changed conditions .... At Port Harrison more families are taking interest in going to the outlying islands for the winter. Although they do not earn much there from trapping, they have so far had an abundance of native food and have lived well, according to Eskimo standards' (fo. 8). For the year ending 30 June 1951, the 445 Inuit at Port Harrison had a cash income of \$ 51,000, of which 29.5% was earned through sale of furs, handicrafts and labour; the remaining 70.5% came from family allowance and relief (fo. 9). The report continues: 'After carefully considering the reports received from the natives and white residents, I do not think there has been any appreciable decline in the food resources of this area. *Conditions do not appear to be any worse than they were thirty or forty years ago; the only difference is that the people themselves are less spread out and have reached a stage where they are inclined to rely less on their own efforts and more on the Government for the fulfilment of their wants. The remedies lie in encouraging a wider distribution - possibly including the transfer of family groups to other areas and in seeing that these people are given leadership and the equipment to make greater use of the resources that are available to them*' (fo. 11-12).

#### 1952

Public Archives of Canada (PAC) is now Library and Archives Canada (LAC). Many of these public government records were open for consultation in the 1980s and early 1990s but were subsequently closed during the reorganization of the archives. RCMP records are typically closed to public consultation. See S. Grant (2016) for a discussion of the challenges with accessing records related to the relocations.

EXTRACT No. 3 (Source: R.C.M.P., Information Access Directorate, File no. DIS 12-2-4-Q-27 (1952). H.A. Larsen, Officer Commanding 'G' Division, C.I.B., R.C.M.P. to The Commissioner, R.C.M.P., a February 1952.)

After noting the difficulties for supply and patrol which were posed by the location of the R.C.M.P. detachment at Craig Harbour, Larsen suggests: 'The advantages of placing our Detachment directly across from Greenland would be that we then would have full control and supervision of Greenland Eskimos and others travelling back and forth, and over hunting activities they may engage in. As you know, *we had a Detachment established at Bache Peninsula in 1926, primarily for the maintenance of sovereignty.* This Detachment was closed in 1933 owing to the difficulties of supplying same .... I believe one mistake in connection with the Ellesmere Island Detachments in those days was the hiring of Greenland Eskimos exclusively (accompanied by their families) to act as hunters and guides for our Detachments. People in those days were under the delusion that Canadian Eskimos were incapable and unsuited to live and travel in the islands north of Baffin Island on account of the longer darker period. . . . Therefore, *if we could get a Detachment established here [in the vicinity of Bache Peninsula], we should, in addition to the two native families employed permanently by the Police, endeavour to recruit three or four good Eskimo families from the Pond Inlet area to be transported up there for the purpose of trapping, hunting, etc., and thereby in a general way improve their economic circumstances. ...* At the present time the Family Allowances which are due our own employed natives at Craig Harbour are deposited to their credit at the Detachment at Pond Inlet . . . ' (fo. 1-2).

1952

EXTRACT NO. 4 (Source: R.C.M.P. Information Access Directorate, File no. D1 512-2-4-5-27 (1952). 'Summary of the Proceedings at a Meeting on Eskimo Affairs held May 19 and 20, 1952, in the Board Room of the Confederation Building, Ottawa.')

Opened by the Minister of D.R.D. and attended by representatives of other Departments and the R.C.M.P. (to include The Commissioner and H.A. Larsen), this meeting covered many issues. It was noted: 'The enforcement of law and order and the laws of the Northwest Territories are considered to be a minor part of the R.C.M. Police duties in the Arctic. Eskimos as a race are law-abiding and there is little crime.

The Police are mainly occupied in welfare work among the natives and act as representatives of other departments in the Arctic. They act as registrars of vital statistics, control the issues of family allowances, old age allowances and pensions, pensions for the blind and relief to the destitute. They assist in establishing Eskimos in better hunting grounds and in caring for them during periods of sickness and epidemics.

They also issue game and hunting licenses, fur export permits, act as post-master and surveyors of boats, and collect revenues for various departments' (fo. 2). It was also noted: ' . . . the immediate need was to assist the natives [i.e. Inuit] to continue to follow their traditional

The minutes of this meeting, the first meeting of what would become the Eskimo Affairs Committee, are available in Lackenbauer and Clancy (2019)

way of life as hunters. *This assistance could be extended by seeing that they were properly equipped and placed in the most suitable areas for hunting. Movements could be initiated from over-populated or depleted districts to areas not presently occupied or where the natural resources could support a greater number of people. . . . This did not mean the Eskimos should be discouraged from accepting any suitable employment that may be offered so long as they could be assured that it would be reasonably permanent or that by following it they would not become wholly incapable of returning to their native way of life if it should fail'* (fo. 4).

#### 1952

EXTRACT NO. 5 (Source: R.C.M.P., Information Access Directorate, File no. D1512-2-4-Q-27 (1952). H.A. Larsen, Officer Commanding, 'G' Division, C.I.B., R.C.M.P. to The Commissioner, R.C.M.P., 22 September 1952.)

Echoing EXTRACT NO. 3, Larsen states: 'I also have in mind a plan to relieve the over population of some areas and a brief outline is as follows: *Could we not transfer by Department of Transport vessel, to Craig Harbour, Cape Sabine and Dundas Harbour, several needy families to these places where colonization by them appears to be suitable and feasible.* The Greenland natives from the Etah and Thule areas have in the past and perhaps recently gained a lucrative hunt from fur bearers and other game. Several Greenland families travelled on Ellesmere Island during this past year' ( fo. 2).

#### 1952

EXTRACT NO. 6 (Source: P.A.C., Federal Archives Division, RG 85, Vol. 1234, File 251-1, vol. 2. A[lexander]. Stevenson, [Arctic Services, D.R.D. ] to [James] Cantley, [head of Arctic Services , D.R.D.,] 8 December 1952.)

Stevenson writes: '*I understand that you are considering the transfer of about ten families from the Port Harrison area of Northern Quebec to Ellesmere Island where they can be looked after by the present R.C.M.P. Detachment at Craig Harbour and by the proposed detachment near Cape Herschel. As you are well aware the Port Harrison natives will have to contend with the dark period which they are not familiar with and although the terrain is similar to the Quebec Coast, I know that from past experiences with the Dorset natives that the dark period causes some discontentment. In connection with the above I would suggest that one or two families from Northern Baffin Island be moved with the Port Harrison group. These Natives would be familiar with conditions and could greatly assist the Port Harrison people, and would help sustain the morale'* (fo. 1).

#### 1952

EXTRACT NO. 7 (Source: P.A.C., Federal Archives Division, RG 85, Vol. 1234, File 251-1, vol. 2. [James] Cantley, Arctic Services, D.R.D. to [7] Mickle, [D.R.D.], 18 December 1952.)

Attached to Cantley's letter is a memorandum, entitled 'Immediate Steps That May Taken to Improve Eskimo Economy and Welfare', stating: '(a) *Transfer of about ten families from the Port Harrison area in Northern Quebec to Ellesmere Island, where they can be looked after by the present R.C.M. Police Detachment at Craig Harbour and by the proposed detachment near Cape Herschel. Transfer of natives' dogs, boats and other equipment to be arranged on the C.G.S. "C.D. Howe" and C.G.S. "d'Iberville" Season 1953. Trade supplies for both detachments to be purchased through Eskimo loan fund and shipped from either Montreal or Churchill by these two vessels. Furs and other produce traded to be brought out to Montreal for disposal and credited to the loan fund, (b) Transfer of about ten families from Northern Quebec and/or Cape Dorset area to Resolute Bay, Cornwallis Island, provided arrangements can be made with the R.C.M. Police to station a man there to look after the natives and enforce observance of Northwest Territories ordinances and regulations. R.C.M. Police officer could probably obtain accommodation and board at either the R.C.A.F. or the Meteorological Station and a small building could probably be made available as a store. Transfer of natives' dogs, boats and other equipment to be arranged by C.G.S. "C.D. Howe" and C.G.S. "d'Iberville" season 1953. Trade supplies to be supplied through loan fund and shipped from either Montreal or Churchill. Eskimos could fund at least seasonable employment at the base. Arrangements could probably be made with the Department of Transport or the R.C.A.F. to employ some on a year round basis as maintenance crew. Furs, Handicrafts and other produce traded could be disposed of either locally to white employees and visitors at the base or brought to Montreal for sale'* (fo. 1).

### 1953

EXTRACT NO. 8 (Source: P.A.C., Federal Archives Division, RG 85, Vol. 80, File 201-1, pt. 28. F.J.G. Cunningham, Director, Northern Administration and Lands Branch, D.R.D. to A. Watson, Marine Superintendent, Department of Transport, 22 April 1953.)

Cunningham advises '...we would like to *transfer fifteen families of Eskimos and their equipment from northern Quebec and Baffin Island to places in the High Arctic. Our plans in this connection have not yet been completed*, but we expect that about seven families will be taken from Port Harrison, four families from Cape Dorset, and four families from Pond Inlet. These would be distributed in groups, of five each, at Resolute Bay, Craig Harbour and Cape Herschel. In addition to about 100 dogs, some of these natives may have boats to be transferred. . . . There will also be about fifteen tons of general cargo for shipment from Churchill to each of the above ports of call' (fo. 1).

### 1953

EXTRACT NO. 9 (Source: P.A.C., Federal Archives Division, RG 85, Vol. 1070, File 251-4, pt. 1. Inspector H.A. Larsen, Officer Commanding, 'G' Division, R.C.M.P. to [F.J.G. Cunningham] The Director, Northern Administration and Lands Branch, D.R.D., 23 May 1953.)

Larsen notes: 'Further to my letter to you on the 20th inst, we have



now received the following replies from Port Harrison and Pond Inlet Detachments concerning the Eskimo families available in those two places for transfer to Craig Harbour and Cape Herschel on Ellesmere (sic) Island, N.W.T.' (fo. 1). Transcriptions of these replies, both dated 22 May 1953, show the following available Inuit.

**from Port Harrison:**

- 1 Fatty (E9-715) Husband
- 2 Mary (E9-909) Wife
- 3 Minnie (E9-914) Daughter
- 4 Larry (E9-1905) Son
- 5 Samwillie (E9-913) Son
- 6 Anna (E9-910) Daughter
- 7 Elijah (E9-912) Son
- 8 Joalamee (E9-71S) Husband (son of Fatty, above)
- 9 Ikoraak (E9-1525) Wife
- 10 Lydia (E9-2223) Daughter
- 11 Philapushie (E9-718) Husband
- 12 Annine (E9-719) Wife
- 13 Pailoosie (E9-720) Son
- 14 Elipsapee (E9-721) Daughter
- 15 Sudlavenich (E9-1765) Husband
- 16 Sarah (E9-898) Wife
- 17 Alie (E9-1860) Son
- 18 Louisa (E9-1993) Daughter
- 19 Jeannie (E9-723) Adopted Daughter
- 20 Simeone (E9-899) Husband
- 21 Sara (E9-1637) Wife
- 22 Jaybeddie (E9-900) Brother of Simeone, above
- 23 Nellie (E9-897) Grandmother of Simeone, above
- 24 Thomassie (E9-1589) Husband
- 25 Mary (E9-1590) Wife
- 26 Alie (E9-1513) Son
- 27 Josephie (E9-1846) Son
- 28 Charlie (E9-2215) Son
- 29 Alex (E9-723) Husband
- 30 Edith (E9-724) Wife
- 31 Markassie (E9-725) Son
- 32 Lizzie (E9-727) Daughter
- 33 Johnnie (E9-1512) Son
- 34 Jimmie (E9-1934) Son

**from Pond Inlet:**

- 35 Angnakudlak (E5-797) Husband
- 36 Koymayoo (E5-788) Wife
- 37 Damaras (E5-789)
- 38 Rhoda (E5-790)
- 39 Killiktee (E5-981)
- 40 Akjaleepik (E5-834) Husband

Not all those who are mentioned here actually are relocated; several changes do seem to have taken place between this telegram and the actual relocation.

- 41 Tataga (E5-835) Wife
- 42 Ootootee (E5-936 )
- 43 Tookahsee (E5-993)
- 44 Muckpa (ES-803)
  
- 45 Amagooalik (E5-791) Husband
- 46 Kanooino (E5-792) Wife
- 47 Muckooloo (E5-871)
- 43 Ekaksak (E5-793)
- 49 Seepohrah (E5-980)
- 50 Merari (E5-1014)

The Pond Inlet reply ends: 'Native families are not related to one another Stop Idlout ES/766 will be working for Doug Wilkinson therefore will not be going Ellesmere this year Stop . . . Contents of your radio-gram have been fully explained to these natives' (fo. 3).

### 1953

EXTRACT NO. 10 (Source : P.A.C., Federal Archives Division, PC 85, Vol. 1207, File 201-1-8 pt. 3. 'Inspection Trip Eastern and Northern Quebec Coast and Southern Baffin Island - June-July, 1953 - A. Stevenson'.)  
(SEE APPENDIX 'A')

On 2-4 July 1953, Alexander Stevenson, Arctic Services, D.R.D., visited Port Harrison with Inspector H.A. Larsen, R.C.M.P. Stevenson reported: 'The economy of the natives of the Port Harrison region was fairly good during the past year. They had a fair fur year - 1500 whites, 30 otter, 5 mink, 65 muskrat. 1,000 seal-skins; and a large quantity of handicrafts were also obtained. This spring seals appeared to be on the increase and the Eskimos were better off for meat than they have been for a number of years .... *I discussed with Cpl. Webster [R.C.M.P.], Mr. Ploughman, Hudson's Bay Company's manager, and Miss Hinds, the Welfare Teacher, the matter of moving seven families of Eskimos from Port Harrison this summer to Craig Harbour, Cape Herschel and Resolute Bay - Arrangements were completed for the transfer of these families and instructions were given to Cpl. Webster to see that all these families had good tents and that they had sufficient clothing and other equipment to take care of their needs until such time as the supplies at their destination can be opened up. Any supplies issued at Port Harrison can be charged as relief and we can allocate it here against the appropriation of \$5,000 which we have for expenses in connection with the transfer of natives, with the exception of clothing material, I suggested that any other items issued should be put on board the "C.D. Howe", in care of the Officer-in-Charge of the Eastern Arctic Patrol for distribution to the natives in question while en route to their final destination. I felt that this might be a better procedure than making a general hand-out to the natives at Port Harrison in the presence of the other Eskimos at the settlement. ... As the majority of the natives to be moved were camped some distance from Port Harrison, I only had the opportunity to interview two of the men who happened to be at the post trading some handicrafts. I discussed the whole project with them and they fully*

understood the plan for their movement. They were well pleased and I was able to answer all their questions to their satisfaction. . . . *One final item regarding the movement is that the Eskimos agreed that they would go north for a period of two years at least - Then if they were dissatisfied or unhappy in their new environment, they could return to Port Harrison'* (fos. 4-5).

### 1953

EXTRACT NO. 11 (Source: P.A.C., Federal Archives Division, RG 22, Vol. 254, File 40-8-1, pt. 4, 'Minutes of a Meeting Held at 10:00 A.M. August 10, 1953, in Room 304, Langevin Block, to Discuss the Transfer of Certain Eskimo Families from Northern Quebec to Cornwallis and Ellesmere Islands.')  
(SEE APPENDIX '3' )

C.J. Marshall of the Advisory Committee on Northern Development's secretariat records: 'Col. Cunningham, Director of the Northern Administration and Lands Branch, Department of Resources and Development, opened the meeting with a resume of the duties and responsibilities of the Department towards the Eskimo of northern Canada and the policy of the Department in providing for their health and welfare. . . . The Administration has found that the eastern coast of Hudson Bay cannot continue to supply the Eskimo there with a reasonable standard of living and, therefore, efforts will be made to re-settle some of the inhabitants in more prosperous areas. *This year the Administration is carrying out an experiment in which it will transplant a small number of Eskimo families from the eastern shore of Hudson Bay to certain settlements in the High North to see if they can find a better living there.* . . . S/L O'Neil [R.C.A.F.] stated that he was afraid that there was not sufficient wildlife in the Resolute area to provide for the proposed Eskimo population. Mr. Cantley replied that he had *reason to believe that there was sufficient marine life to support the Eskimo families concerned. No one could say for sure that this was the case and, consequently, the experiment was being staged.* Mr. Sivertz pointed out that the Canadian Government is anxious to have Canadians occupying as much of the north as possible and it appeared that in many cases the Eskimo were the only people capable of doing this' (fos. 1-2).

### 1953

EXTRACT NO. 12 (Source: P.A.C., Federal Archives Division, RG 85, Vol. 1275, File 164-1, pt. 5. Superintendent H . A. Larsen, Officer Commanding, 'G' Division, R.C.M.P. to [F.J.G. Cunningham) The Director, Northern Administration and Lands Branch, D.R.D., 7 October 1953.)

The above document, a transcript of a radiogram from R.C.M.P. Constable F.R. Gibson of the Resolute Bay Detachment, states: 'Upon the reopening of Resolute Bay Detachment the following natives were settled at this point' ( fo. 1).

**to Resolute:**

Amagooalik (E5-791)  
 Kanooinoos (E5-792)  
 Ekaksak (E5-793)  
 Seepohrah (E5-980)  
 Merari (E5—1014)

Sadluvenich (E9-1765)  
 Sarah (E9-898)  
 Alie (E9-1860)  
 Louisa (E9-1993)  
 Jeannie (E9-723)

Simeonie (E9-899)  
 Sarah (E9-1637)  
 Jaybeddie (E9-900)  
 Nellie (E9-897)

Alex (E9-723)  
 Edith (E9-724)  
 Markosie (E9-725)  
 Lizzie (E9-727)  
 Johnnie (E9-1512)

**1953**

EXTRACT NO. 13 (Source: P.A.C., Federal Archives Division, RG 22, Vol. 254, File 40-8-1, pt. 4. [Probably, Superintendent H.A. Larsen Officer Commanding, 'G' Division, R.C.M.P.) to [F.J.G. Cunningham) The Director, Northern Administration and Lands Branch, D.R.C., 19 October 1953.)

The above document, a copy of a report from R.C.M.P. Constable F.R. Gibson of the Resolute Bay Detachment, notes: *'On September seventh 1953 twenty three Eskimos, men women and children were landed at Resolute Bay, Cornwallis Island. To date satisfactory progress has been made by this group to obtain sufficient country food to last for some time. ... To date there has been no sickness among the natives. Camp moral (sic) is very good and the natives state they are happy with their new home. Arrangements are being made by the writer to have the natives speak over the radio to their people at Port Harrison, it is felt that this will keep the people more settled at this point'* (fo. 1).

**1955**

EXTRACT NO. 14 (Source: P.A.C., Federal Archives Division, RG 85, Vol. 1070, File 251-4, pt. 2. 'Eskimos To Transferred to Resolute Bay - Season 1955'.)

The origin of the document could not be determined. Furthermore, it is not certain if all of the Inuit listed below actually moved from Port Harrison or Pond Inlet to Resolute or Craig Harbour. Inuit said to be destined in 1955 for Resolute were

**from Port Harrison:**

1 Levi (E9-1762) Husband

- 2 Alicee (E9-1763) Wife
- 3 Annie (E9-1532) Daughter (age 7)
- 4 Minnie (E9-1882) Daughter (age 5)
- 5 Philipussie (E9-1986) Son (age 3)
- 6 Anna (E9-2135) Daughter (age 6 mos.)
  
- 7 Joannie (E9- 1635) Husband
- 8 Minnie (E9-1636) Wife
- 9 Sara (E9-1637) Daughter (age 20)
- 10 Lizzie (E9-1638) Daughter (age 16)
- 11 Rynie (E9-1639) Daugnter (age 14)
- 12 Dora (E9-1840) Daughter (age 13)
- 13 George (E9-1641) Son (age 9)
- 14 May (E9-1909) Daughter (age 4)
- 15 Lizzie (E9-2110) Daughter (age 1)
  
- 16 Andrew ( E9-870) Brother-in-Law of Joannie  
(E9- 1635) above (adult)
- 17 ? Mother
- 18 ? Sister (adult)
- 19 ? Brother (adult)

**from Pond Inlet:**

- 20 Idlout (E5-766) Husband (age 40)
- 21 Kidlah (ES-767) Wife (age 39)
- 22 Lea (B5-770) Daughter (age 15)
- 23 Mosesee (E5-771) Son (age 11)
- 24 Pauloosee (E5-772) Son (age 9)
- 25 Noah (E5-976) Son (age 6)
- 26 Ruth (E5—1018) Daughter (age 4)
- 27 Susan (E5-1 051) Daughter (age 1)
  
- 28 Anknowya (E5-781) Mother (age 61)
- 29 Ilksoo ( E5-782) Adopted son (age 17)
- 30 Tenelee (E5-783) Adopted son (age 15)
  
- 31 Oodlaleetah (ES-762) Husband (age 20)
- 32 Estigytook (E5-779) Wife (age 19)
- 33 Teelupoohie (E5-1045) son (age 2)

**1956**

EXTRACT NO. 15 (Source: R.C.M.P. Information Access Directorate, Tile No. G1316-1611956). Superintendent H.A. Larsen, Officer Commanding, 'G' Division, R.C.M.P. to The Commissioner, R.C.M.P., 28 September 1956.)

Larsen advises: 'Our two men there [at Craig Harbour: Cpl. Sargent and Cst. Pilot, have dismantled all the old buildings with the exception of the detachment building itself. From the salvageable lumber they have built one good patrol cabin at Craig Harbour for emergency use . . . The rest of the lumber and spare provisions and equipment had been hauled by dog team to Grise Fiord, about forty miles west of Craig Harbour. . . . *The new location of Grise Fiord is very good. . . . The*

*natives camp is located across the Fiord about six miles away, this is also an ideal spot for them and they are very happy there. The distance from the detachment is about right to make them more less independent and will prevent loitering around, and at the same time they can be assisted by our man with our boats, etc., when needed to obtain walrus and see mammals during open water as their own equipment regarding boats is very inadequate, and it might take some time before they get boats of their own. All told, thanks to the assistance and effort made by our men, the natives settlement has prospered and it was hard for me to realize that they were the same people that I saw landed there in 1953, all in rags and with little or no equipment of any kind. The natives themselves are very grateful for the help they have received and barring any unforeseen accident, they should continue to prosper there for many years. A few young boys and girls might have to be added to the settlement from year to year as they become of marriageable age. Some such arrangements are now underway with the group at Resolute Bay' (foe. 1-2).*

### 1956

EXTRACT NO. 16 (Source: P.A.C., Federal Archives Division, PG 85, Vol. 1234, File 201-1-8. J.C. Jackson, Officer-in Charge, Eastern Arctic Patrol (Part 2), D.R.D. to Deputy Minister, D.R.D. and Director, Northern Administration and Lands Branch, D..-D., 4 December 1956.)

(SEE APPENDIX 'C')

Jackson states: 'I am attaching a report on the Eastern Arctic Patrol covering operations from Churchill onward 1 (fo. 1). In the attached report, pertaining to Inuit at Resolute, Jackson notes: *'The question of returning to Port Harrison for a visit was raised although it was not of immediate urgency. There seems to be some thought that this was in the original agreement.* I pointed out that transportation difficulties might require that visits be for a year and that it would be expensive to transport a family there and back. This was left in abeyance but Constable Gibson should be given policy on this. I do not know what the agreement may have been when the move was first made, but aside from any definite promises, if there were any, I would be inclined to suggest that if any family goes back for a visit, the family should pay part or all of the transportation cost and be able to guarantee to be self-supporting during the visit. . . . The Eskimos at the meeting *also raised the question of bringing their relatives and friends to Resolute.* They pointed out there were Pt. Harrison people who wanted to come. I reminded them that they were now well off for game, seal and walrus, and that too many people in one area could result in a less happy situation. They assured me there was plenty of game and there would be no danger in some increase in population. *With expanding opportunities for employment at Resolute, plus the fact that hunting by reason of lack of boats has been kept to a restricted area, it does seem that 2-5 more families could quite safely be added to the settlement'* (fos. 9-10).

Omitted intentionally from the foregoing extracts are logistical de-

tails of the move in 1953. Should such details be of interest, I include several documents which shed light on the matter (see APPENDIX 'D-1' - 'D-3').

Also omitted from the foregoing extracts are details regarding what was 'agreed' (see EXTRACT NOS. 10 and 16) between Government and the Inuit. This omission is not intentional. Consulted documents reveal no such details. This fact raises questions about the completeness of my archival search.

Regarding my search in the Federal Archives Division, P.A.C., I should note that I employed finding aids to locate files which seemed to offer the best prospects in the limited time available to me. Other files, not consulted, may well bear details of Government's commitments to the Inuit should its 'experiment' (see EXTRACT NO. 11) fail. Of the files I hoped to scrutinize, many were restricted, and some were withheld, owing to the fact that they contained sensitive information which had nothing to do with the subject at hand. I cannot attest to what I could not or did not see. I hasten to add, however, that I have no reason to believe that the archival staff kept relevant information from me. Regarding my work at the Information Access Directorate, R.C.M.P., I should note that I was not permitted to undertake my own search. The Directorate itself provided this service on the basis of my description of the subject at hand and of several R.C.M.P. documents found in D.R.D. files. One such document (see EXTRACT NO. 9) speaks of explaining to the Inuit at Pond Inlet the contents of a radiogram from the Officer Commanding 'G' Division. Coming as this reference does at the end of a list of Inuit who would move to Resolute or Craig Harbour, I had hopes that Government's side of the 'agreement' with Pond Inlet would be revealed in the alluded radiogram. I also had the idea that a parallel radiogram would have been sent to Port Harrison. Unfortunately, the Information Access Directorate, R.C.M.P., periodically destroys documents it considers of no historical consequence. The radiograms in question, apparently judged to be of a housekeeping nature, were destroyed.

Given the documentary indication of an agreement, I proceeded to seek the whereabouts of persons, mentioned in the documents, who proposed a High Arctic relocation to the Inuit at Port Harrison and Pond Inlet, or who were privy to this proposal, in order to learn what commitments Government made to the Inuit. I succeeded in interviewing several such persons (see CONSULTED PERSONS).

### **Key Recollections**

Among the persons I interviewed was Douglas Moodie. In 1953 he was the R.C.M.P. constable at Pond Inlet. To him fell the responsibility (see EXTRACT NO. 4) of proposing the High Arctic relocation to

the Inuit at Pond Inlet and of removing their doubts as to the wisdom of such a move. He recalls that he approached six families and told thee of the apparent need among Port Harrison Inuit for assistance in adjusting to long periods of darkness on Ellesmere and Cornwallis Islands (see EXTRACT NO. 6). He remembers that three families volunteered to provide this assistance (see EXTRACT NO. 9). He told me that he explicitly informed these volunteers, as instructed, that Government would pay their way back to Pond Inlet if the situation they encountered on Ellesmere or Cornwallis Islands did not satisfy them.

Another person I consulted was Ross Gibson. He, as constable , and Corporal Webster constituted the Port Harrison R.C.M.P. detachment in 1953. Webster gave Gibson the task of recruiting Port Harrison Inuit for a northward migration. Gibson declared to me that he gave no undertaking to Inuit volunteers (see EXTRACT NO. 9) that Government would return them at its expense if they did not like their new homes. Neither did he tell them that they would have to pay their own way back to their original homes. He insisted that the matter of returning was never raised prior to the departure of Port Harrison Inuit and himself for the High Arctic. Had this matter arisen, Gibson said that he would not have promised financial backing, as he had no authority to do so.

It is perhaps curious that Port Harrison Inuit appear to have moved to a vastly different environment without the promise of a financed return. According to Marjory Hinds, it fell to her as Welfare Teacher, to explain to the Inuit how different and how far away Resolute and Craig Harbour were from Port Harrison. She emphasized to me that the Inuit were fully aware that adjustments would have to be made and might not succeed. Reuben Ploughman, the H.B.C. manager at the time, told me that he would not be surprised if the Port Harrison Inuit moved without the promise in question. He thought the Inuit at Port Harrison to be extremely trusting of Government. Ploughman's impression may be well founded, given the welfare programs which heavily subsidized these Inuit (see EXTRACT NO. 2).

But the question of a promise is not settled with what Gibson did or did not tell the Port Harrison Inuit. He was not the last official to speak to them before they shipped north. Alex Stevenson talked with two Port Harrison Inuit, who would eventually move, in July 1953 (see EXTRACT NO. 10), roughly a month after Gibson submitted his list of Inuit who volunteered to move (see EXTRACT NO. 9). Because Stevenson died in 1982 (Mrs. Alexander Stevenson , personal communication), I am unable to amplify his crucial remark: ' . . . the Eskimos agreed that they would go north for a period of two



years at least. Then if they were dissatisfied or unhappy in their new environment, they could return to Port Harrison' (see EXTRACT NO. 10). Nor can I explain with certainty why the question of returning to Port Harrison arose when it apparently had not during Gibson's recruitment of Inuit. Unfortunately, Stevenson's otherwise valuable reminiscence (see APPENDIX 'E') says nothing to clarify these issues.

**Logic of Findings** Lacking complete information, I am left to read between the lines. Since the Pond Inlet situation in 1953 is now clear, I confine this reading to the Port Harrison situation in 1953 and 1955, and to the Pond Inlet situation in 1955.

The most telling fact about the High Arctic relocation of Inuit is that Government regarded it as 'an experiment' (see EXTRACT NO. 11, also APPENDIX 'B'). An experiment admits the possibility of failure. Perhaps Stevenson felt it necessary to introduce the idea of a return with this possibility in mind. Having done so, he unavoidably begged the question, if he did not provide an answer, of who would pay for this return. If he did not state outright that Government would foot the bill, it is wholly understandable, at least to me, that the Port Harrison Inuit would infer that Government would do so. After all, it was Government, not the Inuit, that was initiating and funding the experiment; just as it was Government that funded other welfare programs. The Inuit had little reason to suspect that Government would not fund their return. And the same can be said for Inuit moving from Port Harrison and Pond Inlet in 1955 for they, too, were part of the same experiment. How could they not be? They numbered far less than the initial migrants and would have been hard put to sustain themselves in a separate experiment.

Because I find that a promise of a financed return was at least strongly implied in the experiment, should it fail, the question of judging the success or failure of the experiment arises. What were the criteria to be used to make this judgment, and over what scale of time? I offer my thoughts on this matter because it must necessarily be considered in determining the viability of a promise apparently called thirty years after it was made.

Leaving aside the issue of sovereignty, the experiment was initiated in a laudable attempt to make Inuit economically reliant on their own efforts. Government judged the experiment successful because Inuit at both Resolute and Grise Fiord were meeting their daily material needs without undue hardship. They had animals to hunt and, at Resolute, wages to earn. With these improvements it does seem that the experiment was indeed successful. After all, these improvements were the object of the exercise. So why then are the Inuit now asking to be returned to their original homes? Did not Government do these Inuit a good turn? The answer to the latter question depends on the

It seems that the memorandum from Larsen outlining that he explicitly included this promise when sending out requests in April 1953 was not included in this study. Larsen's initial telegram to the RCMP detachments and to Director Cunningham explaining his decision provide an indication that the promise to return was initiated by the RCMP rather than by the DRD. These telegrams can be found as Documents 38 and 39 in S. Grant (2016)

scale of time one applies to the question.

Early on the Inuit no doubt achieved the self-reliance they had lost long before, at least at Port Harrison. But the passage of time quite likely eroded this self-reliance. It did so not because animals and jobs became fewer, but because the Inuit generations at Resolute and Grise Fiord were growing older. The consequence of this aging on the young was that they required spouses in order to maintain the productive and reproductive potential of their population. But from where were these spouses to come? I am speculating here but their population structure (see EXTRACT NOS. 9 and 14), if only vaguely known, suggests increasing difficulty in finding local candidates for marriage. Indeed, the difficulty was in evidence at Grise Fiord as early as 1956 (see EXTRACT NO. 15) and may have been one reason why Inuit at Resolute were asking that more Port Harrison Inuit be brought to Resolute (see EXTRACT NO. 16). Further research, genealogical in nature, would be needed to determine the magnitude of this difficulty.

In conceiving its experiment, Government seems not to have worried about the difficulty of finding spouses in a small population, presumably, it was prepared to facilitate the transfer of more Inuit to the High Arctic.

However, according to Dr. George Wenzel who conducted field-work among the Inuit at Resolute in 1976, further transfers virtually ceased after 1956. Dr. Wenzel permitted me to examine notes made during his research from D.R.D. documents: these notes show that the C.W.S. (Canadian wildlife Service) advised against adding to the numbers of hunters in the Resolute area and elsewhere in the High Arctic, until it could conduct systematic faunal surveys to determine what hunting pressure land and water could sustain. Except for the transfer of two more Port Harrison families in 1958, D.R.D. appears to have followed C.W.S. advice. It does seem that D.R.D. was already fearful of creating the very situation in the High Arctic that it had sought to relieve in northern Quebec (see EXTRACT NO. 16). Thus, Inuit at Resolute and Grise Fiord became not only emotionally but also biologically isolated from where they originated. They had no choice, unless prepared to make their own way home, but to find spouses locally. But if this was a difficulty, it was exacerbated by the fact that Pond Inlet and Port Harrison were not drawn to each other after their initial introduction. Both Douglas Moodie, who was transferred to the R.C.M.P. detachment at Resolute several years after the experiment was initiated, and Dr. Wenzel have told me that very little intermarriage occurred between the two groups.

The upshot of the foregoing comments is that the experiment was not an unqualified success and that the Inuit had grounds to call in

George Wenzel is an anthropologist and geographer, specializing in Canadian Inuit culture and society, and public policy

the promise I am convinced was made. Apparently, they have tried to do so repeatedly since 1956 and not only after thirty years. No one seems to have listened. Perhaps the attitude which is reflected in EXTRACT NO. 16 became policy. In any case, before a fair judgment can be made on the viability of a promise made thirty years ago, some effort must be made to discover the frequency of Inuit requests to return to their original homes and why Government chose not to act financially on these requests.

Acknowledgements: In preparing this report I gratefully acknowledge assistance provided by: Glenn Wright (Federal Archives Division, Public Archives of Canada); Danny Moore (Federal Services Division, Public Archives of Canada); Cpl. Carl Hendrickson (Information Access Directorate, Royal Canadian Mounted Police); Sylvia Ball (Information Services Branch, Royal Canadian Mounted Police); F. Ross Gibson (retired member, Royal Canadian Mounted Police; constable at Port Harrison in 1953); Reuben Ploughman (retired employee, Hudson's Bay Company; post manager at Port Harrison in 1953); Douglas Moodie (retired member, Royal Canadian Mounted Police; constable at Pond Inlet in 1953); and Dr. George Wenzel (Department of Geography, McGill University).

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Some appendices are unfortunately not readable and therefore will not be printed

*Annex 5***POSITION PAPER REGARDING GRISE FIORD/RESOLUTE BAY  
RELOCATION ISSUE**

JANUARY 20, 1987

Makivik Corporation

Inuit Tapirisat of Canada

Kativik Regional Government

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.....

(4) Field Trips to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay.....

(5) Meeting in Frobisher Bay of Grise Fiord/ Resolute Bay Inuit on  
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This Annex contains the original position paper submitted on January 20, 1987 to DIAND, upon which the paper in "Appendix "ABOR-9": Annexes to the SCAA, June 18, 1990" (the 1990 paper submitted to SCAA), is based. There are some key differences between this original paper and the paper to which this annex is attached, noted in the margins below.

|                                              |  |
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| ANNEXES                                      |  |

A. BACKGROUND TO ISSUE During the 1950's, in particular, in the years 1953, 1955 and 1957, a number of Inuit of Inukjuak (Port Harrison), Québec were relocated by the federal government to Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord in the High Arctic. The primary stated purpose by the Government of Canada for this relocation was to reduce the hunting pressure on the resource base of Inukjuak. The High Arctic was said by government to be rich in resources. Additional stated justifications for the relocation were the potential for employment, especially at Resolute Bay as well as the need for a Canadian "presence", especially in Grise Fiord. It should be noted that prior to the 1950's, R.C.M.P. detachments on Ellesmere Island were supported not by Canadian Inuit but by Inuit from Greenland. Canada attempted to facilitate the adaptation of northern Québec Inuit from Inukjuak to the High Arctic by a concurrent relocation of Inuit families from Pond Inlet to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in 1953.

Inukjuak is characteristic of many Arctic communities in that it was originally used by Inuit as a large seasonal village. Later, it became the site of a Hudson Bay Company post that served the outlying villages. Activity slowly increased and new agencies began to establish themselves in Inukjuak. By the early 1960's, it had become a central community site and represented a consolidation of the previously disbursed regional population. Throughout the 1970's, the growth of Inukjuak continued and by the 1980's, this community had become a major centre of the region and of all of northern Québec.

Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord, on the other hand, were not the creations of Inuit community life but instead were artificially created by government. Although the areas which these two communities serve and even the sites themselves have been used by Inuit for centuries, there was not the same development sequence related to Inuit population as there was in Inukjuak and other northern Québec villages. Resolute Bay was formed in 1947 as a meteorological station for a joint Canadian-American expedition known as Arctops. In fact, a different site was intended for this base but bad ice conditions and a late arrival of ships made Resolute Bay the only alternative site.

With respect to Grise Fiord, it was selected as the site of a new community by the federal government and was created in 1953. It was located close to an R.C.M.P. post that served as a source of trade goods. The relocation of northern Québec Inuit families to Grise Fiord enabled the R.C.M.P. detachment to use Canadian Inuit as guides and hunters rather than to have to hire Inuit families from

Greenland.

At the time of the relocations in the 1950's, Inuit involved had been told by federal officials that the moves were "experimental" and that Inuit would be moved back to Inukjuak if they did not like the new conditions in the High Arctic. The relocation process began in July 1953. Seven families were moved to Grise Fiord and four families were moved to Resolute Bay. In 1955, six more families were transported to Resolute Bay by ship and one family was moved to Grise Fiord.

In 1957, one more family was moved to Resolute Bay. In 1959, the federal government terminated efforts to relocate Inuit to Grise Fiord or Resolute Bay.

However, as early as 1954, many of the relocated Inuit were asking the federal government to be moved back to Inukjuak. In 1966, several of the original families that had been relocated from Inukjuak to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay requested permission to the federal government to return to Inukjuak but this request, like many others, was ignored and even actively discouraged by Canada. In the late 1970's, two families returned to Inukjuak and another family to the Hudson Bay area, all at their own initiative and at their own expense without any cooperation, understanding or assistance from the federal government. Indeed, until very recently, the federal government has virtually ignored all requests of Inuit in Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord to move back to Inukjuak.

The relocation of Inuit from Inukjuak to the High Arctic was ostensibly based on three primary considerations: the first involved an assumption about the need to move people from areas considered as "resource poor" to those areas thought to be "resource rich" in exploitable natural food resources; second, was the assumption about the need to improve economic conditions by shifting Inuit from areas that did not have a potential for wage labour to those areas which appeared to have such a potential; third, was Canada's post World War II concern with an increased Canadian presence in the High Arctic. The first and second of the above reasons were those used by government to encourage Inuit to relocate.

There is overwhelming evidence to suggest that the central, if not the sole, reason for the relocation of Inuit to the High Arctic was the desire by Canada to assert its sovereignty over the Arctic islands and surrounding area. Indeed, there is little factual evidence to explain why some areas of the Arctic were determined by the government to be "resource poor" and other areas to be "resource rich". In fact, none of the archival data is specific on this point, but it does appear from this material as though the assessment by the government of resource potential in the Arctic was based primarily upon observa-

These two sentences exist in the original 1987 version but are deleted from the 1990 version.

tions set out in the reports submitted to the Federal Department of Resources and Development (Northern Administration and Lands Branch) during the late 1940's and early 1950's.

Moreover, there is no evidence to support the federal government's assumption in the early 1950's of the severe depletion of game resources in the Inukjuak region of Québec. However, it should be noted that in the early 1950's economic and health conditions in the north were bad almost everywhere due mainly to the failure of the government to establish policies or programs to significantly improve either the economic system of the north (fur trading) or the health delivery system. The Inukjuak region was certainly subjected to poor economic and health conditions at the time, but probably no more so than any other areas in the Arctic. Consequently, justification for the relocation to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay based upon poor economic conditions or a poor natural resource base did not hold up under closer scrutiny.

Archival material from the 1950's supports the view that the primary reason of the Government of Canada for moving Inuit from Inukjuak to the High Arctic was to establish Canadian occupation there and confirm Canadian sovereignty.

As recent as 1983, Canada confirmed that this relocation of Inuit was undertaken in order to entrench Canadian sovereignty claims to the High Arctic. The former Honourable John Munro, Minister of D.I.A.N.D., presented a discussion paper prepared by Environment Canada entitled "Environment Canada and the North" at the third General Assembly of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference held in Frobisher Bay in July, 1983 (See Annex 1 to the present submission). This federal paper, in discussing the evolution of resource-use policy in Canada's north, provides as follows (page 59):

It is worth noting that before World War II, priority was given to traditional forms of northern occupancy in large areas of the North. However, the prime reasons for this were not entirely due to concern for Native welfare and northern environmental quality. Issues of Canadian sovereignty were the principal concerns. Both the Native people and the environment were used as important elements in formulating strategies to advance Canada's jurisdictional claims in the Arctic.

For example, at the turn of the century. Otto Sverdrup discovered Axel Heiberg and Ellef Ringnes Islands and claimed them for Norway. In response, Canada reasserted her claim to the islands of the High Arctic. To confirm this claim, Canada created a game preserve in the Arctic Islands in 1926, and stated that the hunting grounds of the Arctic should be preserved for the Native Eskimos (Inuit). Various additions were made to the preserve up until 1945, at which time over 1.3 million square kilometres (over one-half a million square miles) were set aside covering all the Arctic Islands and a large part of the rest of the Northwest Territories. *To further entrench the sovereignty claim, the*

The temporal language in this paragraph differs slightly between the 1987 version ("as recent as 1983") and the 1990 version ("further, in 1983"), providing some indication of the development of arguments and information. See "Annex 1" in "Appendix "ABOR-6": Annexes to the SCAA, March 19, 1990" above.



*government relocated Inuit people from northern Québec to the Arctic Islands in the mid-1950's.*<sup>6</sup>

Since the 1950's, the Inuit involved have made repeated requests to the Government of Canada to be returned to their homes in Inukjuak. Since 1978, Makivik Corporation as well as Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (I.T.C.), at the insistence of their respective memberships as expressed through Annual General Assembly meetings (See Annex 1), have made representations to various D.I.A.N.D. Ministers and Deputy-Ministers concerning the plight of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay Inuit and the need for the Government of Canada to act to rectify its negligent and inhuman treatment of those Inuit it relocated in the 1950's. The more Makivik and I.T.C. called for action by the federal government on this issue, the more D.I.A.N.D. made promises of housing and other remedial and compensatory measures for Inuit of Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay but never followed through on any of such commitments. Makivik and I.T.C. repeatedly referred the federal government to the fact that it had made promises to Inuit who had been relocated that if they did not like Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay that they could be returned to their homes of origin in Inukjuak. Because of Makivik and I.T.C. repeated demands for action from D.I.A.N.D., D.I.A.N.D. finally gave a contract to an independent consultant (Mark M. Hammond) and commissioned this consultant to determine whether there had in fact been a promise by the Government of Canada to the relocated Inuit to finance their return to their original homes in Inukjuak and Pond Inlet.

This Report, entitled "Report of Findings on an Alleged Promise of Government to Finance the Return of Inuit at Resolute and Grise Fiord to their Original Homes at Port Harrison (Inukjuak) and Pond Inlet" (D.I.A.N.D. Contract No : 84-099) was submitted to D.I.A.N.D. on August 3, 1984 (see Annex 4 to the present submission). The Report indicated that Inuit who were moved to the High Arctic in the 1950's "quite likely received a promise from government that they could return after two years, if they so desired." The Report emphasized that if such Inuit did not receive a specific promise in this regard, it is clear that they were not discouraged from thinking that they did.

The Report also raises serious doubts as to the "resource richness" of the Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay area in that documents from the 1950's suggest that the Canadian Wildlife Service advised against adding to the number of hunters in the Resolute Bay area and also in the High Arctic until it could conduct systematic faunal surveys to determine what hunting pressure the land and water could in fact sustain.

The Report (at page 1) concludes as follows:

6. emphasis in submission

The 1990 version of the paper includes several additional paragraphs that provide an overview of the Coolican Task Force Report, a DIAND Research Branch report entitled "The Government of Canada and the Inuit, 1900-1967" (published in 1985), and the correspondence between Makivik Corporation and DIAND Minister Bill McKnight in 1987. These three paragraphs provide additional context for the federal government's 1980s perspective on the history of Inuit governance.

This Annex is included below as part of the 1987 position paper.

"Briefly my findings are:

1. Pond Inlet Inuit moving in 1953 received such a promise in no uncertain terms;
2. Port Harrison Inuit moving in 1953 quite likely received such a promise, but if they did not, it is clear that they were not discouraged from thinking that they did; and
3. Pond Inlet and Port Harrison Inuit moving in 1955 probably moved with the same understanding as Inuit moving in 1953 . . . Inuit at both Resolute and Grise Fiord were asking government as early as 1956 to facilitate reunion with relatives and friends left behind at Port Harrison and Pond Inlet."

Several political commitments were obtained by Makivik and I.T.C. from D.I.A.N.D. Ministers and D.I.A.N.D. Deputy-Ministers since 1982. On September 26, 1983, the then Honourable John Munro, Minister of D.I.A.N.D., made a commitment that he would deal with this issue within one month. This was never done. Similar commitments were made by the same Minister to Makivik on February 19, 1984 in Kuujuaq. Similar commitments were made by the then Honourable David Crombie, Minister of D.I.A.N.D. in 1985 and 1986, all with no results.

On February 26, 1985 and again on April 3, 1985, Inuit representatives from Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord along with I.C.N.I. and Makivik, as well as the Mayor of Inukjuak, met with D.I.A.N.D. Minister Crombie to discuss a proposed relocation of Inuit of Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay back to Inukjuak. At that time, Inuit concerns were described to the Minister as encompassing three main areas: (1) matters relating to carrying out a complete relocation to Inukjuak financed by the federal government; (2) social disruption which families involved have suffered and continue to suffer and the compensation which Inuit seek as a result; and (3) the contribution the relocated families have made in assisting Canada to assert its sovereignty in the High Arctic and the recognition which should be bestowed by the government to those Inuit involved.

At the April 3, 1985 meeting the then Honourable Minister Crombie confirmed that he was taking action to secure additional housing for Inukjuak in connection with the proposed relocation and that it might be possible to obtain a letter from the Prime Minister giving appropriate recognition to the contribution of Inuit to Canadian sovereignty. No concrete action by the federal government has resulted from either of these meetings.

On May 7, 1984, a telex drafted in clear terms calling for federal government to act on the Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay issue was

The 1990 version of the position paper is much more specific about the meetings that took place between Makivik, ITC, and DIAND during the 1980s and includes an outline of the activities conducted by Makivik and ITC during 1986, resulting in the 1987 position paper (this document) that is then briefly summarized. The 1990 version does not, however, include reference to the commitments made by John Munro or David Crombie.

sent to the Honourable John Munro, the then D.I.A.N.D. Minister; the Honourable Mark MacGuigan, the then Minister of Justice; the Honourable John H. Parker, Commissioner of N.W.T., and the Honourable Richard Nerysoo, Minister of Justice for N.W.T.

B. RECENT ACTIONS OF INUIT ORGANIZATIONS REGARDING ISSUE During 1986, Makivik and the national Inuit organizations (Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (I.T.C.) and Inuit Committee on National Issues (I.C.N.I.) have taken a number of steps to concretize the actual requests for assistance being made by Inuit of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay and to convey such requests to the federal government. Though there has been much correspondence and meetings during 1986, the main actions taken were the following:

1. Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay Inuit meeting in Frobisher Bay on February 12-15, 1986:

On February 12-15, 1986 many of the complaints and demands of Inuit of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay were reviewed in a meeting in Frobisher Bay between I.T.C., I.C.N.I., Makivik Corporation, the Kativik Regional Government, the Northern Village Corporation of Inukjuak and Inuit representatives of the families affected by the Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay relocations of the 1950's. This meeting resulted in a telex being sent, February 14, 1986, to the then Honourable David E. Crombie, D.I.A.N.D. Minister, the then Honourable William McKnight, Minister of Labour and the Honourable André Bourbeau, Québec Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing calling for a minimum of ten (10) new housing units to be built in Inukjuak in the summer of 1986 to alleviate housing shortages caused by those Inuit who have already moved from Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay back to Inukjuak and also for those Inuit currently in the process of relocating. Secondly, the telex indicated that a detailed list of compensatory and other measures all directly related to the Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay relocation issue would be submitted to the Minister of D.I.A.N.D. in the near future for attention and action. This telex was signed by the leadership of I.C.N.I., I.T.C., the Kativik Regional Government, Makivik Corporation, Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay Inuit, as well as the Vice- President of the Baffin Region Inuit Association (B.R.I.A.) and the Northern Village Corporation of Inukjuak. Though both Canada and Québec have since suggested that ten (10) housing units would be built in Inukjuak in the summer of 1987, no clear guarantee has been received by either government in this regard.

The meeting proved to be an extremely emotive experience for the 20 members of the Grise Fiord, Resolute Bay, Pond Inlet and Inukjuak communities who attended the meeting. It provided the

The 1990 version of this paper includes the information in Part B "Recent Actions of Inuit Organizations Regarding Issue" within Part A, and adds four new paragraphs into Part B discussing "Developments Since 1987 Concerning Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay Inuit".

The 1990 version confirms that housing units were not constructed in either the 1986 or 1987 construction seasons.

first real opportunity for these people to express both the facts and feelings surrounding the federal relocation of Inuit from Inukjuak to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in the 1950's. It also provided the first real opportunity for the leaders of each of the major Inuit organizations in Canada concerned to hear first-hand of these experiences.

Aside from the 20 representatives of the concerned communities, present were Mark R. Gordon, President of Makivik Corporation; Rhoda Inuksuk, President of I.T.C.; Zebedee Nungak, Co-Chairperson of I.C.N.I.; John Amagoalik, Co-Chairperson of I.C.N.I.; Sam Omik, Vice-President of B.R.I.A., and Simeonie Nalaturuk, Chairman of the Kativik Regional Government. The 20 representatives of the concerned communities who attended the meeting were the following:

|                        |                    |
|------------------------|--------------------|
| Andrew Iqaluk          | Jackoosie Iqaluk   |
| Jaybeddie Amagoalik    | Lizzie Amagoalik   |
| Samwillie Elijassialuk | Edith Patsauq      |
| Markusie Patsauq       | Simeonie Amarualik |
| Minnie Echaloook       | George Echaloook   |
| Levi Nungak            | Sarah Amarualik    |
| Ryned Auplak           | Larry Audlaluk     |
| Pauloosie Nungak       | Rynée Flaherty     |
| Ekoomak Akiatuguaq     | Simon Akpaliapik   |
| Jaybeddie Amagoalik    | Samuel Anukudluk   |

2. Request to Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development of February 26, 1986:

Pursuant to the February 12-14 meeting in Frobisher Bay of Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay representatives and representatives of the major national Inuit organizations as well as major regional organizations within northern Québec, a request was made to the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development to have Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay people appear before the Standing Committee concerning the overall lack of federal action in regard to the Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay relocation issue. In fact, a hearing date was secured for June 17, 1986 but this date was found to be too early since it prevented proper preparation by the groups concerned. During June a further request was made to the Standing Committee requesting that a hearing take place over a five-day period in Frobisher Bay sometime in late September 1986. The Standing Committee responded by indicating that the Committee was unable to go to Frobisher Bay and that the hearing could not exceed one day. In preparation for such hearing, it was decided to conduct additional field work during the month of September,

This paragraph does not exist in the 1990 version, which instead explains the steps taken in 1986/87 by Makivik, culminating in the January 1987 position paper.

These individuals from the concerned communities are not listed explicitly in the 1990 version.

The request for a hearing before the SCAA in 1986 does not appear in the 1990 documents. Instead, the 1990 version of the paper discusses the request for new housing units in Inukjuak and for compensatory measures.

1986 in order to confirm and solidify the overall demands being made by the Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay Inuit. Failing a concrete response in January 1987 from D.I.A.N.D. in regard to the measures called for in the present Statement, Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay people will probably appear before the Standing Committee some time in February 1987.

3. Meeting with the Honourable Bill McKnight, Minister of D.I.A.N.D.:

On August 12, 1986, Makivik met with the Honourable Bill McKnight, Minister of D.I.A.N.D., in Ottawa to discuss a number of implementation issues and during that meeting submitted a budget totalling \$91,162 to enable Makivik and I.T.C. to pursue research, consultation and negotiations with the Government of Canada concerning the Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay relocation issue over the next six months. No response to this budget request has yet been received despite the fact that D.I.A.N.D. requested (as a pre-condition to further funding) and received from Makivik a detailed report concerning the February 12-15 meeting in Frobisher Bay to which D.I.A.N.D. contributed some financial assistance.

This meeting is also not discussed in the 1990 version.

4. Field Trips to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay:

During the month of September 1986, two highly experienced field workers conducted trips to Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord to discuss issues related to the Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay relocation and to conduct a detailed survey as to precise families and individuals desiring to relocate to Inukjuak. The results of this field work have been carefully studied and tabulated and confirm that at least 13 families, some of the original relocated families and some of their descendants, want to relocate to Inukjuak as soon as possible.

5. Meeting in Frobisher Bay of Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay Inuit on November 28 - December 1, 1986:

From November 28 to December 1, 1986, Makivik met in Frobisher Bay with several representatives of the Grise Fiord community, Pond Inlet, the Resolute Bay community as well as representatives of those Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay Inuit who have already moved back to Inukjuak. The meeting served as an important update for all representatives with respect to actions taken to date on the issue. In particular, a review was made of the discussions which took place on November 5, 1986 between Makivik and D.I.A.N.D. officials in Ottawa at which time Makivik had discussed the housing needs for Inukjuak to accommodate Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay people in the coming summer of 1987 and the necessity for a trust fund to compensate the original families relocated for all damages suffered in the original moves and subsequent thereto. It

was decided at this meeting that a compensatory trust fund of \$10 Million would be the minimum amount which the 19 original families relocated in the 1950's to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay could reasonably consider. Most of the time in the meeting was devoted to discussing the suffering encountered by the original families during the original relocations in the 1950's and the damage and suffering they have suffered in the 30-35 years subsequent. Present at this meeting from Grise Fiord was Larry Audlaluk from Pond Inlet, Samuel Anukudluk; and from Inukjuak, Markoosie Patsauq and Samwillie Elijassialuk. Present from Resolute Bay was Levi Nungak and Simeonie Amagoalik. In addition, the meeting was used to tabulate personal property and transportation costs of the five families who did in fact move on their own initiative back to Inukjuak over the last sixteen years. These figures are included later in the present statement.

Samuel Anukudluk also uses the surname Arnakallak.

Levi Nungak was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1955 along with his wife and four children

### C. NATURE OF SUFFERING, INCONVENIENCE, SOCIAL DISRUPTION AND PREJUDICE

The August 3, 1984 Report (Hammond Report) discussed above, contains a number of archival extracts from R.C.M.P. reports and material of the then Federal Department of Resources and Development (Northern Administration and Lands Branch) which only begin to shed some light on the motivations and actions of the federal government at the time of these relocations in the 1950's. This documentation also tends to confirm the complete lack of consultation and information with the Inuit concerned at the time and the purposeful refusal by the federal government to comprehend the fundamental social, economic, physical and psychological changes Inuit from Inukjuak had to undergo in these relocations. Some of the R.C.M.P. reports drawn from the archival material of the 1950's even raises certain social and environmental concerns which might result from the relocations and affect the Inuit but fails to address them in any meaningful way.

For example, concerns were expressed with regard to insufficiency of land-based wildlife in the Resolute Bay area and Grise Fiord area . In addition, some concern was expressed with respect to the unfamiliarity of the environment, in particular, the long periods of darkness on Ellesmere Island, in contrast to the Inukjuak area and that this might cause some "discontentment" amongst Inuit being relocated and might even effect their "morale". Some concern was mentioned in this documentation of the lack of availability of a sufficient pool of potential spouses for those who had relocated to Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord and the inability of Inuit relocating to be able to find suitable candidates for marriage in order to maintain the productive and reproductive potential of their population.

The archival material merely touches upon the possibility of individual family and community life disruption. However, a fuller description and impact of the suffering and abuse encountered by the original relocated families and many of their descendants is more fully appreciated from descriptions provided by the people themselves during our meetings during 1986, most of which have been recorded for historical and other purposes.

From these discussions the following types of suffering, social disruption and damage generated by the initial relocations in the 1950's have become apparent. These sources and types of suffering, disruption and damage are by no means exhaustive.

#### 1. Climate:

Unlike Inukjuak where the summer is approximately three and one-half (3 1/2) months in duration, summer in Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay is no more than a period of six (6) weeks. Unlike Inukjuak, in Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay there is no daylight from the month of October through to the month of February inclusive. As well, there is no darkness there from April to October. Unlike Inukjuak, there is no snow on the ground with which to build igloos until January whereas in Inukjuak such snow is available for construction by November. Temperatures and weather conditions generally are much colder and more severe in Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord and are of greater duration than in Inukjuak.

In regard to ice conditions, ice formations remain throughout the spring and summer in Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay whereas in Inukjuak the ice disappears in late spring. This has serious consequences for the use of boats and canoes in Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay because use of water craft is only possible in the months of August and September whereas in Inukjuak, such activities can take place for at least five or six months. The people also expressed great concern over the fact that there is very little rain in Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in comparison to Inukjuak.

Overall, Inuit described the difference in climatic conditions between Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay and Inukjuak as "very different".

#### 2. Hunting Strategy, Availability of Renewable Resources and Dietary Changes;

The relocation from Inukjuak to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay represented a fundamental change in the diet of Inuit involved. Representatives of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay continually remark on the balanced diet they enjoyed in Inukjuak (i.e., a balance of land, game and marine game) whereas in Grise Fiord and Resolute, the

diet consisted mainly of sea mammals. This represented a major change in diet and in hunting patterns for these Inuit. More particularly, in Inukjuak there was an abundance of birds, eggs, fish, caribou, seal, walrus and whale. In contrast, in Grise Fiord and Resolute, there were few birds, no mussels, very rarely caribou and for the most part, the food sources were derived from whales, seals, walrus (i.e., sea mammals). Representatives remarked repeatedly on the limited selection of birds in the High Arctic in contrast to the great abundance and variety of birds in Inukjuak. There appeared to only be eider ducks but no geese in the High Arctic. Not only was there a major change in diet for those relocated, but the season available for using the water for hunting and fishing was also extremely limited, as above-described. Consequently, Inuit who had been relocated had to adjust to a different diet with limited means and seasons in which to obtain food. Long periods of darkness also complicated the search for food in Grise Fiord and Resolute.

In addition, the new residents of Grise Fiord and Resolute were required to completely relearn a hunting strategy suitable to the environment and resources of the region. While game was present, it was inaccessible until the hunters developed knowledge of the land required to hunt effectively. This caused a great degree of stress both personally for the hunters involved and affected the level of food availability for the group.

3. Employment and cash income:

Employment was easier to find in Inukjuak than it was in Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay during the 1950's to the 1970's. This made cash much less available which in turn meant that Inuit in Grise Fiord and Resolute were much more dependant on the R.C.M.P. detachment and military activities in Resolute Bay. In Inukjuak cash could also be obtained through the sale by Inuit of country food to non-Natives. This was not possible in either Grise Fiord or Resolute Bay. In fact, most Inuit who did perform services for the R.C.M.P. detachment in Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay, such as hunting or acting as guides, received no payment whatsoever for their work over several years. Many have asked for an investigation into what they refer to as "forced labour" during that period.

4. Population size:

The difference in population size also generated severe stress and anxiety for those Inuit relocated from Inukjuak to Grise Fiord and Resolute. Whereas there was a larger population of individuals in Inukjuak (several hundreds), in Grise Fiord and Resolute there was only a very small population of Inuit (less than 100 persons

The 1990 version of this paper outlines these activities more explicitly and provides additional details regarding minimum salary and government policies for payment for services.



in both Resolute and Grise Fiord). Even the population today suggests strong differences between Grise Fiord (180 persons, including Inuit and non-Inuit) and Resolute Bay (225 persons, including Inuit and non-Inuit) and Inukjuak (850 persons, including Inuit and non-Inuit). As discussed earlier, the population size greatly affected the ability of young Inuit in Grise Fiord and Resolute to find spouses since the biological pool was extremely small.

Indeed, there are stories of Inuit in Grise Fiord having to go many years in search of a spouse in other communities such as Resolute and Frobisher Bay before finding someone to marry. Such severe social deprivation did not exist in southern Inuit communities such as Inukjuak.

5. Religious practices:

The spiritual needs of the people were also negatively affected by the relocations. In Inukjuak in the 1950's there was a church and a permanent Minister to serve the spiritual needs of the population. In Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay there were no such religious facilities or Ministers until the beginning of the 1960's. Inuit of Grise Fiord and Resolute who had been relocated from Inukjuak received no spiritual guidance for several years and thus were lacking in a basic support system at a time of extreme change and stress in their lives.

6. Community and family life:

The relocation to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay disrupted both the community and the "sense of community" that existed in Inukjuak: it separated and divided families. From a cohesive community with intense family ties in Inukjuak, Inuit were moved to an uncertain new existence in an alien environment without the availability and proximity and support of family relatives and friends. Many of the Inuit involved in relating their experiences to fieldworkers have likened these relocations of the 1950's to the plight of refugees in Europe during and after World War II: people without a land, without a home and without a family.

Like the lack of spiritual support in the early years in Grise Fiord and Resolute, there was also lack of yet other important support systems (community, family ties and friends) to help these people during the most traumatic changes in their lives.

From a cohesive community in Inukjuak these people were moved to a place of no community. From many friends and family ties in Inukjuak, these people were moved to an area of no family ties and no friends. Such was the lack of complete community in Grise Fiord and Resolute that an individual could not even find a

spouse: he or she had to travel to other communities where there existed cultural differences and language differences in order to try and make contact with another human being to marry and to create a family and to hence carry on life.

Children and other descendants of the original families relocated to Grise Fiord and Resolute have lost their social and cultural roots and ties. They also have foregone much of the know ledge, teachings and customs that they would have gained in Inukjuak had their families never been relocated to the High Arctic (for example, hunting skills; carving skills; and general knowledge of the lay of the country). Many of the children of the families originally relocated now feel homeless; they do not feel they belong in Grise Fiord or Resolute and they do not feel they belong in Inukjuak.

So profound are the impacts of these relocations of the 1950's that the social and cultural consequences are felt, and will be felt, by many generations of descendants of the original relocated families. Clearly, the so-called "experiment" of the federal government has been a disastrous failure with untold enormous human suffering and tragedy.

This final sentence is not included in the 1990 version.

#### 7. Government, Medical and other services:

Unlike Inukjuak in the 1950's, Grise Fiord and Resolute had no Hudson Bay store and no govern mental services. Governmental services did not appear in Grise Fiord and Resolute until 1962. Instead of a Hudson Bay store, there was simply a government trading store in Grise Fiord. This lack of a Hudson Bay store was highly significant for the Inuit because such a store back in Inukjuak and other Inuit communities further south provided credit to Inuit which enabled them to purchase the staples they needed to hunt and fish and generally carry on their traditional activities. There was no credit provided to Inuit in either Grise Fiord or Resolute. This made traditional life extremely difficult and stressful. Moreover, instead of the presence of various government services as existed in Inukjuak, in Grise Fiord there was only the R.C.M.P. detachment which was also responsible for dispensing all services normally handled by other government departments including medical services, welfare, postal services and so on.

The 1990 version expands this to include that there were no supply stores run by the HBC or any other organization.

There are documented cases of relocated Inuit having received welfare payments in Inukjuak and such payments abruptly coming to an end when these individuals were relocated to Grise Fiord. Numerous potential retroactive claims exist amongst Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay Inuit involved in these relocations.

In regard to medical services, though there was a medical nursing station in Inukjuak in the 1950's, there were no permanent medical

The 1990 version includes additional examples, and broadens the types of government assistance by referring to "welfare-type" payments, rather than simply "welfare payments".

facilities in Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay except for a R.C.A.F. nurse in Resolute Bay. Even this nurse had no authority to send Inuit south for treatment. Many original family members of the original families relocated who are deceased (pages 34-35 below) would still be living today if there had been medical facilities available to them in Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in the 1950's.

With respect to education facilities and services, though these existed in Inukjuak, there were no schools in Grise Fiord or Resolute Bay until 1962.

Recorded discussions with Inuit of Grise Fiord and Resolute who had been relocated in the 1950's reveal extreme suffering, depression, anxiety and physical and mental deprivation both during the initial relocations and in the 30-35 years subsequent thereto. In discussions with the original families and their descendants, the picture becomes clear that these Inuit were plummeted into a hostile, unfamiliar environment with little consultation or explanation concerning the reason for what was transpiring; inadequate equipment; a violent break with family and friends; an elimination of all spiritual support; a radical change in diet and availability of food: all for the purpose of enabling the federal government to assert and establish its claims of sovereignty in the High Arctic.

More recently (since 1975), these individuals have been deprived of their rights and benefits under the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement signed in 1975 of which these Inuit are acknowledged beneficiaries. They are unable to use their traditional hunting and fishing areas and to take part in the various governmental and other bodies provided for in the Agreement. It does not appear, however, that they were ever considered in the original computation of the overall compensation monies provided to northern Québec Inuit under the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement.

The 1990 version includes an additional section on "Food Staples, Fuel, Clothing and Basic Supplies".

This is explained in greater detail in the 1990 version.

#### D. GRISE FIORD/RESOLUTE BAY RELOCATIONS AS VIOLATION OF CIVIL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS

The history of the Inuit of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay relocated from Inukjuak in the 1950's and federal government inaction to rectify such tragedy constitute violations of almost every relevant provincial, national and international Convention, Charter, Covenant, Resolution or law dealing with human rights and freedoms. More particularly, and by way of example only, the following provisions of human rights documents may have particular relevance to this issue:

1. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights provides in part as follows:

**"Article 5**

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment."

**"Article 12**

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondents, nor to a tax upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks."

**"Article 17**

- 1 Everyone has the right to own property alone or as well as in association with others.
- 2 No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property."

**"Article 23**

- 1 Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.
- 2 Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.
- 3 Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.
- 4 Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests."

**"Article 25**

- 1 Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control . . ."

**"Article 27**

- 1 Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in the scientific advancement and its benefits . . ."

The *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* was adopted and proclaimed by the General Assembly in 1948. The *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* has been accepted by Canada .

2. The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights provides in part as follows:

**"Article 10**

The States Parties to the present Covenant recognized that:

- 1 The widest possible protection and assistance should be accorded to the family, which is the natural and fundamental group unit of society, particularly for its establishment and while it is responsible for the care and education of dependant children. Marriage

must be entered into with the free consent of the intending spouses . . ."

**"Article 11**

- 1 The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions . . . "

**"Article 12**

- 1 The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health . . . "

The *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in December 1966 and entered into force in January 1976. The *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* has been accepted by Canada.

3. The *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* provides in part as follows:

**"Article 7**

No one shall be subject to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. In particular, no one shall be subjected without his free consent to medical or scientific experimentation."

**"Article 12**

- 1 Everyone lawfully within the territory of a State shall , within that territory , have the right to liberty of movement and freedom to choose his residence . . .
- 4 No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of the right to enter his own country."

**"Article 17**

- 1 No one shall be subject to arbitrary or unlawful interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to unlawful attacks on his honour and reputation.
- 2 Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks."

The *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in December 1966 and entered into force in March 1976. The *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* has been accepted by Canada.

4. The *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* contained in the *Constitution Act, 1982* provides in part as follows:

"Life, liberty and security of the person

- 7 Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of the person and the right not to be deprived thereof except in accordance with the principles of fundamental justice."

"Treatment or punishment

- 12 Everyone has the right not to be subjected to any cruel and unusual treatment or punishment.

The *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* has become part of the Constitution of Canada by virtue of the enactment of the *Canada Act, 1982* by the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

5. The *Québec Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms* (R.S.Q., c.C-12) provides in part as follows:

- 5 "Every person has a right to respect for his private life."  
 6 "Every person has a right to the peaceful enjoyment and free disposition of his property, except to the extent provided by law."  
 7 "A person's home is inviolable."  
 8 "No one may enter upon the property of another or take anything therefrom without his express or implied consent."  
 43 "Persons belonging to ethnic minorities have a right to maintain and develop their own cultural interests with the other members of their group."

Application of these provincial, national and international statements of human rights and freedoms to the facts relating to the Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay relocations of the 1950's set forth earlier in this Statement demonstrate a clear division between what the Government of Canada promises to do and what in fact it has done and continues to do to some of its citizens. Indeed, Canada's treatment of Inuit relocated to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay constitute violations of human rights guarantees at every level of government and jurisdiction.

Though the Inuit of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay have not to date chosen to pursue their claims through the established human rights bodies either within the United Nations or under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms itself, they clearly have justification for so doing should federal inaction continue with respect to their demands for remedial and compensatory measures to assist in alleviating some of the hardship they have suffered and continue to suffer.

#### E. COMPENSATORY AND REMEDIAL MEASURES

The following constitute compensatory and remedial measures which Inuit of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay (and Pond Inlet where relevant) insist are necessary to equitably and effectively attempt to redress their losses, inconvenience, pain and suffering as a result of the relocations of the 1950's effected by the Government of Canada. These

measures are intended to apply to the original nineteen (19) families relocated to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay from Inukjuak and Pond Inlet during the 1950's as well as to their children and other descendants.

The 1990 version suggests only 17 original families.

In demanding these measures Inuit of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay recognize that no amount of compensatory and remedial measures can possibly ever fully rectify the suffering and loss brought about by these relocations. However, these Inuit feel that the following measures are the minimum ones that the Government of Canada must now carry out in order to compensate them and recognize their significant contribution to Canadian sovereignty and Canadian history.

#### 1. Housing

Thirteen (13) housing units are required to be built in Inukjuak in the summer of 1987 in order to accommodate families wishing to move from Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay and some families which have already undertaken such a move at their own initiative.

Correspondence from D.I.A.N.D. (January 21, 1986; May 13, 1986; and November 5, 1986) (See Annex 2) and from the Québec Minister of Municipal Affairs (March 6, 1986) (See Annex 3) tend to confirm that ten (10) housing units will be built in the summer of 1987 in Inukjuak. However, actual guarantees that any housing units will be built for Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay people in Inukjuak in the summer of 1987 have not been forthcoming in clear terms. Conversations with D.I.A.N.D. in January 1987 now strongly throw in doubt whether Canada intends to fulfill this commitment.

The 1990 version outlines that 10 houses were funded and constructed in 1988 but that three additional houses are still required.

#### 2. Moving expenses:

Moving expenses relate to those individuals and families who have already relocated to Inukjuak from Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay over the last fifteen (15) years (six (6) families) and those moving expenses related to individuals and families who still intend to move back to Inukjuak.

These moving expenses must include airfare from Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay to Inukjuak for all family members as well as cargo and freight expenses for the movement of all their household and other property and equipment.

Some moving expenses and cargo and freight expenses for those individuals and families who have already relocated at their own expense to Inukjuak are tabulated in the following item under "Personal property losses and moving costs."

3. Personal Property Losses and Moving Costs for those already moved back to Inukjuak

Total personal property losses and moving costs associated with Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay Inuit who have already relocated back to Inukjuak since 1970 amounts to a total of \$79,364.50.

This amount represents replacement costs of various items F.O.B. Inukjuak in 1986 prices. This personal property was lost or left behind in Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay when the six (6) families moved back to Inukjuak. The following represents a breakdown by family with a list of specific items lost and their current replacement cost values. It should be noted that not every family has listed their transportation costs from Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay to Inukjuak and therefore the totals are subject to augmentation upwardly to take into account these additional costs once collected and tabulated.

This amount is updated in the 1990 version to include those who moved back between 1987 and 1990.

4. Heritage Trust Fund

Canada should establish and fund a Heritage Trust Fund of \$10 Million as compensation to the original nineteen (19) families relocated by the Government of Canada to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay from Inukjuak (and Pond Inlet). This Fund would be administered by a Board of Trustees made up of representatives drawn from the original nineteen (19) families as well as Makivik representatives. Terms and conditions of administration of the Fund would include restrictions limiting withdrawals from the Fund to only income of the Fund. The capital of the Fund would not be drawn upon but would remain as a perpetual fund producing revenues for the nineteen (19) original families and their descendants. These specific terms and conditions would be discussed with and established by the original nineteen (19) families in consultation with Makivik.

This final sentence is replaced by a note about substantiation through affidavits in the 1990 version. Personal Property losses are displayed in Annex 10 of the 1990 version. Both tables of names and property (1987 and 1990) have been removed from this volume.

The 1990 version refers to 17 families

The \$10 Million would be payable into the Fund by Canada in one sum upon the signature of an agreement providing for all the remedial and compensatory measures contained in the present section of this Statement.

The Heritage Trust Fund would compensate Inuit of Grise Fiord, Resolute Bay (and Pond Inlet where relevant) on a once and for all basis, in addition to the other measures provided for here, for the suffering and injustice which they underwent due to Canada's "experiment" of the 1950's.

The 1990 version includes ITC as being part of the consultation process. The legal language in this section is also amended in the 1990 version to include additional administrative terms and conditions.

Below is a list of the original families relocated by the Government of Canada to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in 1953, 1955 and 1957. This list does not enumerate all descendants of these original



families but merely the original families and family members thereof.

5. Municipal and Education Infrastructure Support:

A review will have to be made with the Northern Village Corporation of Inukjuak in conjunction with the Kativik Regional Government to determine the precise measures which must be taken to augment the municipal and educational infrastructure of Inukjuak so as to accommodate the thirteen (13) additional housing units to be built in 1987 and the additional population represented by same.

For example, Inukjuak may require an additional water truck and sewage truck as a result of these additional housing units and the Kativik School Board facilities in Inukjuak may require additional space and facilities as a result thereof.

Precise determination of actual needs will have to be done by the Northern Village Corporation of Inukjuak and the Kativik Regional Government themselves.

6. Economic and Social Assistance:

Special economic and social support systems have to be provided to the community of Inukjuak in order to facilitate the adjustment and incorporation of families relocating from Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay to Inukjuak in the coming summer and following.

More particularly, numerous social problems exist because of the differences between Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay Inuit and those in Inukjuak. Social integration into the community has been difficult for those six (6) families that have already moved and similar problems are anticipated for the other thirteen (13) families intending to relocate.

Such additional social support systems should include provision of additional social workers and psychologists to work with individual families within the community and with the community itself in order to provide for a smoother integration of the relocating families to Inukjuak. A specific program must be developed in this regard and such program should extend beyond simply the year in which the actual return of these people takes place. Canada should defray all costs associated with such special social programs and assistance.

With respect to economic support programs, these will be necessary because of the additional burden that Inuit relocating to Inukjuak will place upon the already high unemployment situation in Inukjuak.

The challenges of returning to Inukjuak are described in the RCAP testimony within this volume, and more explicitly in the *Iqqamavara* Memory Project (2011), which is available online.

Such economic assistance should take the form of additional funds and job stimulation programs for Inukjuak not only in the year in which the individuals and families actually move back to Inukjuak but for an extended period of perhaps three to five years. Canada should bear the cost of such a program.

7. Housing and Transportation Costs for Future Moves

Canada must undertake to build housing units and defray all transportation costs (persons and freight) of any Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay Inuit (original 19 families) or their children or descendants) who decide to move back to Inukjuak within the three (3) years following the date of an agreement with Canada being signed including the remedial and compensatory measures contained in the present Statement.

8. Travel Costs for Yearly Visits

Some Inuit originally relocated from Inukjuak but choosing to remain in Grise Fiord or Resolute Bay want to be able to visit their family and relatives in Inukjuak and then return to Grise Fiord or Resolute Bay at regular intervals during each year. Current air flights from Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay are extremely limited in number and high in cost making such visits virtually impossible. Consequently, Canada should defray all air travel costs three (3) times per year for any Inuit of the original families or their children and descendants wanting to make such visits. Canada may wish to charter an aircraft for such purposes in order to minimize costs in this regard.

9. Official Recognition of Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay Inuit:

Some form of special and formal recognition must be undertaken for Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay Inuit and for their special contribution to assisting Canada in establishing its sovereignty in the High Arctic. It is suggested that such special recognition take the form of a specially minted silver or gold medal to be given to each of the original families and each of their descendants in the context of a special ceremony to be conducted by the Prime Minister of Canada.

Additional forms of recognition could involve installation of special bronze plaques in Resolute Bay, Grise Fiord, Pond Inlet and Inukjuak to commemorate the contribution of these people to Canadian history. An appropriate inscription of such plaques could easily be worked out between Canada and these Inuit.

One other possible additional form of recognition in this regard could be the printing of a special Canadian stamp recognizing the historical importance and contribution of these Inuit.

The 1990 version of this paper is more explicit about its recommendations for a travel fund and provides additional rationale for this compensatory measure.

## 10. Funding requests

On August 12, 1986 Makivik submitted a detailed budget funding request to the Honourable Bill McKnight, Minister of D.I.A.N.D. This funding request totalled \$91,162 and is intended for use by Makivik and Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay Inuit to travel, meet, undertake consultations and negotiations in regard to the demands contained in the present Statement (See Annex 4). There has been no response to date concerning this budgetary request and Inuit of Grise Fiord and Resolute as well as Makivik Corporation is bearing the full costs of any discussions, consultations and negotiations recently and currently underway.

This paragraph is updated in the 1990 version to indicate that a response had still not been received.

## 11. Reimbursement of Negotiation Costs

Canada must reimburse to Makivik all expenses and costs incurred by Makivik since 1980 to date with respect to the Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay relocation issue. Total amounts of monies spent to date remain to be tabulated but are estimated minimally to be \$100,000.

Annex 1 of Position Paper

# **86-5 RELOCATION OF INUIT FROM INUKJUAK, NORTHERN QUEBEC AND POND INLET, N.W.T. TO THE HIGH ARCTIC**

Whereas, Inuit from the Inukjuak area of Northern Quebec were relocated to Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord areas of the High Arctic in 1953 and 1955, under the sponsorship of the Government of Canada, supposedly to improve the living conditions of the people involved.

The original move in 1953 also involved the recruitment of three Inuit families from the Pond Inlet, N.W.T. area to assist the Inukjuak Inuit adjust to the High Arctic climate and conditions.

Whereas, in the time elapsed since the relocation, the Inuit exiles' contribution to Canada's sovereignty over the High Arctic islands has become evident, although it has not been acknowledged formally by the Government of Canada,

Whereas, the relocated families accepted the move on the basis of being assured by the Government of Canada that they could return to their homeland after two years, if they so wished,

Whereas, these people have suffered and endured many injustices as a consequence of this relocation, specifically; among others

- social suffering resulting from separation of families and lack of communication with relatives
- lack of material support in the initial years (food, clothing, shelter)
- loss of property and equipment by returnees, accompanied by readjustment problems
- absence of Government of Canada funding and assistance for exiles who wish to return to their homeland, including transportation costs
- non-payment for services by the exiles to the RCMP and other agencies who engaged the Inuit exiles to work for them

Whereas, fulfillment of commitments and support by the Government of Canada to the Inuit exiles has been dismal and non-existent in most instances.

The Government of Canada has abandoned or ignored the circumstances and problems caused by the relocation.

The Government of Canada has failed to live up to its original assurances to provide returning families with the means to return, including appropriate facilities and infrastructure individually and at the community level.

Whereas, this issue has been outstanding for 33 years and deserves urgent attention action and practical solutions by the Government of Canada,

These are the annexes of the 1987 Position Paper, many of which are also referenced in the 1990 version. As this (1987) position paper is an annex to the 1990 Position Paper submitted to SCAA, the list of annexes can be difficult to navigate. Margin notes have been included throughout to provide context for these references.

Therefore be it hereby resolved that the delegates and representatives of the ITC Annual General Assembly support the efforts of the Inuit exiles, Makivik Corporation, ITC, and ICNI in pursuing appropriate Government action and remedies to this issue, specifically among other:

- formal request to DIAND Standing Committee for the Inuit exiles to appear to give testimony
- provision of financial and other resources to conduct negotiations on the issue with the Government of Canada
- Pursuit of remedies and compensation for individual and collective claims for inconveniences, pain and suffering and loss of property and transportation provision related to returning exiles as well as to those still situated in the High Arctic
- pursuit of a formal acknowledgement by the Government of Canada of the Inuit exiles' contribution to Canada's sovereignty in the High Arctic
- provision of housing and all related infrastructure in the communities where Inuit exiles are situated.

Moved by: Zebedee Nungak

Seconded by: Samwillie Elyasialuk

APPROVED UNANIMOUSLY

ITC - AGM, April 14-18, 1986 - INUKJUAK, QUEBEC

ITC

**Resolution on Canadian Arctic Sovereignty and Inuit Interests**

Whereas, this past summer, the American ship the Polar Sea, went through the North West Passage without seeking permission from the Canadian government,

Whereas, in 1953, some Inuit were moved to Resolute Bay and Grise Fjord by the Canadian government and the presence of these Inuit have been used to support the claim of the Canadian government of the High Arctic Islands,

Whereas, the Inuit lands and the Inuit living there should not be ignored by any government,

Whereas, the statement made by the Rt. Hon. Joe Clark , Minister for External Affairs in the House of Commons, as to what Canada will do with regard to protecting Canadian Sovereignty in the Arctic includes legislation, military activity, marine transport and cooperation with the Americans; but does not include cooperation with Inuit, settlement of Inuit claims including the offshore; or the recognition that Inuit rights and environmental concerns are the root of Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic;

Therefore be it resolved that, ITC call on the Canadian government to recognize the relationship between Inuit and Canadian Sovereignty; to fully disclose to Inuit the nature and scope of Canadian and American military activity; and to enter into a working relationship with Canadian Inuit with respect to the development of comprehensive Arctic policy which will take into account Inuit concerns for survival and for the protection of the Arctic environment.

Moved by: Amos Maggo

Seconded by: Johnny Peter

Carried

ITC Board meeting - Oct. 7 - 11, 1985

OTTAWA, ONT.

**Letter from David Crombie to Mark Gordon – Jan 21, 1986**

Mr. Mark R. Gordon  
President  
Makivik Corporation  
4898 de Maisonneuve Boulevard  
Montréal, Québec H3Z 1M8

These are the only copies of the letters from David Crombie to Mark Gordon that appear in the position paper appendices.

Dear Mark,

Regarding the desire of some Inuit at Grise Fjord and Resolute to relocate to Inukjuaq, from where they were moved by the Federal Government in the 1950's, I was pleased to learn that some progress has been made.

I was informed by my staff that your representatives participated in a meeting in December, 1985 in Montreal between Quebec province representatives and Canada. Canada's representatives included officials from Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC). While the meeting concentrated upon the case of Inuit relocation from Kuujjuarapik to Umiujuaq, housing required at Inukjuaq to receive families from Grise Fjord and Resolute was also mentioned.

As a result of that meeting I understand that additional housing requirements for both Umiujuaq and Inukjuaq will be tabled at the next meeting between Canada and Quebec on housing matters. I believe CMHC officials identified a possible program application that could yield sufficient funds to support our endeavours.

As you will appreciate, relocation to Inukjuaq is not a realistic option without adequate housing. If we learn that the additional housing can be provided to the community, I will ask my officials to discuss with their counterparts in the Government of the Northwest Territories and with you the level of assistance required and available to help in the physical move of families and possessions.

I have learned that some Inuit in Grise Fjord and Resolute, originating from Inukjuaq or their descendants, may prefer to remain in their present communities but with financial compensation for past hardships. This is an option I have not yet asked my officials to formally consider.

If you would like me to pursue this basic alternative, or if you have other alternatives to propose, I would ask you to advise me accordingly. To pursue any alternative where legal culpability is implied would require me to involve my colleague, the Minister of Justice.

Sincerely,  
David Crombie

**Letter #2 from David Crombie to Mark Gordon – May 13, 1986**

Mr. Mark R. Gordon

President

Makivik Corporation

4898 de Maisonneuve West

Montréal, Québec H3Z 1M8

Dear Mr. Gordon:

*Inuit Conference on Grise Fjord/Resolute Relocation*

At our meeting last February on this subject I promised to make every effort to provide you with a funding contribution for the conference you held in Frobisher Bay. Enclosed is a cheque in the amount of \$30,000 to help defray your expenses of \$52,000. I am pleased to have been able to provide you this assistance .

As I understand it you still intend to provide me with a full report on the conference. In the telex of February 14, 1986 from Rhoda Innuksuk I was advised that you would detail in particular the nature and extent of compensation the Inuit of Grise Fjord and Resolute, who were moved to those communities in the 1950's, would like the Federal Government to consider

From separate communication between us and our respective staffs you will be aware that my Department is confident we will soon have an administrative arrangement with Québec respecting additional houses at Inukjuaq. This would provide for construction of ten additional housing units in the Summer of 1987, thus making it possible for Inukjuaq to receive 10 families from Grise Fjord and Resolute without aggravating housing conditions.

Sincerely,

David Crombie

May 21/86 - \*Cheque for \$30,000 payable to Makivik given to Cely for deposit fee.



**Letter from André Borbeau – 1986**

This position was clearly explained at a meeting held at the Montreal office of the Société d'habitation du Québec last February 17, which was attended by the president and vice president of the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, a representative of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Mr. Rem Westland, the head of the Secrétariat des activités gouvernementales en milieu amérindien et inuit (SAGMAI), Mr. Eric Gourdeau, and the vice president of the Société d'habitation du Québec,

Unfortunately, it would be too late to put such a program into effect for the year 1986, since the acquisition for materials have already been sent to the Service général des achats (general purchasing department), and any new orders of materials could not be delivered in time for July 1986.

The Société d'habitation du Québec is available for any exchanges about this question, should an agreement be reached on a catch-up program for 1987 with the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.

Yours truly,  
ANDRÉ Borbeau  
Minister of Municipal Affairs  
responsible for the Société  
d'habitation du Québec

This letter is excerpted here as an appendix to the 1987 position paper, but appears below in full as "Annex 9" to the 1990 position paper.

Appendix 4

**Research Consultation & Negotiations Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay Relocation**

This Appendix includes a detailed budget breakdown of the Research Consultation and Negotiation costs incurred by Makivik Corporation to June 1986. The total amount is \$91,162.00 which includes travel and administrative costs for consultations occurring throughout the Arctic and in Ottawa. It is not reproduced in this volume.

*Annex 6*

**Letter from Bill McKnight to Mark Gordon – Sept 30, 1987**

Mr. Mark Gordon  
President  
Makivik Corporation  
P.O. Box 179  
FORT CHIMO, Quebec  
JCM ICO

Dear Mr. Gordon:

Your legal counsel, Mr. Sam Silverstone wrote to me on January 21 forwarding a comprehensive list of compensation items you are seeking on behalf of those people who moved to Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord in the 1950's, including housing for those who have moved or wish to relocate back to Inukjuak.

There have been ongoing discussions with Quebec housing officials on the provision and erection of the housing units which I, as well as my predecessor, have promised for Inukjuak. In this regard, I am now pleased to be able to inform you that approval has been received to provide the required funding for the ten units in question. We will be moving quickly to complete the agreement with Quebec in order that the housing can be constructed next summer.

In regard to the relocation costs, I believe that I had indicated the Department would be willing to consider reasonable removal costs which were incurred (or which will be incurred) by people relocating to Inukjuak. Authority has been received to provide up to \$50,000 in the current year to compensate those families who have already moved and a further \$150,000 for those who move back in 1988-89.

As well, resulting from a resolution passed at ITC's annual general meeting held in Iqaluit, my colleague, the Minister of Environment, is suggesting that they consider recommending Grise Fiord or Resolute Bay as a National Historic Site. It might be possible to place a commemorative plaque in one of the communities, recognizing the contribution of the communities towards asserting Canadian Arctic sovereignty. Alternatively, the relocation of Inuit from Northern Quebec to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay could be recognized specifically as an event of national historic significance. This would be through the Historic Sites and Monuments Board's publication *Recognizing Canadian History*. I would be pleased to support either of these initiatives if it is the wish of ITC to proceed along these lines.

My officials will be in touch with you soon concerning the administration of the relocation funds.

Yours sincerely,  
Bill McKnight

**Makivik Resolution**

Resolution No. 1984-M-1

Re: Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord

WHEREAS in the early 1950s, the federal government began carrying out periodic relocations of Inuit from Inukjuak (Port Harrison) to Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord;

WHEREAS it was subsequently learned that such relocations were primarily effected in order to assert Canadian sovereignty and not to promote the well-being of Inuit;

WHEREAS at the time of the relocations, the Inuit involved had been told by federal officials that the moves were experimental and that Inuit would be moved back to Inukjuak if they did not like the new conditions;

WHEREAS the federal government has repeatedly ignored the requests of Inuit in Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord to move back to Inukjuak;

WHEREAS at a meeting in Ottawa on September 26, 1983, The Honourable John Munro, Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs, made a commitment to Makivik that the federal government would prepare an official response within one month;

WHEREAS to date, there has been no federal response nor has concrete action been taken on this pressing issue;

WHEREAS Makivik continues to incur expenses in attempting to persuade the federal government to fulfill its legal and moral responsibilities;

THEREFORE, on motion moved by Daniel Epoo, seconded by David Okpik, it was resolved:

THAT this Assembly request Makivik to take whatever steps are necessary to ensure that the federal government;

- a. fully finance the relocation of Inuit back to Inukjuak, as requested, without further delay;
- b. compensate Inuit for damages suffered, particularly those Inuit who have already moved back to Inukjuak on their own, leaving their personal property behind; and
- c. reimburse Makivik for all costs incurred in ensuring that the federal government fully resolve this unjust situation, with a renewed sense of urgency and commitment.

*Annex 7***Letter from Zebedee Nungak to Pierre Cadieux – March 23, 1989**

The Honourable Pierre Cadieux  
 Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development  
 D.I.A.N.D.  
 Les Terrasses de la Chaudière  
 10 Wellington Street  
 Hull (Québec) K1A 0H4

Re: Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay Inuit relocation issue: Remedial and Compensatory Measures

Dear Mr. Minister:

The present letter is in regard to Inuit families of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay who were relocated by the federal government from Inukjuak, Québec in the 1950s.

Makivik Corporation, as the body in northern Québec representing Inuit beneficiaries under the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement, represents Inuit families of Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay in these matters. Moreover, Makivik acts on behalf of the coalition of regional and national organizations responsible for resolving this long-standing injustice, namely, the Kativik Regional Government, the Northern Village Corporation of Inukjuak, the Inuit Committee on National Issues (I.C.N.I.) and Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (I.T.C.).

It is now well documented that in July 1953, a number of Inuit residents of Inukjuak (Port Harrison) were moved out of northern Québec by the federal government to communities of Resolute Bay (Cornwallis Island) and Grise Fiord (Ellesmere Island) in the High Arctic. This first relocation of Inuit from Québec by Canada was followed by subsequent relocations in 1953, 1955 and 1957. Such relocations were primarily effected by the Government of Canada at that time in order to assist Canada in asserting Canadian sovereignty and not to promote the well-being of Québec Inuit.

Northern Québec Inuit went along with the federal relocation "experiment" since they had been told that the hunting and quality of life would be better in the far North. These Inuit were assured that if conditions were not to their liking, the federal government would return them to Inukjuak.

Since 1956, Québec Inuit in Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord have repeatedly made requests to both the federal and N.W.T. governments to be moved back to Inukjuak, as promised. Much of this situation is confirmed by the findings of the study dated August 3, 1984 commissioned by the federal government. The few Inuit who have managed to make their own way back to their home in northern Québec did so at great expense and were forced to abandon substantial personal property in the Northwest Territories in so doing.

Over the last six years, Makivik, I.T.C. and I.C.N.I. have met with several federal D.I.A.N.D. Ministers in an effort to secure a federal commitment to a fully financed relocation back to Inukjuak, without further delays, as well as a series of compensatory measures for all damages and expenses suffered by the people to date. All of these former Ministers have over the years acknowledged the manifest injustice suffered by these Inuit, but, until 1988, none have taken any concrete action to rectify the situation.

Makivik, the Kativik Regional Government and Inuit Tapirisat of Canada submitted to the D.I.A.N.D. Minister in January 1987 a document entitled "Position Paper Regarding Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay Relocation Issue." This

"Position Paper" detailed a set of remedial and compensatory measures seen as necessary to fully address the past and current situation of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay Inuit.

On September 30, 1987, former D.I.A.N.D. Minister William McKnight, agreed by letter to fund construction of ten housing units in the summer of 1988 in Inukjuak for Inuit of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay desiring to relocate. In addition, the former Minister agreed to provide a small amount of funds to defray removal costs incurred in the past as well as the 1988 relocation moves back to Inukjuak. The monies provided for by D.I.A.N.D. in this regard totalled \$200,000 for the period 1988-89 and were the subject of a Contribution Agreement dated March 4, 1988, between D.I.A.N.D. and Makivik Corporation.

The ten housing units were constructed during the summer of 1988 and Inuit families from Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay wishing to return to Inukjuak were relocated by Charter aircraft during the summer and fall of 1988, the whole pursuant to the Contribution Agreement.

The January 1987 "Position Paper" called for a series of eleven (11) remedial and compensatory measures. The housing units provided and the relocation monies allocated by D.I.A.N.D. during 1988 fulfill only two (2) of these eleven (11) measures called for. A fair and comprehensive settlement of this long-standing issue requires that the remaining nine (9) measures requested be fully addressed by your Department.

More particularly, the compensatory and remedial measures outstanding include the following:

1. *Compensation for personal property losses incurred by those Inuit from Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay who relocate d back to Inukjuak at their own expense since 1970:*

Total personal property losses associated with Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay Inuit who have already relocated on their own back to Inukjuak in the 1970s and early 1980s amounts to a total in current dollars of \$245,584.50. This amount represents replacement costs of various items F.O.B. Inukjuak in 1988 prices. This personal property was lost or left behind in Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay when the six (6) families moved back to Inukjuak during the 1970s and early 1980s. Some of this amount represents personal property abandoned in Inukjuak in 1953 when some families were moved to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay by the federal government. Detailed lists of specific items with associated current replacement cost values and affidavits are available to support the above amount.

2. *Heritage Trust Fund:*

The request remains unfulfilled for a Heritage Trust Fund of \$10 Million as compensation to the original nineteen (19) families relocated by the Government of Canada to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay from Inukjuak (and Fond Inlet). This Fund is intended to compensate Inuit of Grise Fiord, Resolute Bay (and Pond Inlet, where relevant), in addition to the other measures referred to in the present letter on a once and for all basis, for the suffering and injustice which they were compelled to undergo. As already proposed in the January 1987 "Position Paper" referred to above, this Fund would be administered by a Board of Trustees made up of representatives drawn from the original nineteen (19) families as well as Kativik representatives. The terms and conditions of the administration of the Fund would include restrictions limiting withdrawals from the

This letter, dated March 1989 continues to refer to the 19 original families, suggesting that the change to 17 families (as per the 1990 submission) occurred in 1990.

Fund to only income. The \$10 Million would be payable into the Fund by Canada in one lump sum upon signature of an agreement providing for all the remedial and compensatory measures mentioned herein. Such a Fund would be in the nature similar to the symbolic redress payments presently being made by the Government of Canada to Japanese Canadians who were subjected to internment, relocation, deportation, loss of property or otherwise deprived of the full enjoyment of fundamental rights and freedoms based solely on the fact that they were of Japanese ancestry, the whole during the period of World War II and thereafter.

Makivik, in conjunction with Inuit of Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay, have prepared detailed lists of the original families relocated to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in 1953, 1955 and 1957 by the Government of Canada.

The reference made to Japanese-Canadian redress is first established in this 1989 letter.

3. Housing and transportation costs for future moves:

Though the Government of Canada has, pursuant to the Contribution Agreement of March 4, 1988, arranged for the construction of ten housing units in Inukjuak for Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay Inuit returning as well as related transportation costs of these people, there remains the question of other Inuit of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay or their children or descendants who may, in future, decide to move back to Inukjuak. We are requesting that Canada undertake to build housing units and defray all transportation costs of any such future moves.

Moreover, we are prepared to consider a limited time period during which such an offer of housing and transportation costs by Canada would be available to those Inuit entitled. Presently, we would consider a three (3) year period following the date of the final comprehensive remedial and compensatory agreement with Canada concerning this issue as being an appropriate time delay.

4. Travel costs for yearly visits: Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay Inuit presently living in Grise Fiord or Resolute Bay or Inukjuak want to be able to visit their families and relatives at regular intervals annually. Current scheduled air flights from Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay to Inukjuak and vice-versa are extremely limited in number and high in cost, making such visits virtually impossible. A request has been made for Canada to create a compensation fund for travel in the amount of \$2 Million to cover all current and future travel needs as above-described of the Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay Inuit, namely, the original families, their children and descendants wishing to make such visits. This would be a one-time payment for such purposes and the Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay Inuit would be free to spend either capital or interest for such travel visit purposes. with respect to the amount, it should be noted that our experience with chartering aircraft for round-trips (Inukjuak to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay return) during 1988 has demonstrated that such aircraft charters cost between \$60,000 and \$75,000.

5. Official recognition of Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay Inuit:

Some form of special and formal recognition must be undertaken by the Government of Canada for the original Inuit families relocated from Inukjuak to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay and for their special contribution to Canada in assisting in establishing Canadian sovereignty in the High Arctic. The former D.I.A.N.D. Minister William McKnight confirmed in his letter of September 30, 1987 to Makivik that D.I.A.N.D.

is prepared to support some form of special recognition in this regard. Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay Inuit have already indicated that such special recognition would only be acceptable if it formed part of a comprehensive remedial and compensatory agreement and that, in itself, would be inadequate.

6. Economic and social assistance support:

Many of those who have relocated during 1988 from Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay to Inukjuak are presently without employment in Inukjuak. This situation was predictable and this is precisely why the January 1987 "Position Paper" to your Department requested special economic and social support systems be provided to the community of Inukjuak in order to facilitate the adjustment and incorporation of families relocating from Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay to Inukjuak during 1988. It was suggested that additional social support systems should include provision of additional social workers and psychologists to work with individual families within the community to provide for a smoother integration of the relocating families to Inukjuak. With respect to economic support programs, these were requested because of the additional burden that Inuit relocating to Inukjuak would place upon the already high unemployment situation there. It was suggested that such economic assistance take the form of additional funds and job stimulation programs for Inukjuak not only in the year in which the individuals and families actually moved back to Inukjuak, but for an extended period of perhaps 3 to 5 years thereafter. This special economic and social assistance has not been provided and we again request that Canada devise such special programs and bear the cost of same.

7. Municipal and Educational Infrastructure support:

A review is currently in progress with the Northern Village Corporation of Inukjuak and the Kativik Regional Government to determine whether measures are necessary to augment municipal and educational infrastructure of Inukjuak in order to accommodate the additional population and housing created by the relocation of Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay Inuit back to Inukjuak.

8. Funding for future meetings:

To date, Makivik Corporation has been bearing the full costs of any discussions, consultations and negotiations undertaken in regard to the Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay relocation issue. As far back as 1986, Makivik submitted a detailed funding request to the former D.I.A.N.D. Minister, William McKnight, in the amount of \$91,162.00. Such monies were intended for use by Makivik and Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay Inuit for travel, consultation and negotiation purposes. Because no response had been made to that request, this request for funding was again repeated in the January 20, 1987 "Position Paper" which was submitted to the same Minister. We have received no specific response to either of these requests for funding. Consequently, we are again requesting that such funding be made available to Makivik so that we can effectively carry out our work with respect to the Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay Inuit relocation issue.

9. Reimbursement of negotiation costs: There has still been no response to our request in the Position Paper for reimbursement by Canada to Makivik of all expenses and costs incurred by Makivik since 1980 to



date with respect to the Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay relocation issue. Total amounts of money spent to date remain to be tabulated but are estimated minimally to be \$100,000. Such amounts are in addition to the funding requested for continued work above.

We would appreciate a timely response to the request contained in the present letter. For this purpose, we are suggesting a meeting, between yourself and your officials and Makivik and representatives of Grise Fiord/Resolute Bay Inuit as soon as possible. Please advise us as to your availability in this regard.

Yours truly,  
Zebedee Nungak  
1st Vice-President  
c.c.:

- Markoosie Patsuaq, representative of Inukjuak
- Larry Audlaluk, representative of Grise Fiord
- Simeonie Amagoalik, representative of Resolute Bay
- John Amagoalik, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada
- Tikile Kleist, Chairman, Kativik Regional Government
- Jobie Epoo, Mayor, northern Village Corporation of Inukjuak

*Annex 8*

**Letter Pierre Cadieux to Zebedee Nungak – May 12, 1989**

Mr. Zebedee Nungak  
First Vice-President  
Makivik Corporation  
P.O. Box 179  
KuuJJuAQ, Quebec JOB ICO

Dear Mr. Nungak:

Thank you for your letter of March 23, 1989 requesting a meeting to deal with various issues related to the relocation of the Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay Inuit.

It should be noted that the commitments made to the Inuit people who wished to return to Inukjuak were for the provision of 10 housing units and reasonable relocation costs. In this regard, the federal government's commitments have been met as stated by my predecessor, the Honourable Bill McKnight, in his letter of February 8, 1988 to the Makivik Corporation.

With respect to related matters, Mr. McKnight supported the resolution of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC) to designate either Resolute Bay or Grise Fiord a national historic site. No follow-up action, however, was taken by the ITC to recommend this designation to the chairman of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board, as requested by the Department of the Environment.

The aforementioned actions cover the promises made by the federal government to the Inuit of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay. As a matter of public policy, the federal government has helped to relocate those who wanted to return to Inukjuak, thus fulfilling its obligations. I therefore do not believe that a meeting is necessary to discuss this situation. Your interest in this matter, however, is appreciated.

As for your request for an improved social and economic infrastructure for the municipality of Inukjuak, please be advised that this matter lies within the responsibility of the province of Quebec under the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement. The Government of Quebec reviews community facilities on a regular basis to ensure their adequacy and concerns you have in this regard should be directed to the appropriate provincial officials.

I trust this information addresses your concerns in this matter.

Sincerely,  
Pierre N. Cadieux

*Annex 9***Letter from Andre Bourbeau to Mark Gordon – March 6, 1986**

Government of Québec  
 The Minister of Municipal Affairs  
 Québec City,  
 Mr. Mark R. Gordon  
 President  
 Makivik Corporation  
 P.O. Box 179  
 Kuujuaq, Québec JoM ICo

This letter is excerpted in the Appendices to the 1987 Position Paper.

Re: Rehousing of Inuit families from Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay (N.W.T.)  
 in Inukjuaq Dear Mr. Gordon,

This is in reply to the telegram you sent to me, as well as to Mr. David R. Crombie, the Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs, and Mr. William McKnight, the federal Minister of Employment, last February 14 regarding the question above.

The people involved are, of course, beneficiaries of the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement and therefore have the right to be assigned housing in Inukjuaq, just like the other citizens of this municipality; however, this can only be as housing becomes available and in accordance with the priorities that were set by the representatives of the Inuit community for the current program.

The question of rehousing the Inuit families from Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay is primarily the concern of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs; however, the Société d'habitation du Québec would agree to intervene in this municipality beyond the present program, as early as next year, in the form of a catch-up program if the Government of Canada gave it full compensation for the intervention.

This position was clearly explained at a meeting held at the Montreal office of the Société d'habitation du Québec last February 17, which was attended by the president and vice president of the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, a representative of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Mr. Rem Westland, the head of the Secrétariat des activités gouvernementales en milieu amérindien et inuit (SAGMAI), Mr. Eric Gourdeau, and the vice president of the Société d'habitation du Québec,

Unfortunately, it would be too late to put such a program into effect for the year 1986, since the acquisition for materials have already been sent to the Service général des achats (general purchasing department), and any new orders of materials could not be delivered in time for July 1986.

The Société d'habitation du Québec is available for any exchanges about this question, should an agreement be reached on a catch-up program for 1987 with the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.

Yours truly,  
 ANDRÉ Bourbeau  
 Minister of Municipal Affairs  
 responsible for the Société  
 d'habitation du Québec

*Annex 10*

**Personal Property Losses for those Inuit already moved back to Inukjuak between 1980 and 1987**

This annex has not been reproduced as it contains detailed personal information.

*Annex 11*

Photo of Peterhead boat belonging to Simeonie Amagoalik

This photo has not been reproduced.

*Annex 12*

**Original Families Relocated by Canada to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in 1950s**

This annex has not been reproduced as it contains detailed personal information.

# **Third Report of the SCAA (Sessional Paper No. 342-8/1B)**

COMMONS DEBATES June 19, 1990 *Routine Proceedings*

## ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS

### THIRD REPORT OF STANDING COMMITTEE

**Mr. Ken Hughes (MacLeod):** Mr. Speaker, I have the honour to present the third report of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs. The report relates to the Inuit people who were moved to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay. *[Editor's Note: See today's Votes and Proceedings.]*

### REPORT TO THE HOUSE

Tuesday, June 19, 1990

The Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs has the honour to present its

### THIRD REPORT

In accordance with its mandate under Standing Order 108(2), your Committee has considered the latest information on current matters relating to aboriginal affairs and has agreed to report the following:

That the Government acknowledge the role played by the Inuit people who were relocated to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in the protection of Canadian sovereignty in the North;

That the Government issue an apology for the wrongdoings carried out against the people of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay;

That the said apology be carried out in an official ceremony of due solemnity and respect;

That the said apology be accompanied by some form of official recognition of the contribution of the Inuit of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay to Canadian sovereignty — for example by the erection of an historic monument or marker and by the issuing of certificates recognizing this important and valuable contribution, to those relocatees still living or if deceased, their surviving family;

That the Government consider compensation to the Inuit of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay for their service to Canada and for the wrongdoings that have been inflicted upon them.

### REQUEST FOR A GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

Your Committee requests that the Government table a comprehensive response to this Report in accordance with the provisions of Standing Order 109.

A copy of the relevant Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs (*Issues Nos. 22 and 40 which included this Report*) is tabled.

Respectfully submitted,

KEN HUGHES, Chairman.

The Third Report of the SCAA was tabled in the House of Commons by Committee Chair Ken Hugh on June 19, 1990, the day after testimony was heard by Bob Pilot, which concluded the SCAA's inquiry into the High Arctic Relocations in spring 1990.

(Government of Canada, "Third Report of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 34th Parliament Second Session vol. 3 no. 33-42," 1990, *Library of Parliament*, Queen's Printer of Canada)

This report is officially recorded as Sessional Paper No. 342-8/1B in the House of Commons records.

Standing Order 108 (2) outlines the mandate of Standing Committees, including the power to study and report on all matters relating to the mandate. In the case of the SCAA, this includes all matters relating to the management and operation of the DIAND.

Standing Order 109 requires that, upon the request of the committee, the government table a comprehensive response to the committee's report within 150 days. The presentation of the report on June 16, 1990 therefore required the government to table a comprehensive response by Friday, November 16, 1990.

These documents are reproduced in this volume as "Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs, March 19, 1990" and "Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs, June 18, 1990".

## **Part II**

# **The House of Commons Debates**

**House of Commons Debates:**  
**November 19, 1990**



ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE TO THIRD REPORT OF STANDING COMMITTEE

**Hon. Thomas Siddon (Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development):** Mr. Speaker, pursuant to Standing Order 109, I wish to table, in both official languages, the government's response to the third report of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs.

(Government of Canada, "House of Commons Debates: Official Report 34th Parliament Second Session (vol. 11)," 1990, *Library of Parliament*, Queen's Printer of Canada)

This response is included in this collection as "Response to the Recommendations of the Third Report of the SCAA on the Relocation of the Inukjuak Inuit to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay (Sessional Paper No. 342-8R/1A)"

**Response to the Recommendations  
of the Third Report of the SCAA  
on the Relocation of the Inukjuak  
Inuit to Grise Fiord and Resolute  
Bay (Sessional Paper No. 342-  
8R/1A)**

**A RESPONSE TO THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE THIRD REPORT  
OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS ON  
THE RELOCATION OF THE INUKJUAQ INUIT TO GRISE FIORD AND  
RESOLUTE BAY**

The Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs, in its June 19, 1990 report to Parliament, made certain recommendations concerning the 1950s relocation of Inukjuak Inuit to Resolute Bay and Craig Harbour/Grise Fiord. These recommendations resulted from the March 19, 1990 appearance before the Committee of some of the Inukjuak people, Makivik Corporation which was representing them and the latter's legal counsel. The Committee also heard testimony from Robert Pilot, a former RCMP constable who had served in Grise Fiord during the late 1950s and early 1960s. In addition, the department presented the Standing Committee with a written account based on past reviews and a preliminary file search of the project. The ensuing report by the Standing Committee to Parliament made the following recommendations: that the government should acknowledge the role played by the Inuit relocated to Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord in protection of Canadian sovereignty in the North; that the government should issue an apology for wrongdoings carried out against the people of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay; that said apology be carried out with all due solemnity; that the apology should be accompanied by some form of official recognition of the contribution made by these people to Canadian sovereignty; and that the government should consider compensation to the Inuit of the two communities for their service to Canada and for the "wrongdoings" committed.

The present day dispute which has evolved over the relocation project centres on four key issues: Whether the government's motive in sponsoring the project was primarily related to the assertion of Canadian Sovereignty in the region rather than the welfare of the Inuit involved; whether the project was poorly planned and executed; whether promises were made and not kept regarding relocation to Inukjuak; and whether the RCMP were involved in matters involving forced labour, sexual harassment, and destruction of mail.

In view of the nature of these allegations, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development employed an independent consultant, who was also acceptable to Makivik Corporation, to review all aspects of the case which do not fall within the purview of the RCMP. All relevant government records and files pertaining to this issue were made available to the consultant who was, in fact, encouraged to substantiate those allegations which were directed at this department. The specific responses are based on the consultant's findings. The other class of allegations - those which involved the treatment accorded the Inukjuak people by the RCMP - is an issue which remains outstanding at this time. The RCMP is in the process of carrying out an internal investigation into the allegations made by witnesses during the committee hearings under the public complaints provision of the *RCMP Act*. Because of the difficulties encountered in arranging interviews with the key complainants, that investigation is still ongoing. The Solicitor General will write to the Committee with a report on this matter once the investigation has been completed.

**BACKGROUND** The relocation of some 15 Inukjuak Inuit families to Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord/Craig Harbour in the years 1953, 1955 and 1957 has in recent years received attention by the media, native associations,

(Government of Canada, "House of Commons Journals: Official Report 34th Parliament Second Session (vol. 131)," 1990, *Library of Parliament*, Queen's Printer of Canada)  
This is officially recorded as Sessional Paper No. 342-8R/1A

These questions serve as the basis for all future inquiries into the High Arctic Relocations by government, the RCAP Special Hearing, and by researchers from 1990 to present. It is the answers to these questions that the DCASS trilogy on the High Arctic Relocations seeks to illuminate through access to archival and public documents.

The independent consultant employed by the DIAND was the Hickling Corporation. The Report, principally authored by F.G. "Bud" Neville, produced this response to the SCAA's Third Report, which has come to be known as the Hickling Report. It is reproduced in Lackenbauer (2020). Importantly, the Hickling Report does not address any aspects of the High Arctic Relocations that fall within the purview of the RCMP (i.e. criminal allegations.)

various ministers of this department and, most recently, the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs. In order to fully understand the underlying motives for this relocation project it is necessary to know the economic and social environment then facing Inuit, not only in Arctic Quebec but in many other parts of the Eastern Arctic.

In the 1950s, there were few, if any, employment opportunities for the Inuit of the James Bay and Keewatin regions of the Southern Arctic so that existence based on a wage economy was not possible. As a result the people depended almost totally on a hunter/trapper economy for a livelihood. The alternatives were starvation or social assistance from government.

In these circumstances, the government of the day sought ways to improve the situation of the Inuit. The public pressure to do so increased significantly in 1952 when Farley Mowat's book, *People of the Deer*, was serialized in the *Atlantic Monthly*. Thus a set of policies evolved in 1953 to assist the Inuit. These were outlined, as follows, in the Minutes of the August 10, 1953 meeting of the federal Advisory Committee on Northern Development (ACND): "

1. In areas where the natural resources will support the Eskimo inhabitants it has been decided that their basic way of life is to be maintained as far as possible.
2. In areas where permanent white settlements have grown up, the Eskimo will be educated to adapt them to this new situation.
3. In areas of the North which cannot continue to support the present Eskimo population, attempts will be made to move the Eskimos to areas with greater natural resources."

The High Arctic was one area with "greater natural resources" referred to in (3) above. It was an area which could support an Inuit population in this original way of life, in sharp contrast to the Arctic Quebec region where wildlife was scarce and where the only alternative to starvation was social assistance. As a result, of these considerations, certain Inukjuak Inuit families were approached by government officials and RCMP officers to determine whether they would be interested in moving to the High Arctic.

The RCMP played a major role in native communities in both Arctic Quebec and the Northwest Territories at that time. The federal departments had few people in the communities and the police were often called upon to administer programs for them. As a result, the then Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources had responsibility for the planning and coordination of the relocation project but had to rely heavily on the RCMP for the execution of it. Nonetheless, the department did consider the project sufficiently important to send an officer, who was both fluent in Inuktitut and knowledgeable about all parts of the Eastern Arctic, to Inukjuak in order to discuss the proposal with the Inuit and to seek volunteers for the move.<sup>7</sup>

To help the Inuit adjust to conditions in the High Arctic Canada also asked some families from Pond Inlet to relocate to Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord/Craig Harbour. These Inuit were familiar with the prevailing conditions and, it was felt, could help Inukjuak Inuit develop the requisite skills for that environment.<sup>8</sup> As a further step in ensuring that adequate and familiar help was available to the people at that stage, the RCMP moved a constable from Inukjuak to Resolute Bay with the group that moved in 1953.

Subsequent to 1957 some of the Inukjuak families began to request that

The use of the term "policies" here is quite broad. The development of Northern Affairs as a priority for the federal government in the early 1950s meant that policies and programs were being developed rapidly, but there is no official Arctic or Inuit policy until much later in the decade. The development of the EAC in 1952 begins this process, alongside the development of projects and activities designed to assist Inuit. This meeting was not a meeting of the ACND but rather an *ad hoc* meeting between members of the DRD and the RCAF, with Mr. C.J. Marshall, from the Secretariat of the ACND present and minuting the meeting. The full minutes of this meeting are available as Document 50 in S. Grant (2016).

Several bureaucratic changes took place during the 1953 calendar year including the creation of the DNANR in December 1953. Prior to December 1953, Northern Affairs was included in the portfolio of the DRD, with the Deputy Minister (General H.A. Young) handling the Arctic portfolio. After the August 1953 general election, Prime Minister Louis St-Laurent wanted to focus the department on the North, changing the name to ensure "North" was featured in the department's name. Other branches of the DRD were shifted to the Department of Public Works (DPW) portfolio, which General Young moved to oversee as Deputy Minister. The DRD and then DNANR came under control of Minister Jean Lesage and Deputy Minister Gordon Robertson in November 1953.

7. This is likely a reference to Alexander Stevenson.

8. This was Constable Ross Gibson.

they be allowed to return home. These requests were based on an understanding they felt was given, at the time of the move, that Canada would return them to Inukjuak if they were not content in the High Arctic, after one, two or three years. Letters from Inukjuak Inuit which were only recently discovered in the course of researching this issue, refer to “visits” in their requests. Whether such visits were meant to be permanent moves to Inukjuak is not clear; however most also refer to the abundance of resources in the High Arctic (and also part time wage employment in the case of Resolute Bay).

Because of concerns which the department had about available accommodation for returning Inuit, each request was thoroughly explored to determine the pertinent facts such as the length of the visit, who in the family planned to come (some letters indicate only some members of the family intended to return/visit) and whether their Inukjuak relatives knew of the proposal. The length of time it took for the department to receive, translate, draft responses and have the answers back in the recipients’ hands was often long. Although it may have seemed to the people that the department was delaying action on their requests, there is no indication that this was the case.

In the early 1960s some families did begin returning to Inukjuak (or in some cases to other communities) on their own. In 1967, the Government of the Northwest Territories was established in Yellowknife and, by the early 1970s, had taken an interest in this issue. That government, in 1973, funded a charter flight from the High Arctic to Inukjuak to allow Inukjuak people to visit their original home and to decide whether they wished to relocate. Records are not clear but it is believed most, if not all of the people involved in this charter, returned to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay. Subsequently, at least one family was relocated to Inukjuak by the GNWT and the costs billed to the department of Indian and Northern Affairs.

Representation by Makivik Corporation on behalf of the Inukjuak people began in the early 1980s and this resulted in reimbursement by Canada of expenditures made by people who had moved back on their own as well as provision of funding for those who opted to relocate from either Grise Fiord or Resolute Bay in 1988-1989. In all, about \$950,000 in funding was provided, including the cost of 10 houses which were added to the Inukjuak housing pool.

## THE STUDY

The independent study of this dispute, which the government carried out this summer, delved further into the sovereignty issue than any past review. The fact that Canada had, by 1930, resolved the issue of the ownership of the Sverdrup Islands through an exchange of notes with Norway, the many references to the prevailing policy of assisting people to live off the natural resources of the land, and the lack of any reference to sovereignty concerns in internal documentation all deflect the charge that the primary reason for the relocation was protection of Arctic Sovereignty. Further, it was discovered that Makivik Corporation itself had researched this issue in 1982 and concluded that sovereignty was, at best, a minor concern. Indeed, their research paper noted that departmental documentation recorded no specific mention of sovereignty until 1960 – several years after the last relocation of Inukjuak Inuit. As a result, the conclusion must be drawn that Canada did not enter into this project for the express purpose of protecting or enhancing Arctic

It is clear from the documents that RCMP Commander “G” Division Henry Larsen included this promise in his instructions to Detachments in April 1953. Documentary evidence suggests that Larsen included this promise in his instructions of his own volition due to previous experiences. The promise was not initiated by the DRD, but it was also never contradicted. It is not clear how the RCMP constables interpreted the instructions they were given.

These documents indicate that the DRD relied heavily on the RCMP to carry out the relocation project, but that expectations and interpretations of intended outcomes between the two branches of government differed. See Documents 38 and 39 in S. Grant (2016).

The Government of the Northwest Territories’ interest in this issue is confirmed by Bob Pilot in his testimony to the RCAP, reproduced in this volume as “Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples Testimony: June 28, 1993”.

Both Makivik Annual Reports and DIAND Annual Reports from these years support these numbers.

sovereignty.

Oral evidence given at the March 19, 1990 Standing Committee meeting made many references to the extreme hardships faced by the Inukjuak people in their new homes. A large part of the blame for this situation was placed on government for misleading the people about the amount of game available and for improper planning of the project. The only supporting evidence found for these accusations is the fact that certain supplies that should have accompanied the people were not off-loaded in the most appropriate locations.

Government reports, as well as letters from the people themselves, do not attest to starvation. In addition, published reports in sources such as *Arctic News* - October 1956 and *Nunatsiaq News* of May 25, 1977: *Salluviniq's Story* give no indication of the extreme hardship now referred to by the Inukjuak people.

The third area of concern regarding the promise of a return to Inukjuak has been addressed in the background history of the project given above. The specific response to Recommendation 5 also pertains.

### Specific Responses to Recommendations

Specific response to each of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs's recommendations follows:

1. THE COMMITTEE RECOMMENDS THAT THE GOVERNMENT ACKNOWLEDGE THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE INUIT PEOPLE WHO WERE RELOCATED TO GRISE FIORD AND RESOLUTE BAY IN THE PROTECTION OF CANADIAN SOVEREIGNTY IN THE NORTH.

The Inuit people relocated to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay were not relocated in order to protect or affirm Canadian sovereignty in the North. The motive for their relocation was to assist them in continuing to follow their traditional livelihood through greater access to game resources. This action was undertaken as a direct result of the failure of game resources in the Arctic Quebec area in which Inukjuak is located. It should also be noted that the 1982 Makivik Research Paper concluded that sovereignty was not a major factor in this project. It also noted that specific references to sovereignty did not occur in documents until 1960, after the relocations had taken place.

The Inuit who moved to Grise Fiord did, to some extent, assist the RCMP in such matters as enforcement of the territorial game legislation. While this type of activity cannot be interpreted as the protection of Arctic sovereignty it nonetheless did assist in the proper management of our northern territories, something for which the Government of Canada is appreciative.

2. THE COMMITTEE RECOMMENDS THAT THE GOVERNMENT ISSUE AN APOLOGY FOR THE WRONGDOINGS CARRIED OUT AGAINST THE PEOPLE OF GRISE FIORD AND RESOLUTE BAY.

The government can not acknowledge that it acted improperly in the design and implementation of a project which was intended to improve the livelihood of those Inuit concerned in the move. It does acknowledge that, promises were made to those people being relocated to the High Arctic that they could be returned, presumably at government expense, to their original community if they were not content. It further acknowledges that there was, and remains, a moral obligation to fulfill that promise even

This is an over-simplification – not only were supplies not off-loaded in appropriate locations, some supplies were lost en route and the order sheets suggest that not all of the correct supplies were ordered in time to be shipped. The execution of the relocation was extremely poor, in part because of rushed timelines, but also because it was not clear what supplies Inuit would bring and what supplies would be necessary. These oversights and the general lack of planning for supplies contributed unnecessarily to Inuit hardships, especially during the winter of 1953-1954.

though the intent of the promise seems to have been subject to a time limitation of two or three years. We have already compensated all the Inuit who returned at their own expense and we will undertake to return other families which wish to take advantage of our offer before March 31, 1992.

The one outstanding matter, in regard to the "wrongdoings" which were described to the Standing Committee, is that category of allegations which have been directed at the RCMP. These are now under investigation and, as mentioned in the foreword to this section of the Response, the findings will be reported to the Chairman of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs by the Solicitor General.

3. THE COMMITTEE RECOMMENDS THAT THE SAID APOLOGY BE CARRIED OUT IN AN OFFICIAL CEREMONY OF DUE SOLEMNITY AND RESPECT.

Since our investigations do not indicate government wrongdoings, an apology is not required.

4. THE COMMITTEE RECOMMENDS THAT THE SAID APOLOGY BE ACCOMPANIED BY SOME FORM OF OFFICIAL RECOGNITION OF THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE INUIT OF GRISE FIORD AND RESOLUTE BAY TO CANADIAN SOVEREIGNTY - FOR EXAMPLE BY THE ERECTION OF AN HISTORIC MONUMENT OR MARKER AND THE ISSUING OF CERTIFICATES RECOGNIZING THIS IMPORTANT AND VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION, TO THOSE STILL LIVING OR IF DECEASED, THEIR SURVIVING FAMILY.

Many people, in different walks of life, have served or lived in the Canadian Arctic. The Inuit of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay are among these people as are other Inuit residents of the High Arctic in communities such as Pond Inlet, Arctic Bay or those Inuit who worked at the DND Base at Alert. All who have done so deserve to be recognized for the contribution they have made. However, it does not appear appropriate that only one small group of Canadians be singled out particularly for recognition.

5. THE COMMITTEE RECOMMENDS THAT THE GOVERNMENT CONSIDER COMPENSATION TO THE INUIT OF GRISE FIORD AND RESOLUTE BAY FOR THEIR SERVICE TO CANADA AND FOR THE WRONGDOINGS THAT HAVE BEEN INFLICTED UPON THEM.

It is concluded by the consultant's report that there is only one area where compensation is appropriate and that is to offer to fund relocation of people to Inukjuak. However, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the RCMP and the Government of the Northwest Territories have over the years made possible the relocation of a number of the families wishing to return to Inukjuak. In some instances, reconnaissance visits were arranged whereby groups had their travel funded to return to Inukjuak to see if they wished to relocate permanently. The government has spent about \$250,000 on direct relocation costs, along with a contribution of \$700,000 to assist provision by the Government of Quebec of additional housing in Inukjuak to ensure that there would be accommodation for returnees.

In recognition of the original obligation to the people concerning their move back to Inukjuak, the government is prepared to make funding available in the fiscal year 1991-1992 to allow any of the original relocatees, or their direct descendants remaining in Grise Fiord or Resolute Bay,

to return to Inukjuak. Additionally, the government is prepared to return certain possessions which had to be left behind in Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord when families returned to Inukjuak either on their own or under government auspices. We will provide reimbursement to the people concerned. This action will discharge any remaining government obligations still outstanding from the original promise to relocate people to Inukjuak.



**House of Commons Debates:**  
**November 20, 1990**

HOUSE OF COMMONS DEBATES  
OFFICIAL REPORT  
SECOND SESSION-THIRTY-FOURTH PARLIAMENT  
39 Elizabeth II  
VOLUME XI, 1990

(Government of Canada, "House of Commons Debates (34:2) Vol. 11")

COMPRISING THE PERIOD FROM THE SIXTEENTH DAY OF OCTOBER,  
1990 TO THE TWENTY-FIRST DAY OF NOVEMBER, 1990  
INDEX ISSUED IN A SEPARATE VOLUME

[Commons Debates - Routine Proceedings, 20 November 1990]

ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS  
CONCURRENCE IN THIRD REPORT OF STANDING COMMITTEE

**Mr. Robert E. Skelly (Comox-Aberni):** Mr. Speaker, I move:  
*That the third report of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs, presented to the House on Tuesday, June 19, 1990, be concurred in.*

He said: Mr. Speaker, I appreciate your interest in putting this motion to a vote, because I think it should be voted on by this House. It is an extremely important motion, and I think that once I explain the reasons for presenting it today, the House will want to submit it to a vote prior to the recessing of the session at the lunch hour. As members will know, the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs submitted its report in June of this year on the exiles of Grise Fiord in the Northwest Territories, after hearing direct evidence from the Inuit people involved in that incident.

The evidence dealt with the suffering that 15 Inuit families experienced when they were uprooted from their home in northern Quebec and moved to the high Arctic outposts of Grise Fiord and Resolute between 1953 and 1957.

The committee heard evidence from these Inuit families and people who had spent time at Grise Fiord over a period of months. We heard direct evidence from the people involved. We also heard evidence from the Canadian authorities and from others who were involved in the experiment.

The committee heard evidence from the people who were misled by Canadian authorities as to the reasons for their move up to Grise Fiord in the Northwest Territories. We heard evidence that they had suffered grievously from disease, hunger, medical neglect and social problems as a result of that move. We heard that even though they had been promised the opportunity to return to northern Quebec if they were not satisfied with the experiment they were not moved back to their homes within a space of two or three years. Most actually were not moved back to their community in northern Quebec until the 1980s, some 30 years after they were moved up to the High Arctic in the first place.

While the government would lead us to believe that the relocation of these Inuit families was voluntary, in fact witnesses told the committee that the move was led by the RCMP. They said that in those days when the RCMP came to your door and made a suggestion to you, because of the intimidation of the RCMP and because of the tendency of the people to believe and to follow orders from the RCMP, you did what you were told, Mr. Speaker.

Even though it is suggested by the government that this move was a voluntary move, in fact the Inuit families who were ultimately moved from northern Quebec up into the High Arctic at Resolute and Grise Fiord felt that

This evidence is reproduced in this volume as "Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs, March 19, 1990" and "Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs, June 18, 1990".

they had no other option, that they were being ordered to move. Therefore they did move.

They also felt that they had been misled because the federal government bureaucrats had told them that there was more wildlife and other materials up there that would make their life better and make them less dependent on welfare. In fact, this was not the case.

Witnesses also told the committee that their treatment by Canadian authorities and by the RCMP included sexual assault, exchanging the right of work or food for sexual favours and the outright use of slave labour by Canadian authorities in the northern communities of Grise Fiord and Resolute. At this point we are told that there is an internal RCMP investigation, though not a public inquiry, into the criminal aspects of the charges laid against Canadian authorities at Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay, but that according to the documents submitted yesterday that came from the bureaucracy, but were submitted by the minister in this House, the RCMP are having difficulty arranging interviews with the key complainants.

I am sure that since the key complainants are making accusations of sexual assault against RCMP members, it is going to be difficult to reach the complainants. As the House will know, the committee after hearing Inuit witnesses and in the absence of any credible evidence to the contrary made the following recommendations.

It recommended that the government acknowledge the role played by the Inuit relocated to the High Arctic in protection of Canadian sovereignty in the north. It asked the government to apologize for the wrongdoing which the government inflicted on the people of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay at that time, a result of these concerns about northern sovereignty. The committee also asked that an apology be carried out with due solemnity and it asked that the apology be accompanied with some form of recognition of the contribution to Canadian sovereignty made by the Inuit people of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay. The government was asked to consider compensation for the people of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay for their service to Canada and for the wrongdoings inflicted upon them.

Those were the recommendations made by the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs and unanimously agreed to by all parties in that committee, the Conservative members, the Liberal members and the New Democratic members. It was unanimously recommended to the House of Commons, based on the direct evidence from the people who were involved in the incident and who had suffered from the incident and who have direct knowledge of the incident.

In addition the committee called on the government within the customary time period of 150 days to respond to the committee's report. As you know, Mr. Speaker, the government's response was tabled yesterday by the minister, and it denied all of the evidence submitted by the Inuit witnesses who appeared before the committee or who were involved in the Grise Fiord-Resolute Bay relocations.

It denied that the motives for the relocation was to defend the sovereignty of the Canadian north. It refused an apology and the government based its report on what it called an independent outside consultant, mutually acceptable to the Makivik Corporation and to the department.

Mr. Speaker, I suggest to you that the so-called independent report done by the government in consultation with the Makivik Corporation is com-

The committee's report is reproduced in this volume as "Third Report of the SCAA (Sessional Paper No. 342-8/1B)" and the government's response as "Response to the Recommendations of the Third Report of the SCAA on the Relocation of the Inukjuak Inuit to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay (Sessional Paper No. 342-8R/1A)".

pletely false in its conclusions. It is selective in its use of the evidence, and its intent was to whitewash the bureaucrats, living and dead, retired and still working, who were involved in that incident where a small group of 15 Inuit families were uprooted from their homes in northern Quebec, transferred up to the hostile climate of the High Arctic, and left basically to their own devices.

The issue is that this House now has an opportunity either to accept the report and the recommendations made by a select standing committee of the House, an all-party committee of the House, which came to different conclusions than the bureaucrats, or they can vote non-confidence in their committee and accept the word of the bureaucrats and the internal examination that the bureaucrats had done of themselves by what they call an outside report.

I think this is a very important question for members to deal with. This House, if it makes a decision to vote concurrence with the recommendations of the committee, then supports the select standing committee and the direct evidence that the committee heard. If it decides either not to vote and to talk out this motion or to vote against this motion then what it is doing is expressing non-confidence in the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs, non-confidence in the witnesses that it heard, and non-confidence in the committee process. That is a very dangerous precedent to be established in the House.

- 1130 As I said, the committee heard direct evidence

from people who were directly involved, as opposed to the report tabled by the minister in the House yesterday which was an internal examination by a consultant selected by the Department of Indian Affairs to examine its own actions. As a result, the House has a very difficult decision to make. It must either vote non-confidence against the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs, with whatever ramifications that might have, or vote non-confidence against a report which whitewashes the bureaucracy, both current and past, with whatever ramifications that that has.

The report that was submitted yesterday, as I said, is extremely selective. It was designed to whitewash the bureaucracy and to absolve it of all wrongdoing. The report, in many cases, directly lies to the members of this House of Parliament and those lies must be corrected because they are complete falsehoods. The House should express its opinion about this report by voting in favour of the concurrence motion. To do so is going to have some serious consequences to the future credibility of standing committees of the House and certainly to the credibility of members who serve on those standing committees.

First, it should be noted that this report says it is a report that was jointly done or that it was done by an independent consultant who was acceptable to the Department of Indian Affairs and to the Makivik Corporation. That statement, Mr. Speaker, is a lie.

What happened was that the Department of Indian Affairs approached the Makivik Corporation which represents the Inuit people in this case. It said: "We have three consultants whom we are going to present to you. You are allowed to select one of them." But they were the three consultants selected by the Department of Indian Affairs. The Makivik Corporation and the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada said: "We cannot accept the first two because they have done negative reports against natives in the past, so we will accept

This report, the Hickling Report, is reproduced in Lackenbauer (2020).

A "decision to vote concurrence with the recommendations of the committee" would mean to endorse the Report and the recommendations therein, leading to additional debate and examination by the House of Commons and the Government. Voting against a concurrence vote would defeat the motion and cause the recommendations to not be adopted, having no effect on the Government. By not voting and talking the motion out, the motion can be indefinitely postponed. In both these latter cases, the Report and its recommendations remain a Committee Report and therefore no requirements for Government action are made. The suggestion that failure to respond to the SCAA's Report would result in non-confidence, is procedurally complex. This is not an official confidence vote and therefore there are no direct consequences. However, by not accepting the Report and its recommendations, the House implicitly suggests that the Committee's work is lacking. The consequences are ultimately about trust between opposition and governing parties. Mr. Robert Skelly's speech here tries to set this up as a choice between the work of the Committee and the report of the Government.

the only one you are offering to us that we do not know." That is the one that was accepted and the one that did this report.

I am sure that if the Makivik Corporation or the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada looked at this report today, they would not have accepted any of them, but they had no choice. They were offered three choices by the Department of Indian Affairs.

So, this is not a joint study as the minister and as the bureaucrats in his department would like us to believe. This is a study that was imposed upon the Makivik Corporation and a consultant was imposed upon the Makivik Corporation by the Department of Indian Affairs. Makivik had absolutely no choice in which consultant did the report. They were all three Department of Indian Affairs consultants.

From the very first paragraph of this report, it is misleading. It is an attempt to deceive the House into believing that this is a joint study, which it is not.

The then study goes on to say that the sovereignty of the north was not an issue in Canada's decision to move those 15 Inuit families from northern Quebec up onto Ellesmere Island, up to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay. In fact, the minutes of meetings held to discuss this issue are very clear on the subject that Canada's sovereignty was a very important concern of the Canadian government.

I want to quote the minutes of a meeting held at 10 a.m., August 10, 1953, in Room 304 of the Langevin Block, to discuss the transfer of certain Eskimo families from northern Quebec to Cornwallis and Ellesmere Island. The date it was received in the northern administration was August 12, 1953. I would like to have the opportunity to table this document in the House because it directly refutes the lies that were included in the report made by the consultant to the Department of Indian Affairs that was tabled in this House yesterday.

Mr. Sivertz, who later became the director of the northern operations, pointed out that the Canadian government was anxious to have Canadians occupying as much of the north as possible and it appeared that in many cases the Eskimos were the only people capable of doing this. It was a primary concern of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs at that time to transfer Eskimos, to uproot them from their homes, and to transplant them into the far north in order to establish Canadian occupancy in the far north and in order to establish Canadian sovereignty in that region.

For any bureaucrat or any bureaucrat's report to say that that is not true is utterly false. It is corroborated by its own minutes and by evidence available from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development which its bureaucrats know about and which its so-called independent consultants know about. This report that was given to us by the minister is an attempt to mislead the minister and an attempt to mislead the House. It is also an attempt to mislead Canadians about the wrong-doing done against those Inuit families between 1953 and 1957.

I call on the House to support this motion, to vote in favour of it and to tell the bureaucrats and the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in no uncertain terms that we do not like to be misled and lied to.

The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in its report also says that it was sending the Inuit families up to the High Arctic for

Makivik does challenge the Hickling Report following the failed vote of concurrence for the SCAA's Third Report at this meeting. Makivik brings the matter to the CHRC in December 1990/January 1991, which ultimately leads to the Soberman Report.

This document, which becomes a key piece of evidence in the debate over government intentionality, is reproduced as Document 50 in S. Grant (2016).

While a useful archival document, it is important to recognize that the meeting post-dates the relocation and is not a committee meeting. The meeting was initiated by the RCAF to address concerns raised in July (following embarkation at Inukjuak) about the RCAF's responsibilities for Inuit. The context for this document is important in understanding why the meeting took place, when it took place, and why specific items were discussed.

To suggest that transfer of Inuit was a primary concern of the DRD is incorrect. The economic situation of Inuit could perhaps be considered a primary concern, but documentary evidence indicates that concerns about sovereignty and relocation were rarely discussed.

It is also useful to note that this meeting took place on the same day as the 1953 federal election in which the North and Canada's development of the Arctic was a major election issue.

their own good. It said that game resources were running in short supply in northern Quebec where these families lived prior to their transplantation. Game was running short and, as a result, it was said that game was in abundance in the northern area of the country. Therefore, it was worth-while to move these families to the northern area of the country in order that they would have more game and not be obliged to rely on the welfare system provided by the province of Quebec or the Canadian government. In fact, that same meeting that I referred to that took place in the Langevin Block on August 10, 1953, even questioned the availability of resources and the ability of those 15 families to survive in the High Arctic, based on the resources that were available.

Mr. O'Neil, a representative of the Royal Canadian Air Force stated that he was afraid that there was not sufficient wildlife in the Resolute area to provide for the proposed Eskimo population, which amounted to 15 families. Mr. Cantley, who was also in attendance at the meeting, replied that he had reason to believe that there was sufficient marine life to support the Eskimo families concerned. No one could say for sure that this was the case and, consequently, the experiment was being staged.

When the Canadian government and the report of the minister and the bureaucrats from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development tells us that it was moving these Inuit families up to the High Arctic for their own good because there was more wildlife and fisheries resources there, even the evidence presented to the minutes dealing with this issue in 1953 indicated that members of the committee were concerned that, in fact, this was false. There was insufficient wildlife resources and insufficient country food resources available for those Inuit when they did arrive in the High Arctic and, as a result, they would be faced with starvation or a lack of country food. They may be even further forced to depend on the RCMP or the military for their food.

As a consequence, many of these families suffered hunger, privation and starvation as a result of the lack of food and the lack of success in hunting food in an area that was completely different from the one they came from. Anyone who makes a comparison between the documents publicly available, the documents available in the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, and the report done by the department's so-called independent consultant can see that the so-called independent consultant selected information, dismissed other information, and, as a result, presented a report to the House that is false, that is full of lies, and that misleads the House.

I call on the House to take a very careful look at the documents that the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development submitted to us yesterday. I also call on the House to look at the record of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in these kinds of issues. This is the same department that has forcibly moved native people off the land. In Nova Scotia, for example, it has forcibly combined and concentrated the Micmac Indians into two communities as another experiment. This country and this Department of Indian Affairs has done experiments on native people that would be the envy of Joseph Stalin's collectivization program or the envy of Josef Mengele.

Documentary evidence makes it clear that the government did not have an accurate representation of the resources available in the High Arctic. The RCAF questioned resource availability based on their experience at Resolute Bay and the Canadian Wildlife Service (CWS) also suggested that it did not have sufficient data to properly provide an estimate.

The availability of wildlife resources in the High Arctic is not discussed in any committee meeting minutes prior to the relocation. Discussion of a scientific study on the conservation and utilization of wildlife resources generally in the Arctic occurs at the May 1952 EAC meeting (See Lackenbauer and Clancy (2019).) Resource availability in the High Arctic is discussed at the meeting between the DRD and RCAF on 10 August 1953, and in a memo from the CWS to the DRD in June 1952. What is not mentioned is the discrepancy between the reports mentioned in these documents and the anecdotal evidence provided by the RCMP and the HBC about conditions in the High Arctic.

• 1140

It is time that the House recognizes the wrong-doings it has done to native people in the country, systematic wrong-doings it continues to do

and will continue to do if it accepts the report issued by the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development on behalf of his bureaucrats in the House.

The one thing we have to do, and the one choice we have to make here today, is to accept either the minister's report, which is a complete and utter fabrication, a collection of lies of the worst order, or we can accept the report of the select standing committee of the House which was based on direct evidence of the people affected. It is a question of confidence, Mr. Speaker. I hope this issue comes to a vote and I hope that all members on all sides of the House support this motion.

**Hon. Shirley Martin (Minister of State (Indian Affairs and Northern Development)):** Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to have an opportunity to report to the House on a matter of great importance to Canada's future. The relationship between Canada and the aboriginal people has certainly had a difficult history. So difficult, in fact, that some are prepared to believe the worst of any situation concerning how we dealt with each other in years gone by. That, I think, is the attitude which has led many to accept the charges that in the early 1950s, the government of the day callously and cruelly uprooted a number of Inuit families from their communities and deposited them without food or resources in a hostile environment, all in the name of sinister and incomprehensible political interests.

We have heard a very passionate presentation by the member opposite telling us that the reports that have been made to the House are fabrications of lies of the worst order. I would like to take an opportunity now in the House to present another view of the issue and to tell the members of the House the government's position on the relocation of the Inuit residents to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in the 1950s. Much of this was based on an independent report, not an in-house report, but one of an independent nature.

First, I would like to remind the House that nearly four decades ago the far north was still pristine with plentiful wildlife and the High Arctic held hope and promise for the Inuit, who at the time were facing great hardships further south, and the plan was to improve their social and economic prospects.

In the period 1953 to 1957, the federal government relocated a number of Inuit families from Inukjuak in the northern Arctic of the Northwest Territories. It was only years later that some of the Inuit wished to return to Inukjuak at government expense.

In June of this year, the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs made five recommendations about that relocation. The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development responded to those recommendations yesterday.

To understand the relocation, one must put the events which occurred in 1953 into historical perspective. In the 1950s the Government of Canada tried to assist northern native people in their pursuit of traditional livelihood. For those Inuit who wished it, the government was also willing to help them integrate at their own pace into the economic development that was occurring in the north.

Occasionally, hunting was poor in particular areas of the north and many people experienced hardship. At the time of the move the Inukjuak game had been depleted. The Inuit population was growing. The Inuit living there

Shirley Martin was Member of Parliament for Lincoln from 1984 to 1993. She was also Minister of State (Indian Affairs and Northern Development) from February 1990 to April 1991

This should read "from Inukjuak in Northern Quebec to the northern Arctic of the Northwest Territories."

were facing difficult times.

The government's aim was to relocate the people to areas in which wildlife was more plentiful. The move to the Northwest Territories was based upon the abundance of game in the hopes of providing the Inuit with a better life. There was no hidden agenda in this project. It was undertaken with the best intentions and evidence clearly shows that the people concerned benefited materially from the move in a very short period of time. The facts clearly show that the relocation of the citizens was not done in the hope of protecting Canadian sovereignty.

Historical documents go back to 1930 when an exchange of notes between Norway and Canada occurred to support Canadian sovereignty. This exchange formally and officially recognized Canada's ownership of the Sverdrup Islands which are more northerly than Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay.

The Soviet Union had no designs on our Arctic and the United States agreed that it would use the Arctic islands only with Canadian consent. The only territorial threat, and I use the word "threat" in quotations, was from a few Greenland Inuit who occasionally, hunted illegally in Canada's territory in the late forties and the early fifties.

By 1952, the RCMP was on site and quite ready to deal with such problems. In fact, it was only in the sixties, when the American ship *Manhattan* went through the Northwest Passage, that the notion that Canadian sovereignty was an issue in the Inuit relocation of the 1950s developed. In response to the *Manhattan*, the Canadian government at the time started talking about things that were done to protect Arctic sovereignty, and history was rewritten. And the relocation of the Inuit was added to the list of things done by the government to support its control of the north.

The sovereignty issue was again raised in the 1980s by the Makivik Corporation, an organization set up under the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement of 1975. This represented the interests of all Inuit in northern Quebec, where Inukjuak is located. It is important, therefore, that research into the sovereignty issue, conducted by the Makivik Corporation in 1982, concluded that the move did not occur for reasons of sovereignty.

In 1990, Makivik, in its paper to the standing committee, turned its back on its own research in 1982 and declared its belief that sovereignty was the main motivation for the move.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to acknowledge that, although sovereignty was not the reason for the move, the Inuit families who did move did assist indirectly in the promotion of Canadian sovereignty. By being part of the north, they were able to help the RCMP. They occasionally assisted the Mounties, who had concerns about the poaching of wildlife on Ellesmere Island. The Inuit from Inukjuak were able to help the RCMP administer the territorial game legislation and, indirectly, aided in upholding Canadian sovereignty.

The standing committee suggested that the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development was at fault for both the planning and the implementation of this project, which resulted in hardship for the Inuit. In 1953, the means of transportation in the north left something to be desired. The main form of mass movement, perhaps one of the only means, was by ship. There were evidently problems that occurred because of this. One of the problems of Arctic travel, in fact any travel, is the transportation of goods.

Equipment and supplies which the people would need in their first year were carefully planned, purchased and shipped to selected sites. Unfortu-



nately, some of the equipment was not off-loaded at the appropriate places. Consequently, that first winter in the High Arctic was, for many Inuit, very difficult.

The difficulties that were encountered in 1953, however, in large part were simply because it was 1953. Transportation and communications were relatively primitive. Since that time, there have been tremendous technological changes that have improved conditions in the north. They must also be set against conditions in the bush camps surrounding Port Harrison, from which the Inuit had come. Conditions were very poor and, in contrast to the High Arctic, there was almost no game. Hardships in the south easily matched that in the north and there was no chance for improvement.

I would also like to point out that the oral statements made to the standing committee about extreme hardships and starvation were not substantiated by letters from the people concerned. In the research, for example, an article entitled "Salluviniq's Story" published in 1977 recounts a very different experience. In the article this gentleman, one of the original people moved in 1953, states:

*Since I moved to Resolute I have never wanted to move back - If I wanted to move back to Inoucdjouac (Inukjuak), I think the government might agree to help me.*

He also recounts in his story his life in Inukjuak prior to his move and he clearly indicates that there was no coercion involved in his decision to move to Resolute Bay.

• 1150

There are many other letters in existence written by Inuit at Resolute Bay to relatives and to social workers in the department. They testify to the satisfaction of hunting conditions that were found in the High Arctic. Oral evidence also alludes to some misunderstandings at the time of the move. I can assure the House that there is no question that the best motivations dictated the relocation of the Inukjuak Inuit to the High Arctic. I suggest, however, that many of the misunderstandings may well have occurred because of language difficulties.

Perhaps the major contention of the Inukjuak Inuit was that the federal government had promised them that they could return to their homes at government expense if, after two or three years, they were not happy with their new location. After careful investigation, I am satisfied that some promises were made. As I mentioned, however, many of the letters written by the Inuit did not express a desire to leave and letters written by residents in the late fifties and early sixties in fact spoke of the desire to have family members join them at Resolute Bay.

Residents of the Inukjuak area continued to move north until the late fifties at which time entry to these communities was closed because they became over-crowded.

The earliest request to return on record came in 1960 when a request was made to go back to Inukjuak for a visit. There were virtually no Inuit who expressed a desire to leave the High Arctic for good at that time and there are a number of reasons why people requested to return. Many were not dealt with until 20 to 30 years after the original move. The lack of adequate transportation, which I mentioned, was one of the reasons. Travel arrangements at that time were not easily made. The only means available was by the annual supply ship which arrived and left in late summer.

As well, time lapses between the expression of the desire to leave and

the finalization of those arrangements were lengthy. It is not to say that the government was not willing to try, but rather the problems encountered were cumbersome and restrictive. Indeed, in the early 1970s the RCMP used their own aircraft to arrange visits to the Northwest Territories, reimbursed by Canada, and was returning a few Inuit to Inukjuak. Still one fact is clear – at no time did the Canadian government refuse outright any Inuit request for return.

Another problem with moves back to Inukjuak was the lack of housing. If people went back, there was no housing available to them at that time. In 1988, however, DIAND did contribute \$700,000 to assist the Government of Quebec in building 10 new homes to accommodate those wishing to return.

It is also likely that requests from the Inuit to return occurred long after the two or three years that the departmental officials had assumed would be the time-frame within which people would want to return home. Nonetheless, returns did continue.

Speaking now for the present, let me make it clear that the government believes it has a moral obligation to fulfil the promise to return those who wish to go back. The department has already spent in excess of some \$250,000 on direct relocation costs to date. It stands ready to complete the relocation of those Inuit who wish it.

In light of this information, I feel that the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development has nothing to apologize for in the manner in which the relocation project was conceived, planned and carried out.

In fact, I would like to quote from the findings of the independent consultant who was acceptable at the time to the Makivik Corporation on this particular question. The offer was made of three names. It was not a case of picking one person and saying: "You have to accept it." There was an offer made of three different groups and they accepted one of the three.

I quote from this report:

The evidence that we examined does not support the allegation that the government committed wrongdoing in the planning and conduct of this project.

The material we examined leads us to a different conclusion, namely that the project which was conscientiously planned, was carried out in a reasonable effective manner and that the Inuit participated in it voluntarily, in their own search for a better life, and benefited from the experience.

We do not see the grounds for an apology by the government for the manner in which the relocation project was conceived, planned and carried out.

In our view, to apologize for a wrongdoing it did not commit would constitute a deception on the part of the government.

That is not a government quote. It is the report of an independent firm that looked into the facts of the situation.

I sincerely sympathize with any family or family member still wishing to move back to Inukjuak and I hope that they will be able to do so promptly.

We will assist them to do so.

The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development will continue to work with natives and northerners in attempting to reach mutually acceptable and desirable changes in programs and policies.

Before closing, I would like to balance these unhappy recollections of the

past with the happier reality of the present.

The people of Canada's north, both native and non-native, are making great strides in achieving their aspirations, and the government is helping them to do so.

Foremost among our efforts is our commitment to enter into fair and reasonable land claims settlements. Recent milestones in land claims settlements in the Yukon and Northwest Territories are pointing Canada's north in a new and promising direction.

Over the course of the past year, major agreements have been reached in the north which will enhance economic, social and political development for first citizens and the northerners who came after.

The most notable, for its sheer size, was the agreement in principle of the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut Land Claim in the Eastern Arctic, the area where Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord are located.

The riches of the north will be enjoyed in greater measure than ever before by the 17,500 Inuit whose home territory covers the 350,000 square kilometres of land covered by the TFN land claim.

In addition to a land mass about half the size of Saskatchewan, Inuit will receive some \$612 million in financial compensation, a share of resource royalties, guaranteed harvesting rights and participation in decision-making processes which deal with the land and environmental management.

This is a fair and just agreement.

In signing it, the Government of Canada has clearly said that we respect the historic rights of Inuit who have inhabited these territories for countless centuries.

It recognizes and supports their desire to sustain their traditions and shape their own future. It is that future that we and they must now concentrate on.

It is that future which will see the building of a new relationship between native and non-native Canadians, the relationship which the Prime Minister of Canada promised to work toward when he announced the federal government's new native agenda on September 25.

That is where our efforts should now be focused, and I count on the members of this House to let us get on with the building process.

**Ms. Ethel Blondin (Western Arctic):** Mr. Speaker, I rise today to speak to the motion that was put forward for concurrence.

I would like to say that the motion that we put forward has much merit. I cannot understand how the government can come back with a counterproposal refuting the essence of what these people have stated to the committee when they appeared before the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs on March 19. At that particular meeting we had a number of representatives from ITC and from the group termed as the High Arctic exiles, people who were actually involved in this relocation.

\*(1200)

I believe that fancy reports and fancy documents from politicians and from governments do not speak as well as people from Canada who experience their own problems and who recognize the truth of their own lives better than we do.

One such individual was Mr. Allie Salluviniq, a Resolute Bay representative from the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada. He said: "I am Allie E9-1860. I am identified as such although I am Allie Salluviniq. All these other people

also have numbers, E9 numbers. I was very small when we moved from Inukjuak to the High Arctic, but I do remember vividly when we were landed a large boulder I can relate to and how very cold we were. Some had to be warmed by dogs.

I do want to say that when we were being prepared to be moved out of Inukjuak we were told that we would all be located in one place. Then when we had just about arrived our people were told that they were to be separated. This was devastating. My mother died as a young woman, never having seen her relatives again. I myself am not hurting. It is these people who lived that particular experience that are hurting. We have been woefully hurt by all this. We deserve to be given a further chance to tell our story. We were separated and parted although we were promised that we would stay together. My mother was away in hospital for six years with tuberculosis. I grew up without a mother as a result. These other people will make it more clear", and he goes on.

Then we had further testimony from other people. This one in particular was from John Amagoalik, president of ITC, who said: "You must understand the big change we experienced when we moved from northern Quebec to the High Arctic. There was a big change in diet. In northern Quebec we grew up on fish and game birds and things that grew out of the ground, berries and such. Up there none existed. We had to travel hundreds of miles for any fish. There were no caribou. The only birds were around for only a couple of weeks of the year. We had to change from that diet to walrus, polar bear and seal, and that was about it. It was a big change".

He went on to say: "The environment was very different. It was much, much colder. The winter was much colder and we discovered that there were three months of total darkness. We had never been told that. One of the most devastating experiences we ever had was when we discovered that there was no sun from November until February. The annexes referred many times to the experiment. We were used like laboratory animals, as has been stated by some of the witnesses. Our dignity as human beings has been violated. We need a longer time to tell our story because we are just touching its surface. This story needs to be told. It is a Canadian story. It needs to be explained in Canadian history".

These are the people who spoke for themselves. These are the people who had the experiences that are most unfortunate within the context of our Canadian history.

What is wrong with the motion we presented? What is wrong with what we suggested as a motion, that the Government of Canada acknowledge the role played by the Inuit who were relocated to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in the protection of Canadian sovereignty in the north, that the government issue an apology for the wrongdoings carried out against the people of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay, that the said apology be carried out in an official ceremony of due solemnity and respect, that the said apology be accompanied by some form of official recognition of the contribution of Inuit of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay to Canadian sovereignty, for example, by the erection of an historic monument or marker and by the issuing of certificates recognizing this important valuable contribution to those relocatees still living or, if deceased, their surviving families?

What is wrong with taking people like Martin Frobisher and naming a community after that individual? What is wrong with taking people like Sir

Alexander Mackenzie and naming a river after that person? Why can we not recognize the contribution made by these people under the harshest of circumstances? Why can we not recognize that northern occupancy, as was stated in one of the reports I have was a great preoccupation?

In 1983 the former minister of DIAND, John Munro presented a discussion paper prepared by Environment Canada entitled *Environment Canada and the North* at the Third General Assembly of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference held at Frobisher Bay in July 1983. This federal paper, in discussing the evolution of resource use policy in Canada's north states on page 59 as follows:

It is worth noting that before World War II priority was given to traditional forms of northern occupancy in large areas of the north. However, the prime reasons for this were not entirely due to concerns for native welfare and northern environmental quality. Issues of Canadian sovereignty were the principal concerns. Both the native people and the environment were used as important elements in formulating strategies to advance Canada's jurisdictional claims in the Arctic. For example, at the turn of the century, Otto Servitude discovered Axle Heiberg and Elvis Ringis Island and claimed them for Norway. In response, Canada reasserted her claim to the islands of the High Arctic. To confirm this claim Canada created a game reserve in the Arctic Islands in 1926 and stated that the hunting grounds of the Arctic should be preserved. by the native Eskimos, Inuit. Various additions were made to the preserve up until 1945 at which time over 1.3 million square miles were set aside covering all the Arctic Islands and a large part of the rest of the Northwest Territories. To further entrench the sovereignty claim, the government relocated Inuit people from northern Quebec to the Arctic Islands in the mid-1950s.

These were the statements made in this paper by a federal minister who had the same kind of resources to, examine the issues. These claims are being made also by the aboriginal people who appeared before us in March 1990.

These people would like a public apology. The independent consultant that was provided for the Makivik Corporation was one of three consultants. The other two were not acceptable. I do not feel that the Inuit people had much choice about who the independent consultant was.

During the years 1953, 1955, and 1957 approximately 17 families were moved from Inukjuak and Port Harrison, Quebec and were relocated by the federal government to Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord in the High Arctic. The primary stated purpose by the Government of Canada for this relocation was to reduce the hunting pressure on the resource base Inukjuak. I cannot understand why it is that for political expediency and for their own selfish means the government always uses the aboriginal people, either by relocating them or by capitalizing on the fact that they occupy a certain territory and can be induced to do that or can be used to profile a certain issue.

Let us take, for instance, the Spicer Commission. Just recently it said that it would make a meagre foray into the Arctic to go where it all started. I think that is real political opportunism. If we want to make a statement about the issue and the essence of aboriginal people and their first nation status, we should entrench that in the Constitution. We should recognize the contribution these people have made to Canada and support the \$10 million the Makivik Corporation has recommended for a heritage fund. That would

This should read from Inukjuak and Pond Inlet.

The Spicer Commission, or Citizens' Forum on Canada's Future, was established in November 1990 to engage Canadians on the political and social future of Canada, responding to the constitutional crises following the Meech Lake Accord.

be the best \$10 million investment the government could make for the Inuit. Under the harshest of circumstances and under an extension of the federal government, because the territories is not yet a province, out of 53 language groups the Inuit people have managed to be one of the three languages that have been able to survive. Aside from Cree and Ojibway, the Inuktitut language is still strong and thriving.

• 1210

Why is this? Is it because the government has poured millions into maintaining the strength of these languages? Not really. It is because the perseverance and the survival skills of these people are the essence of who, they are. They have survived under the harshest of circumstances. They have been economically marginalized in an attempt to alleviate the pressure on resources, the hunting and traditional trapping resources in that area. These people have been through the downfall of their sealing industry and they still survive.

What are they saying to Canada? "Canada, listen to us. We have suffered. We want compensation. We want \$10 million to help us survive. We want \$10 million to profile who we are and what we are about, what our essence, what our language and what our heritage are about".

They are the ones who have allowed their languages to survive. They are the ones who have stayed in the territories in the north, actually in Nunavut, for all practical purposes, in the High Arctic regions. They have made a place for themselves within Canada that no other Canadian would dare to experience. They have been very brave and generous in the kind of hospitality they have extended to people coming into that area.

People ask why they waited that long, why they waited 37 years. Why come back now asking for compensation? When you live in a colonized mentality, when one lives with cession by law, when you live with imposing governments coming forward and telling you that this is the way it should be, you would have to wait 37 years to engender the leadership you need and to have the growth in community spirit you need to come forward and be able to put forth your case.

Makivik Corporation has put forward a very substantive case. With regard to the pressure that is present to assist Inuit people, the case the Makivik Corporation has put forward is very convincing.

I for one could not understand three or four nights ago when I watched the Assistant Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development debate the relocation issue for the purposes of protecting Arctic sovereignty or Canadian sovereignty in the High Arctic. That Mr. Van Loon, Assistant Deputy Minister, would refute, deny and virtually call the Inuit people deceptive and liars about their own life and what they are about, I was very insulted. I watched the leader of the Inuit people of Canada being insulted by this bureaucrat who, should be advocating, not serving in an adversarial role.

I find this to be extremely alarming. What are these people doing? We supposedly have an independent report. I hope that the results of the motion being debated will be favourable and will be independent of bureaucrats who, continue to cripple on all fronts the process of social justice for the aboriginal people across Canada.

There are no better words to explain how the people who appeared that day felt, such as Markoosie Patsauq and Sarah Amagoalik, the mother of the

president of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada. Those people came forward with a most convincing case.

I cannot believe that we recognize outsiders, build monuments to them, and name rivers and islands like Baffin Island after them, yet there is no room in our hearts as Canadians to recognize the people who were here first, who built the country and who maintained and protected Canada's sovereignty. How can we not have the decency and respect in our hearts to do this?

This requires one fundamental thing. It requires the political will of the government. This report should have never existed. This report refuting an apology, refuting recognition of the Inuit's contribution for the protection of Arctic sovereignty, should have never existed. There should have been a unanimous motion which was consented to in the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs. That should have been upheld. The government should be proud to say to the Inuit people, "We are proud of your contribution. We are happy that you were there to protect our Arctic sovereignty when no one else dared to go". The Inuit people were essentially forced to take on that role and did so under the harshest of circumstances.

We must find in our hearts the respect and dignity that these people deserve and we should give due recognition. I totally support the idea of a \$10 million heritage fund because I believe that the Inuit have much about them that is worth preserving and carrying on with in terms of the overall Canadian context of who we are and what our country is all about.

**Mr. Ray Skelly (North Island-Powell River):** Mr. Speaker, much has been made in this House of the question of whether or not the issue of Canadian sovereignty was paramount in moving the Inuit to the High Arctic. It is ironic that the Minister of Indian Affairs would stand in this House and submit a report that is obvious fabrication and lies and then the Minister of State-

**Some hon. members:** Order.

**Mr. Skelly (North Island-Powell River):** I am sorry, Mr. Speaker. I am quoting from a previous speaker in the House. Those comments were I think justified and quite correct. I was not alluding to the minister but certainly to the consultant.

It is interesting that a previous minister of Indian Affairs of this government, the Minister of National Defence said in a letter dated February 5, 1988:

My colleague, the Honourable Tom McMillan, has already written to the president of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC) on October 16, 1987 suggesting two options for recognition of the Inuit contribution to Arctic sovereignty. Either Resolute Bay or Grise Fiord could be designated a national historic site and/or the Inuit relocation to the High Arctic could be recognized as an event of national historic significance by an article in "Recognizing Canadian History." By copy of this letter I am adding my support to ITC's resolution and suggest-(the) follow up on Mr. McMillan's suggestions.

There is no question in the mind of the Minister of National Defence, the previous Minister of Indian Affairs, that this government was at one point prepared to recognize that. Then, all of a sudden, there is a complete

Amagoalik is a common surname. Sarah Amagoalik is not the mother of John Amagoalik (the then-president of the ITC, but the mother of Paul who was born aboard the *C.D. Howe* in 1953.

Thomas (Tom) McMillan was Member of Parliament for Hillsborough from 1979 to 1988 and Minister of the Environment from August 1985 to December 1988

This letter is included in the appendices to the March 19, 1990 submission to the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs (SCAA).

reversal, a denial of all the facts. We now have the Minister of Indian Affairs and the Minister of State creating a tremendously embarrassing situation in this House, calling confidence in the committee, and their own members on the committee, who voted unanimously to submit this recommendation to the House of Commons asking the House to vote on its concurrence.

I would ask the previous speaker this. Does the member not agree that this House is now morally bound to let a vote occur on this motion; that the honour of the committee, the honour of the committee members is at stake; that upon hearing direct testimony and investigating this matter, the integrity of the committee system and of the committee is at stake? I would ask the opinion of the previous speaker on this. Should we not allow, as a moral point, this vote to now come to fruition in this House and not simply permit the government to talk it out?

**Mrs. Blondin:** Mr. Speaker, I absolutely agree that it would be morally indefensible not to have a vote. It would be morally indefensible to put forward this kind of a report that totally refutes everything that those people testified to. It shows that it is totally insensitive that the government would not consider the concerns of those individuals, who I believe came forward with a very compelling and very sensitive case. I believe that we should not talk out the motion but that we should put it to a vote. I feel strongly about that.

• 1220

**Mr. Stan Wilbee (Delta):** Mr. Speaker, I would just like to clarify one fact that the member from Vancouver Island mentioned. He said that this was a unanimous decision in the committee. I should point out that two government members voted against this motion in committee, so it was not a unanimous decision of the committee.

The other thing I would like to mention is in regard to the speech of the hon. member for Western Arctic. The hon. member made quite an issue of the fact that the Inuit were issued with numbers and this was a depersonalization, degradation, dehumanization, whatever you want to call it.

However, if we look at our system, anyone who served in the armed forces during the war or in peacetime was given a number. When we went to university we were all assigned numbers. That does not mean that our names were not valid, that people recognized us just as an object. It was for particular reasons we were given numbers. As a registered physician, I have a number given to me by the College of Physicians and Surgeons which is used for particular purposes. I do not feel that by being issued a number that I am in any way depersonalized and a lesser person for that.

I would just like to hear the hon. member's comments on that. I understand that it could be taken as an insult, but this happens all the time in our society and I feel it was perhaps misconstrued by some people.

**Ms. Blondin:** Mr. Speaker, I beg your indulgence. I was busy conferring with one of my colleagues from the party opposite and did not get the last part of my hon. colleague's question. So if you would not mind repeating that last part, I would be very happy to answer it.

**Mr. Wilbee:** Mr. Speaker, I had just pointed out that many times in our society we are given numbers for identification purposes, or for other reasons, and it does not mean that we are depersonalized or dehumanized. It is not

It was a unanimous vote on March 18, 1990 to have the draft motion created, but it was not a unanimous vote on June 19, 1990 when the Report was sent to the House.



a sign of contempt in any way. I used the examples that every soldier has a regimental number and university students have student numbers. As a physician, I have a number submitted by the College of Physicians and Surgeons.

These numbers are valuable assets that can be used in certain circumstances to identify me as different from other people. It could be taken as an insult perhaps, but our society demands these types of things. I feel that this has been overrated and that many people have felt unnecessarily that they were being looked down on or looked at with contempt because they were assigned numbers. I would just like to hear the hon. member's comment on that.

**Ms. Blondin:** I would be very happy. I have a close colleague by the name of Mr. Abe Okpik from Frobisher Bay or Iqaluit who worked for years on this whole issue.

I must say that by getting a number at university you do not forfeit your name. By getting a social insurance number, you do not forfeit your name. By going into the military, you are given a number, but people still refer to you by name, Private such-and-such, Private Smith or Private Jones.

**Mr. Dingwall:** Dingwall.

**Ms. Blondin:** Or Dingwall. Or Wilbee, Private Wilbee. But when you have been given a number under the numbered process with regard to the Inuit people, it was very degrading. The reason for that is because the people who came to their land did not have enough respect to find a way to learn their names. The Inuit people have very beautiful names. I can think of a number of names. I lived in an Inuit community. I am of Indian extraction and I learned these names. Mangalaluk, Nasagaluak. Those are names that anyone could learn. So, I am saying that yes, there is a stigma attached to it and, yes, those people were treated under certain conditions as less than human.

**Mr. Robert D. Nault (Kenora-Rainy River):** Thank you, Mr. Speaker, for the opportunity to ask my colleague a question. I will try to make it as short as I can in order for the hon. member to have a little time to answer it. This particular question relates to the fact that the government does not seem to be too interested in acknowledging the fact that the people were moved, specifically, for sovereignty reasons.

One of the reasons I would like to ask the member this question is because I come from a region very similar to the northern Quebec region from where these 15 families were moved. Lo and behold, these particular 15 families were moved to a region that is absolutely different from the region they came from. They could have moved these 15 families, for example, to northern Ontario, where I came from, which has the same type of terrain, the same type of vegetation, the same types of animals, and the same types of berries to collect, and this would not have been devastating to their way of life. Could the hon. member try to explain why they chose the far Arctic versus northern Ontario, which would have given them the same kind of lifestyle?

**Ms. Blondin:** Mr. Speaker, I thank my hon. colleague for bringing up that very good point. There is no way to explain why these people were not taken to a more favourable climate. There is only one explanation and that is one thing that the government will not recognize. These people were sent to

Abe Okpik was an appointed member of the Northwest Territories Legislative Council from 1965-1966, the first Inuk to sit on the Council. Okpik also led "Project Surname" in the early 1970s to replace Inuit disc numbers with surnames

the High Arctic for the express purpose of protecting Canadian High Arctic sovereignty, and that is it.

**Mrs. Dorothy Dobbie (Parliamentary Secretary to Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development):** Mr. Speaker, I welcome this opportunity to rise today to try to reveal the facts about the relocation of the Inuit families from Inukjuak to Grise Fiord and Resolute in 1953.

I would like to share the findings of the Hickling report with the Canadian people and see if, somehow, we can find the truth that exists somewhere between the memory and the cold written records of the past. It was in looking for this truth that the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development commissioned an independent study by an outside consultant. The consultant was asked to assess the factual basis of all of those allegations that were made in the third report to Parliament by the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs.

It was felt that it was imperative that a detailed and impartial assessment of all of the facts be undertaken so that the department could prepare an objective and unbiased response, a full response, to these allegations and which had been requested by the standing committee.

Therefore the independent commission began its study. First it consulted with the Makivik Corporation, the organization that was set up under the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement in 1975 to represent the interests of all of the Inuit of northern Québec. That, of course, is where Inukjuak is located. With Makivik's agreement, the Hickling Corporation was contracted to conduct the study.

The Hickling project manager felt that, first of all, he must meet with departmental officials to review the history of the claim. This included various previous approaches that had been made by the Inuit Taparait of Canada and by the Makivik Corporation, requesting settlement of the claim and the responses by the department on those occasions.

The events leading up to the appearance of the Inuit before the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs, on March 19, 1990, the published proceedings of the committee meeting of that date, and the ensuing interim response by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, were also examined in this investigation.

In addition, the Hickling team sought the assistance of the Government of the Northwest Territories in searching the files for all the possible references to the relocation project. These files had been sent to the Government of the Northwest Territories in the transfer of federal responsibilities from the federal government to the Government of the Northwest Territories in the years from 1966 to 1970.

From all of these sources and after careful and detailed study, a report was developed. I would now like to share relevant sections of that report, from the executive summary of the report, with this House. I should remind hon. members that complete copies of the report are available from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development should any member wish to obtain one. The Hickling report states, and I quote:

Our assessment of the factual basis of the allegations included in our study is based on an extensive survey of official government files, documents, and published and unpublished reports, and learned papers in the possession of the National Archives of Canada, the Depart-

Dorothy Dobbie was Member of Parliament for Winnipeg South from 1988 to 1993 and was Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development from 1989 to 1991

Many of these files remain at the Northwest Territories archives in Yellowknife.

ment of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, various libraries in other government departments, public libraries and sources within the Makivik Corporation.

We found that the decision by the government to actively encourage the relocation of Inuit families to the High Arctic in 1953, and in the two or three years subsequent to that, was not motivated by a concern to strengthen Canadian sovereignty over the Arctic islands at that time.

Canada felt secure in her claim of ownership of the islands at that time, as a result of an exchange of notes between Canada and Norway in 1930, because the Canadian government had consistently displayed its sovereignty in that area for so long and in so many ways as to firmly establish its title to all of the Arctic islands in a manner consistent with international law.

The RCMP participated in the exercise of Canadian sovereignty in the north by their very presence in those areas, and in the various roles they were called upon to carry out their own and on behalf of other federal departments.

They were required from time to time to deal with the illegal hunting of polar bear and musk-oxen by Greenlanders, which was prohibited under the Northwest Territories game ordinance. In carrying out this function they did indeed assist in asserting Canadian sovereignty.

• 1230

The study continues:

The Inuit families in question were not relocated to the high Arctic to assist the RCMP in the administration of the Northwest Territories game ordinance, although, in fact, they did so on occasion.

They asserted Canadian Arctic sovereignty by the very fact of living there-

**Mr. Skelly (North Island-Powell River):** I rise on a point of order, Mr. Speaker. I understand that the rules of the House do prohibit reading a speech directly into the record, a speech that has been written by the Department of Indian Affairs and previously written into the record by the Minister of State for Indian Affairs.

If it is the intent of the government to simply regurgitate this crap or pap, why do we not just unanimously seek consent to call it one o'clock and get out of here, if that is the attitude of the government toward this very serious matter?

*[Translation]*

**The Acting Speaker (Mr. DeBlois):** I am sorry to interrupt the hon. member but I believe there is a certain amount of latitude in this House, and that, since previous speakers on both sides of the House have quoted documents or reports, I should show the same indulgence to, both sides of the House.

*[English]*

**Mr. Skelly (North Island-Powell River):** Mr. Speaker, would you be prepared to give the House some direction as to whether or not an individual is able to read the same speech into the House twice?

It is clear that Mr. Skelly is here concerned about stalling the debate on the motion through "talk[ing] it out". Doing so would mean allowing time on the debate to run out upon the mandated recess, and postponing the vote on the motion indefinitely, at the government's discretion. Ms. Dobbie reading from the Hickling Report's Executive Summary for more than 10 minutes contributes to the delay of the vote, which is ultimately never called.

Charles DeBlois was Member of Parliament for Beauport-Montmorency-Orléans (Québec) from 1988 to 1993 and was Assistant Deputy Chair of Committees of the Whole from 1990 to 1993, a role in which he could be the Acting Speaker in the absence of the Speaker and Deputy Speaker

*[Translation]*

**The Acting Speaker (Mr. DeBlois):** The hon. member may wish to consider the fact that every member may use notes or other written material, so that, strictly speaking, this is not a point of order. On the same subject, the parliamentary secretary.

*[English]*

**Mrs. Dobbie:** Mr. Speaker, it is very important that the members opposite hear the details of the executive summary of the report because, in listening to the speeches and interventions made earlier this morning, it is clear to me that many of the members are not familiar with the report by this independent group. I think it would be very useful to them to understand the details and the finding of the Hickling team.

The study goes on to, state:

They asserted Canadian Arctic sovereignty by the very fact of living there, but that was not the purpose of their relocation. - (The Hickling) report reveals that the main reason for the decision by the government to encourage some Inuit families to relocate to the High Arctic at that time was the concern to improve the living conditions of Inuit, particularly in the Hudson Bay region. Relocation from those depressed areas was seen, by both government officials and the Inuit themselves, as a way of breaking out of a growing pattern of welfare dependency, and as a means of providing the Inuit with new and better economic opportunities through improving hunting, trapping and wage employment.

The report states:

Reasonable steps were taken by the government officials to establish and apply suitable criteria for the selection of families, so as to ensure that the best success of the project and the security of the participants. These criteria were developed over a period of several years, with input from a number of sources.

Those who were transported to the new location by the C.D. Howe were x-rayed before their departure and appear to have been found free of serious infectious diseases. Some of the participants who were included were quite aged, and at least one was physically disabled, but their participation in the relocation project was not out of line with Inuit culture values nor with the realities of life in the Arctic in those years.

The difficulties of life in the High Arctic were recognized and explored beforehand by the officials, and a reasonable plan was articulated to ensure that those who were relocated were well supported by experienced RCMP officers who knew the family personally and who were knowledgeable in Inuit ways and language.

Experienced Inuit families from the most northern settlements at this time were approached to assist with the project. They agreed to do so and transfer their hunting and trapping skills to the Inuit participants from Quebec.

The first group of Inuit relocated were not as well equipped as they might have been, but apparently this was dealt with after their arrival.

The text of the Hickling Report is reproduced in Lackenbauer (2020).

Reasonable efforts seem to have been made to explain the project to both of the Inuit groups involved before their departure, and to communicate the fact that participation in it was voluntary.

It is more than likely that some of the Inuit could not completely envisage what conditions in the High Arctic would be like because these were things that were outside the range of personal experience at the time. While this is truly regrettable, it should not imply a deliberate attempt by government officials to deceive or to mislead the Inuit participants.

A number of the Inuit families in the project stated in letters written to the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in the period of 1956 to 1963 that game and fur were plentiful in the vicinity of both Resolute and Grise Fiord, and that hunger was not a problem. The frequency of letter-writing from Inuit at Resolute Bay dropped off considerably after 1963, and nearly completely after 1966 with the transfer of responsibility for most aspects of Inuit affairs to, the Government of the Northwest Territories. It is not possible, therefore, to say whether game and fur continued to be plentiful after these letters stopped coming, but on the other hand there is no reason to believe otherwise.

The report goes on to state:

We believe the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development gave the Inuit an understanding that they would be returned to their original communities after one, two, or three years, if this was requested. There is no evidence to suggest that the department intended this undertaking to remain in force indefinitely.

The files show that some of the Inuit families living in Resolute Bay wrote to Ottawa, asking to return to, Port Harrison (Inukjuak) for a visit. The earliest example of such request that we-

-the Hickling team-

-could find, occurred around 1960.

The determination of the length of the proposed visits quite often required several exchanges of letters. On one occasion, in 1961, Ottawa responded to such proposals by seeming to, suggest that those wishing to visit Port Harrison (Inukjuak) should collaborate in charting an aircraft for this purpose, at their own expense. The files would indicate that one group did this in 1962, but no further details are provided.

It is uncertain if there was an official policy on the matter at the time. Our speculation is that the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development took this position because it considered the individuals involved to be economically self-sufficient. This was the practice followed. with respect to, Fort Chimo Inuit working at Churchill and wishing to visit their home community.

Early in the 1970s, however, the Government of the Northwest Territories arranged and paid for the transportation of several groups of Inuit from Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay to Port Harrison to visit relatives and to, assess whether they wish to be returned to that community on a permanent basis.

Several families subsequently requested relocation and this was done. The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development reimbursed the territorial government for the costs of both the visits and the relocation.

On one occasion the RCMP used their own aircraft to permit several families living at Grise Fiord to visit relatives in Port Harrison (Inukjuak), and subsequently relocated them. The RCMP apparently absorbed these costs.

An additional number of Inuit families living at Resolute Bay were relocated to Port Harrison (Inukjuak) in 1988, initially at their own expense or with assistance from the Makivik Corporation of Quebec. The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development agreed to reimburse the transportation costs for those families who had already moved back to Inukjuak. This offer was subsequently extended to include the cost of transporting a number of other families who had not yet moved but who had indicated that they intended to do so.

These reimbursements, totalling approximately \$250,000, were paid out of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development's 1988-89 appropriations. In 1988, the department also undertook to provide the government of Quebec with funds, amounting to, approximately \$700,000, to permit Quebec to add ten houses to the pool of housing identified for Port Harrison (Inukjuak), in recognition of the impact that this inflow of people would have on these 1989 housing plans for that community.

The evidence that we examined does not support the allegation that the government committed wrongdoing in the planning and conduct of this project. The material we examined leads us to a different conclusion, namely that the project was conscientiously planned, that it was carried out in as reasonably effective manner and that the Inuit participated in it voluntarily, in their own search for a better life, and that they benefited from the experience.

• 1240

The findings of the Hickling report were not completely positive. The executive summary does include the following statement:

In our opinion, the delay in settling the matter of the return of the remaining original families still at Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord is the only real basis for criticism of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, as far as this project is concerned.

This was the finding of the independent Hickling team. Having said that, however, the report's authors continued by pointing out:

The circumstances that caused this delay have already been explained by several deputy ministers since the claim was first formally raised with the department in 1982.

The Hickling report did suggest that:

-a concrete and definitive statement on what action the department now intends to take on this matter would be most meaningful.

Such a statement has now been provided by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in its response to the third report of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs which was tabled yesterday.

In that response, the government has stated that it is prepared to make funding available in the fiscal year 1991-92 to allow any of the Inuit families who were originally relocated, or their descendants remaining in Grise Fiord or Resolute Bay, to return to Inukjuak.

At the same time, the government is prepared to return certain possessions that had to be left behind in Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord when families were returning to Inukjuak in the past, or, if the actual possessions cannot be provided, will provide reimbursement to the people concerned. This will apply whether those people returned on their own or whether they returned under government auspices.

All the independent evidence shows that this project was conceived and implemented with the best of intentions on the part of both government and the Inuit families originally relocated. The evidence shows that the government has since responded honourably to those Inuit who subsequently decided that they wished to return to Inukjuak by financing transportation and housing and now by agreeing to replace lost possessions.

I would like to close by using the words of the team of that wrote the Hickling report which concluded:

We do not see the grounds for an apology by the government for the manner in which the relocation project was conceived, planned and carried out – In our view, to apologize for a wrongdoing it did not commit would constitute deception on the part of the government – It would also imply that the project had not been reasonably successful, whereas this is not the case.

We have listened this morning to a great deal of rhetoric in the House and some of it does not serve the cause of either the Inuit people or the people of the country. I have heard the use of the word “exile”, for example, which implies forced compulsion and wrongdoing. This simply was not the case. The government did not force the people to move. They did not compel people to stay. There is no evidence whatsoever of wrongdoing, as indicated by the Hickling report.

Finally, the hon. member for Comox-Alberni used some pretty strong language in his intervention this morning when he accused the government actions as being comparable to those of Stalin. It is not unusual from time to time for members of this House to get a little carried away by their rhetoric, but there is a limit. It seems to me that the hon. member has gone far beyond the limit of what is reasonable and what is logical and what is rational in terms of a rational debate.

Mr. Speaker, I would ask the hon. member to withdraw his ill-advised remarks and to apologize to this House.

**Mr. Robert E. Skelly (Comox-Alberni):** Mr. Speaker, I do not think the member was seriously indicating that I had made any unparliamentary statements with respect to this report. I think when you compare this report with the actual documents available from the Department of Indian Affairs and that are in the bands of the Makivik Corporation, anything I have said in the way of characterizing this report as a fabric of lies is accurate. I was not accusing the minister of lying, but I was suggesting that the minister had

been lied to by his own consultants.

I would also suggest that the member herself by characterizing this report as an independent report is misleading the House herself because these consultants were hired by the Department of Indian Affairs. Makivik Corporation was given a choice of selecting one of the department's consultants. They rejected the two that they knew were anti-native and only selected the one that they did not know. It was not much of a choice.

Yet the government characterizes this as a study acceptable to the Makivik Corporation. I suggest the hon. member pick up the phone to the Makivik Corporation and the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada and find out if they accept this as a joint report and she will get the truth loud, clear and simple that it is not a joint report. It is not an independent study. It is simply the bureaucrats circling the wagons again and shooting out at the Indians, as they always do.

What surprises me is that Conservative members in the House who do not have any direct experience, who have not heard any direct evidence, who have simply received the material from the Department of Indian Affairs, to protect the back-sides of themselves who are currently in the department, their retired members and members now dead in defending the actions and the attitudes of the bureaucracy at that time, are telling us today that the bureaucracy today has those attitudes and today is capable of carrying out those kinds of actions and in fact in carrying out those kinds of actions, based on that attitude, are being supported by Conservative members in this House. That is shameful.

I would like to see the parliamentary secretary dissociate herself from that kind of action on the part of this government. You do not have to get up and defend every civil servant alive or dead or retired who has committed these kinds of wrongdoings and admitted them in minutes of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development back to 1953. You do not have to do that. You can take your own position.

What I am saying to and asking the parliamentary secretary is whether she is prepared to stand up and support the standing committee of the House which heard direct evidence or is she again defending a bureaucracy that has a whole history of these kinds of actions against native people in Canada?

**Mrs. Dobbie:** Mr. Speaker, the hon. member again uses inflammatory language, makes statements that are designed and geared to upset people who have a sense of insecurity already. The hon. member seems to have a very difficult time in dealing with what is reasonable, logical and with the attempt that everybody is making here to try to get at the absolute truth, to find an objective answer to the removal of the people from Inukjuak to Grise Fiord.

The member called the report a fabric of lies. I think that the hon. member should think very carefully before he makes such statements.

• 1250

If he were not in this House, he would certainly be called to account for his actions.

If he is going to make such statements in this House, the hon. member should be prepared to provide some evidence to back up those statements. There is no evidence at all for such statements.

In fact, the independent report attempted with full honour and full understanding of the seriousness of this issue to dig through the mystery of memory and hard facts as I mentioned earlier in my opening statements and



try to come up with what exactly happened.

The world has changed since 1953. Actions that were taken then that were considered reasonable, benign and in the interests of the people who they were dealing with at the time would not perhaps be considered in the same light today. We must remember that we are dealing with the context of 1953.

The study found that within that context, the actions of the department were reasonable and were motivated only by honourable motives and honourable intents. I also want to respond very briefly to another comment that was made earlier, that people were left to their own devices when they went to the north. This simply is not true.

The movement of people from, Pond Inlet, for example, from the High Arctic was a clear sign that the government was concerned that every effort be made to ensure that the relocation of the people from Inukjuak was smooth and that they would fit into the environment as quickly and as readily as possible in order to realize the benefits of the additional hunting and fishing that were available at the time.

I want to correct that for the record.

**Mr. Skelly (Comox-Alberni):** On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, the member who just spoke in response to my question accused me of making statements that were emotional or based on no evidence whatsoever. I do have evidence to back up the statements I made. I would like to ask-

*[Translation]*

**The Acting Speaker (Mr. DeBlois):** I am sorry to interrupt the hon. member but that is a matter of opinion. There are other members who are waiting for a chance to speak, and I will now recognize the hon. member for Scarborough-Agincourt.

*[English]*

**Mr. Jim Karygiannis (Scarborough-Agincourt):** Mr. Speaker, in 1984 when this government came to power, it said that it would redress and apologize to a number of communities: the Chinese community, the Japanese, the Italians.

We followed the Prime Minister in 1988 when he apologized to the Japanese, in 1990 to the Italians. There is the Sikh community, the Ukrainians and the Chinese waiting.

I am wondering. There is a very short, precise question that I have for the minister. We said about rhetoric and truth-

**Mr. Skelly (North Island-Powell River):** You're talking to backbenchers. Way back.

**Mr. Karygiannis:** Well, to the hon. member. What will it take for this government to realize the mistakes of the past, come forward and say: "Look, we were wrong. Successive governments have not done it. We apologize." It will not cost a darn penny, so why can we not get on with the dealings and actually realize that what we did in 1953 was a tragic and a big mistake, and apologize to our native people?

**Mrs. Dobbie:** Mr. Speaker, I think the hon. member has a lot of nerve suggesting that this particular government should apologize for things that have gone wrong in the past when most of those incidents occurred during the time when the hon. member's party was in power.

In fact in this particular instance, as I have just said and as we have heard spoken this morning by the Minister of State, the independent study found

Jim Karygiannis was Member of Parliament for Scarborough-Agincourt from 1988 to 2014

that there was no wrongdoing by the government of the day. It would be a contradiction to apologize in an instance where it was found by an independent study that there was no wrongdoing.

As I said before, and far be it from me to apologize for anything the government of that day did, it appears that the evidence says that the government of the day was acting on what it considered to be the best interests of the people at Inukjuak.

**Mr. Ray Skelly (North Island-Powell River):** Mr. Speaker, a surprising situation occurred in this committee when a number of adults presented testimony to the committee. They were in tears, reliving the emotional experience that they had been put through in the area. They talked about exchanging sexual favours for food and necessities. They talked about rape, forcible confinement, slave labour and their mail being rifled. They gave an enormous amount of direct evidence to that committee. It is interesting that members of the RCMP were accused of wrongdoing. I would like to use a short parallel.

Some time ago in the community of Gibsons, an individual was beaten in the cells. He was beaten to the point where the individual almost died. The RCMP were accused of assaulting the individual and failing to provide medical evidence. The RCMP investigated and found no wrongdoing. They found that the individual had somehow come to a very bad end by his own desserts. That was the RCMP internal investigation and it took some time.

When it was turned over to the RCMP public complaints department, a completely separate organization, they investigated it thoroughly and found out that yes, indeed, the RCMP had assaulted the individual. They had failed to provide medical evidence and in fact, found them guilty of a grievous wrongdoing. Once an independent body is involved, where an internal job is not being done for the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development or the RCMP or the government, then there is hope to get at some justice.

This committee, on a point of almost honour in this House, has submitted a report in which the facts are laid out and recommendations are made. A previous Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs is prepared to go along with this idea. The government is now compelled to support some old-time Liberal government of years ago. The documents from the Indian Affairs department absolutely admit that this was an experiment. It is a sad commentary that for some reason there is a reversal of policy on the part of government that absolutely denies reality.

I am absolutely disgusted. I cannot think of terms strong enough to express the contempt for what is happening here today. I will sit down. If the government has a second thought on allowing this to reach a vote, this House should be permitted to comment on the kind of activity that has been seen here in the last days.

**Mr. Stan Wilbee (Delta):** Mr. Speaker, this is one of those very interesting times in politics when we are asked to use our retrospectoscope and look back 37 years to see what actually happened at that time.

It is very difficult for anyone to do this, even if they are members of this House. As I was sitting here, I was trying to think of anyone who may have been present at that time when this exchange was made. It is very important that we recognize that as things are written down, some things are missed or forgotten. To try to come to a conclusion at this stage is extremely difficult.

There are perhaps two wrongs being done. Perhaps there was some mistreatment of our Inuit people from northern Quebec and Resolute. I think there is also a wrong being done to our civil servants who have been maligned and who have been accused of many different things to date.

I am probably the last person to in any way support a bureaucrat. I do believe that there is also a time when they should have their opportunity to express their opinions, to defend their position and defend the decisions that were made at that time. All we can do is try to go back to those days and consider what may have happened. These people who were responsible for making intelligent decisions would use whatever information they had at that time, to try to do the best for the Inuit who were the subject of this discussion.

They sincerely believed they should take these people from the area where they were obviously starving, where there was no game, where there was no hope for the future, to try to develop for them a better life further north in the High Arctic. This was the basis for the decision that was made at that time. It was made to try to better the plight of those people. Perhaps at that time, there were things – I see my time is up. I am sorry. Perhaps another time, thank you.

*S.O.31*

*[Translation]*

**The Acting Speaker (Mr. DeBlois):** It being one o'clock, I do now leave the Chair until two o'clock this afternoon.

*At 1 p.m. the House took recess.*

Standing Order 31 here interrupts the debate on the motion for the daily routine or Oral Question Period, whereby Members of Parliament (other than Ministers of the Crown) to make statements for not more than one minute. This procedural interruption means that a vote is not held on the motion, postponing it indefinitely, as per Mr. Skelly's earlier concern.

**House of Commons Debates:**  
**November 21, 1990**

[Oral Questions]

ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS

**Mr. Jack Iyerak Anawak (Nunatsiak):** Mr. Speaker, two days ago the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development tabled in this House the government's response to a report of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs about the relocation of several Inuit families from northern Quebec to the High Arctic in the 1950s.

The government's response flies in the face of the committee's report. Why has the minister ignored the committee's report which was based on the testimony of Inuit who were part of that relocation experiment?

**Hon. Thomas Siddon (Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development):** Mr. Speaker, the government indeed responded to the report of the standing committee on Monday of this week, after having a consultant do an extensive evaluation of the circumstances relating to the voluntary relocation of a number of Inuit families from northern Quebec to the High Arctic in the period of 1953 and shortly thereafter.

The consultant's report says in summary, and I would like to read this briefly, Mr. Speaker:

We found that the decision by the government to actively encourage the relocation of Inuit families to the High Arctic in 1953, and in the two or three years subsequent to, that, was not motivated by a concern to strengthen Canadian sovereignty over the Arctic Islands at that time, but was indeed motivated by a concern to improve the social and economic living conditions of those Inuit people.

**Mr. Jack Iyerak Anawak (Nunatsiak):** Mr. Speaker, the minister just pointed out that it was an extensive consultant's report. Let me point out that from the information we have, this consultant's contract was issued on August 8, 1990, and the final report was due on September 14, 1990. Five weeks is not a very extensive consultant's report.

Mr. Speaker, I will now ask the supplementary. Will the minister agree that the timeframe allowed was far too short for a definitive and conclusive analysis of these events, and will he assure the Inuit people who were so adversely affected by the relocation that this study is not the final word on the subject, and that he is open to further discussions and negotiations with them?

**Hon. Thomas Siddon (Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development):** Mr. Speaker, the report goes on:

The evidence that we examined does not support the allegations that the government committed wrongdoing in the planning and conduct of this project. The material we examined leads to a different conclusion, namely, that the project was consciously planned and was carried out in a reasonably effective manner, and that the Inuit participated in it voluntarily in their own search for a better life and benefited from that experience.

In conclusion, I find this report, as does the government, completely acceptable.

(Government of Canada, "House of Commons Debates (34:2) Vol. 11")

This tabled response appears as "Response to the Recommendations of the Third Report of the SCAA on the Relocation of the Inukjuak Inuit to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay (Sessional Paper No. 342-8R/1A)" in this volume.

Thomas (Tom) Siddon was Member of Parliament for Richmond (formerly Richmond-South Delta and Burnaby-Richmond-Delta) from 1978 to 1993. He was also Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development from February 1990 to June 1993.

Although this is the end of the formal discussion of the High Arctic Relocations in the House of Commons, Makivik Corporation and Inuit Tapirisat of Canada engaged the CHRC in January 1991, resulting in the Soberman Report and Gunther Report in response (See Lackenbauer (2020).) As the government continued to deny wrongdoing, ITC and Makivik spoke as witnesses to an RCAP hearing in Inukjuak in June 1992, leading to the RCAP Special Hearing that comprises the majority of this volume.

**House of Commons Debates:**  
**February 13, 1992**

HOUSE OF COMMONS DEBATES  
February 13, 1992

*Routine Proceedings*

**ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS**

**SECOND REPORT OF STANDING COMMITTEE**

**Mr. Larry Schneider (Regina - Wascana):** Madam Speaker, I have the honour to present, in both official languages, the second report of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs.

Pursuant to Standing Order 109, the committee requests that the government table a comprehensive response thereto within 150 days.

*[Editor's Note: See today's Votes and Proceedings]*

(Government of Canada, "House of Commons Debates: Official Report 34th Parliament Third Session (vol. 6)," 1992, Library of Parliament, Queen's Printer of Canada)

The Second report of the Standing Committee is tabled in the House of Commons on February 13, 1992 but is debated and agreed to at the committee meeting on February 11, 1992. The tabling of the report includes the text of the report and the minutes of the meeting at which the report is agreed to, which is why the documents appear in this order.

**Second Report of the SCAA to  
the House of Commons: February  
11, 1992**



The Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs has the honour to present its

## SECOND REPORT

In accordance with its mandate under Standing Order 108(2), your Committee has reviewed and considered additional information and reports related to the relocation of Inuit families to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in the 1950's. The new evidence re-affirms and reinforces the views of the Committee concerning this relocation, which were expressed in the Third Report to the House on June 19, 1990.

The Committee recommends:

That the Government of Canada implement, through consultations with the Inuit people, the recommendations of the Committee tabled as the Third Report to the House on June 19, 1990, namely;

That the government acknowledge the role played by the Inuit people who were relocated to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in the protection of Canadian sovereignty in the North;

That the Government issue an apology for the wrongdoings carried out against the people of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay;

That the said apology be carried out in an official ceremony of due solemnity and respect;

That the said apology be accompanied by some form of official recognition of the contribution of the Inuit of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay to Canadian sovereignty— for example by the erection of an historic monument or marker and the issuing of certificates recognizing this important and valuable contribution, to those relocatees still living or if deceased, their surviving family;

That the Government consider compensation to the Inuit of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay for their service to Canada and for the wrongdoings that have been inflicted upon them.

## REQUEST FOR A GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

Your Committee requests the Government table a comprehensive response to this Report in accordance with the provisions of Standing Order 109.

A copy of the relevant Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs (*Issue No. 10 which includes this Report*) is tabled.

Respectfully submitted,

LARRY SCHNEIDER,  
*Chair.*

The new session of Parliament (beginning in May 1991) also reconstituted the parliamentary committees. This is the second report of the SCAA of the third session of the 34th parliament. This document is also referenced as Sessional Paper No. 343-8/1A in the House of Commons.

(Government of Canada, "Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 34th Parliament Third Session," 1992, *Library of Parliament*, Queen's Printer of Canada).

The new evidence reviewed and considered by the SCAA includes the Soberman Report, completed in December 1991. The Meeting of the SCAA prior to submitting this report (below) is conducted nearly exclusively in-camera, making it difficult to ascertain what other information may have been discussed.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1992 (16)

The Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs met at 3:40 o'clock p.m. this day, in Room 208, West Block, the Chairman, Larry Schneider, presiding.

*Members of the Committee present:* Jack Anawak, Robert Nault, Alan Redway, Larry Schneider, Robert E. Skelly.

*Acting Members present:* Garth Turner for Suzanne Duplessis; Bill Domm for Marcel R. Tremblay.

*In attendance: From the Research Branch of the Library of Parliament:* Elaine Gardner O'Toole, Research Officer.

*Witnesses: From the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada:* John S. Rayner, Assistant Deputy Minister, Policy and Consultation; Ian Corbin, Director of Housing.

In accordance with its mandate under Standing Order 108(2), the Committee proceeded to its study on Aboriginal Housing

John S. Rayner made a statement and, with the other witness, answered questions.

At 5:28 o'clock p.m., the sitting was suspended.

At 5:40 o'clock p.m., the sitting resumed in camera.

It was moved,

— Que le Comité examine d'autres données et rapports au sujet des familles Inuit réinstallées à Grise Fiord et à Baie Resolute dans les années 50;

—Que ces nouveaux témoignages réaffirment et renforcent l'opinion que le Comité a exprimé dans son troisième rapport;

—Que le Comité réaffirme ses conclusions précédentes et invite le gouvernement à donner suite à ses recommandations, après consultation des Inuit.

At 5:45 o'clock p.m., the sitting resumed in public.

After debate, the motion was agreed to unanimously.

It was agreed,

— That the motion shall be an introduction to a report re-affirming the recommendations in the Third Report of the Committee presented to the House during the 2nd Session of the 34th Parliament.

It was agreed,

— That the report be adopted as the Second Report to the House.

It was agreed,

—That the Chairman presents the report to the House as soon as possible and, in accordance with the provisions of Standing Order 109, the Committee requests the Government table a comprehensive response.

It was agreed,— That the Clerk attempt to develop the framework of a possible meeting with the Band Council of Kanesatake.

At 6:08 o'clock p.m., the Committee adjourned to the call of the Chair.

Martine Bresson

*Clerk of the Committee*

The discussion of the second report is discussed entirely in-camera. Upon returning, the only discussion is about whether it is an affirmed motion or a reaffirmation of what the committee had previously agreed to.

# **House of Commons Debates:**

## **September 10, 1992**

**House of Commons Debates****POINT OF ORDER****STANDING COMMITTEE ON ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS**

**Mr. Robert E. Skelly (Comox-Alberni):** Mr. Speaker, my point of order concerns the failure of the minister of Indian affairs to comply with Standing Order 109. Point of Order

That Standing Order requires the government to respond to a report of a standing or special committee within 150 days, if the committee requests such a response at the time the report is tabled in the House.

On February 13, 1992, at page 6919 of Hansard, the chairman of the Select Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs tabled the second report of the committee relating to the Arctic exiles of Grise Fiord on Ellesmere Island.

The chairman made the request, pursuant to section 109, that the government table a comprehensive response within 150 days. I have checked with the minister's office and with the Journals Branch. To my count 210 days have now passed and the government is seriously in violation of Standing Order 109. The minister is saying that he refuses to meet with the Grise Fiord people until the report is tabled in the house and on the other hand he refuses to table the report in the House, contrary to the Standing Orders.

• 1520

I would urge you, Mr. Speaker, to investigate this matter and to take whatever action is necessary to ensure that the government respects the Standing Orders of Parliament.

**Mr. Jim Edwards (Parliamentary Secretary to Minister of State and Leader of the Government in the House of Commons):** Mr. Speaker, I must say that I had not had any knowledge of this particular issue. I will certainly take it under immediate advisement and endeavour to get back to my friend at the earliest possible moment.

**Mr. Speaker:** Hon. members know that under the particular rule which has been raised by the Hon. member for Comox-Alberni there is no sanction that the Speaker can apply. In these matters I am dependent upon the goodwill of ministers and the government to do everything they can to comply with the Standing Order.

I note that the hon. parliamentary secretary has answered for the government and I would hope that that would resolve the problem. I thank the hon. parliamentary secretary.

(Government of Canada, "House of Commons Debates: Official Report 34th Parliament Third Session (vol. 10)," 1992, *Library of Parliament*, Queen's Printer of Canada)

**House of Commons Debates:**  
**November 20, 1992**

# House of Commons Votes and Proceedings

20 November 1992

## RETURNS AND REPORTS DEPOSITED WITH THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE

The following paper having been deposited with the Clerk of the House was laid upon the Table pursuant to Standing Order 32(1), namely:

By Mr Siddon, a Member of the Queen's Privy Council, – Response of the Government, pursuant to Standing Order 109, to the Second Report of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs "Relocation of Inuit families to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in the 1950's", (Sessional Paper No. 343-8/1A), presented to the House on Thursday, February 13, 1992. – Sessional Paper No. 343-8R/1E.

The response to the SCAA's Second Report was tabled in the House of Commons but not debated. It is therefore recorded in the House of Commons Votes and Proceedings rather than the Debates.  
(Government of Canada, "House of Commons Votes and Proceedings: 34th Parliament Third Session (vol. 153-193A)," 1992, *Library of Parliament*, Queen's Printer of Canada)

**House of Commons Debates:  
Government Response, November  
20, 1992**

### House of Commons Votes and Proceedings

#### A RESPONSE TO THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SECOND REPORT OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS ON THE RELOCATION OF THE INUKJUAQ INUIT TO GRISE FIORD AND RESOLUTE BAY

In its February 13, 1992 report to Parliament, the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs made certain recommendations concerning the 1950s relocation of Inukjuak Inuit to Resolute Bay and Craig Harbour/Grise Fiord. These recommendations were repeated from the June 1990 Third Report of the Standing Committee, which followed the testimony of the Inukjuak Inuit and Makivik representatives to the Committee on March 19, 1990.

The recommendations were: that the government should acknowledge the role played by the Inuit relocated to Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord in the protection of Canadian sovereignty in the north; that the government issue an apology for the wrongdoings carried out against the people of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay; that the said apology be carried out in an official ceremony with all due solemnity; that the apology be accompanied by some form of official recognition of the contribution made by the Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay Inuit to Canadian sovereignty; and that the government consider compensation to the Inuit of the two communities for their service to Canada and for the wrongdoings inflicted upon them.

The government's response to the Third Report of the Standing Committee (1990), involved consideration of four key issues: whether the government's motivation for the relocation arose from the perceived need to assert sovereignty in the High Arctic rather than from the desire to improve the circumstances of the Inuit; whether the project was poorly planned and implemented; whether the government had made promises to the Inuit at the time of relocation to return to Inukjuak at government expense any who were not happy in their new High Arctic home; and whether the RCMP were involved in matters of forced labour, sexual abuse, theft and the destruction of mail.

In planning its response, the government determined that the "wrongdoings" referred to in the Standing Committee's Third Report fell into two categories: (1) those related to the mandate of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development connected with the alleged use of the Inuit for sovereignty purposes, and the failure to return people to Inukjuak on request as promised by the government, and (2) those directed at the RCMP involving allegations of sexual abuse, forced labour, theft and the destruction of mail.

The serious nature of the allegations made before the Standing Committee by the Inuit in March 1990, led the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development to contract an independent consultant, Hickling Management Consultants, to review all aspects of the case which did not fall within the area of jurisdiction of the RCMP. Knowing that the choice of an investigator would be contentious, DIAND sought and obtained the agreement of Makivik to retain F.J. Neville as the principal consultant on this project for Hickling. The RCMP indicated to the Standing Committee in May 1990 that it would carry out an internal investigation and report to the Standing Committee separately when the investigation was completed. The RCMP report was forwarded to the Standing Committee in December 1991.

The DIAND consultant's report (the Hickling Report), provided the ba-

Unlike the Government's Response to the Third Report of the SCAA in November 1990, this response is not debated in the House of Commons but rather tabled as a written report, appearing in the Votes and Proceedings. It is also known as Sessional Paper 343-8R/1E.

(Government of Canada, "House of Commons Votes and Proceedings (34:03) Vol. 153-193A")

This Report was not received into the minutes of the SCAA.



sis of the government's response to the Standing Committee, tabled in the House on November 19, 1990, and was released with the government response. The response concluded that there was no basis for compensation, or for an apology within the context suggested by the Committee, since the people had not been moved due to sovereignty concerns. The Hickling Report found, however, that the government had made a promise to bring back to Inukjuak any Inuit who wished to return, but noted that this promise had not been expeditiously honoured, and recommended that the government extend the offer to move any Inuit back to Inukjuak to the end of the 1991-1992 fiscal year. This would include payment for the transport of any possessions left behind by those Inuit who had already returned to Inukjuak. The government has followed this course of action, as indicated in its response to the Third Report of the Standing Committee.

Early in 1991, the Inuit requested that the Canadian Human Rights Commission investigate their grievances concerning the relocation. The Commission agreed to initiate a preliminary investigation of the matter. Professor Daniel Soberman, former Dean of Law at Queen's University, was appointed to conduct the preliminary investigation, with the cooperation of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Professor Soberman's report to the Human Rights Commission was released on January 15, 1992.

Soberman's Report is reproduced in Lackenbauer (2020).

In August 1991, in response to further studies of the relocation issue, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development retained Professor Magnus Gunther, of the Department of Political Studies at Trent University, to conduct further documentary research into all the allegations made concerning the relocation, including those of the Inuit witnesses appearing before the Standing Committee in 1990, and those contained in studies published after the completion of the Hickling Report. The government's response to the Second Report of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs (1992), therefore takes account of research completed following the Hickling Report, and relies upon the findings of the Canadian Human Rights Commission and, on points of historical detail, the research conducted by Professor Gunther.

The Gunther Report is reproduced in Lackenbauer (2020).

## BACKGROUND

Between 1953 and 1957, the Government of Canada moved a number of Inuit families from Port Harrison (now Inukjuak), Quebec, to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in the Northwest Territories. Concurrently, the government moved other Inuit families from Pond Inlet, N.W.T., to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay to assist the Arctic Quebec Inuit to adjust to conditions in the High Arctic.

The Inukjuak region, at that time, like much of Arctic Quebec, was characterized by markedly severe fluctuating wildlife populations and population pressures on limited game resources. In these circumstances many Inuit in the vicinity of Inukjuak were on relief and were unable to sustain themselves.

The decision to relocate the Inuit grew from government policy of the day designed to assist the Inuit. The policy was developed with a view to ensuring that those Inuit living in areas in which the natural resources would support them could continue to pursue that way of life, while those who lived in areas where permanent settlements had grown up would be assisted to learn to adapt to this situation and take up such wage employment as be-

came available. The policy further provided that those living in areas which had inadequate resources and insufficient wage employment opportunities would be moved to areas of greater natural resources.

Since the High Arctic was considered to have sufficient game to support a small population of Inuit it was determined that a number of Inukjuak Inuit should be moved to the High Arctic if they were willing to relocate. To help them adjust to conditions in the High Arctic, the government asked some families from Pond Inlet to move to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay, and, as well, the RCMP moved the constable from Inukjuak to Resolute Bay with the group who moved there in 1953.

It appears that, beginning in the late 1950s, some of the Inukjuak families began asking to return home, based on their understanding that the government had promised them they could return to Inukjuak, at government expense, if after one or two years in the High Arctic they no longer wished to remain there. For reasons that are not entirely clear, these requests were not expeditiously dealt with, and it was not until the 1970s that the Government of the Northwest Territories began moving people back to Inukjuak in response to their requests to return. Some, however, had managed to move back on their own in the 1960s.

In the early 1980s, the Makivik Corporation of Quebec began pressing the federal government for mitigating measures and payment of cash compensation (in the amount of \$10 million) for the Inukjuak Inuit. Makivik based its case, to a large extent, on the accusation that the Canadian government carried out the relocation in order to protect Canadian sovereignty in the High Arctic.

After some investigation, the government agreed to reimburse those Inuit who had returned to Inukjuak at their own expense, and in 1988-1989 paid for the relocation of other Inuit who wished to return to Inukjuak that year. Expenditures for these relocations totalled \$950,000 which included \$250,000 for relocation and the costs of moving relocatees' possessions, and \$700,000 to cover the cost of ten houses added to the Inukjuak housing pool by the Quebec government. Some additional families were moved back during 1991.

Makivik continued to press demands for compensation and apologies from the government for the Inukjuak Inuit, and finally arranged an appearance before the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs on March 19, 1990.

Since the tabling of the government's response to the Third Report of the Standing Committee on November 19, 1990, there have been a number of reports and academic studies released on various aspects of the relocation.

Notable among these is Professor Soberman's report to the Canadian Human Rights Commission which concluded that the motivation for the relocation was humane and found that although sovereignty in the Arctic was a contemporary concern, it was not the primary reason for the relocation. The report also concluded that there were deficiencies in the planning and implementation of the relocation and found that the government did not honour promises made to the Inuit to bring them back to Inukjuak. The report recommended an apology from the government to the Inuit for the hardships arising from poor planning and implementation of the relocation project, the continued funding of any persons still wishing to move back from the High Arctic to Inukjuak, the provision of additional housing for returning relocatees, if required, the funding of biennial visits between immediate fam-

ily members in the High Arctic and Inukjuak, and an acknowledgement of the contribution made by the Inuit to the enhancement of sovereignty in the High Arctic. The report does not discuss or recommend compensation.

### THE STUDIES

The Hickling Report prepared for DIAND examined the sovereignty issue in more detail than had any other review up to that time. It concluded that sovereignty was not the reason for the relocation. That work has been followed up on by the recent research of Professor Magnus Gunther, which has resulted in the review of over 9,000 documents. This work confirms the principal conclusions reached by the 1990 Hickling study, while noting that Hickling's sovereignty research dealt essentially with legal sovereignty and not sufficiently with *de facto* sovereignty. However, examining the latter issue, the Gunther research clearly demonstrates that sovereignty concerns did not drive the planning of the Inukjuak Inuit relocation.

In their March 19, 1990 presentation to the Standing Committee, the Inuit spoke of great hardships undergone by the relocatees when they reached the High Arctic, particularly during the first year, partly owing to some equipment and supplies not having been landed with them, and partly because the game resources alleged to have been there were in fact, according to the Inuit, not present.

The Gunther research findings are that game was present in the area and that the Inuit, although somewhat poorly equipped upon first landing, were able to obtain sufficient game to help carry them through the winter. They received assistance in this regard from the RCMP, which also arranged to have skins and other equipment flown in to replace some of the supplies which were not offloaded at the time of the original landing. Hunting in the vicinities of both Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord was excellent in succeeding years.

The Soberman Report findings are that the planning and implementation of the relocation were such that the Inuit suffered both emotional and physical stress. The Gunther research also concludes that the Inuit would have suffered stress by virtue of having been taken so far from known surroundings and by being separated from each other by considerable distances. However, Gunther concludes that the government's planning and implementation of the project were, for the times, not inappropriate and that although there were shortcomings, these were dealt with by the RCMP. Gunther concludes that the Inuit in the High Arctic emerged materially better off within a short period of time than they had been in Inukjuak. The situation of those who remained in Inukjuak also improved as a result of there being less competition for the available resources as a consequence of some people having been moved to the High Arctic.

Hickling, Gunther and Soberman all found clear evidence that the government had made promises to the Inuit, at the time they were informed of the possible relocation to the High Arctic, that they could return to Inukjuak if they were not happy in the High Arctic, and that the government did not expeditiously honour this promise.

Professor Soberman concludes that the government violated its responsibilities as a fiduciary by not planning and carrying out the relocation with sufficient care and by failing to honour the promise of a return.

Professor Gunther concludes that the government acted responsibly in relocating the Inuit to an area of greater game resources. He concludes that government officials and the RCMP acted at all times in the perceived best interests of the Inuit in the planning and implementing of the relocation. Gunther concludes that while the manner in which the relocation was planned and carried out would not be the way in which such activities would be undertaken today, given the times and the economic and social climate of the day, the government took appropriate actions.

### *SPECIFIC RESPONSES TO RECOMMENDATIONS*

Specific responses to each of the recommendations of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs are as follows:

**1. THE COMMITTEE RECOMMENDS THAT THE GOVERNMENT ACKNOWLEDGE THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE INUIT PEOPLE WHO WERE RELOCATED TO GRISE FIORD AND RESOLUTE BAY IN THE PROTECTION OF CANADIAN SOVEREIGNTY IN THE NORTH.**

The Inuit relocated from Inukjuak to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay were moved in keeping with government policy of the day. This was to assist Inuit to continue to pursue their traditional way of life based on hunting and trapping. The plan to relocate these Inuit was in direct response to the circumstances in which they were living in the Inukjuak region, an area which was subject to considerable fluctuations in the supply of game resources and where these resources were subject to general pressures arising from the increasing Inuit population. The economic circumstances of most of those relocated did improve in comparison to their former situation. The relocation was not made in order to affirm or protect Canadian sovereignty in the High Arctic.

Although the Inukjuak Inuit were not relocated to Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord in order to protect Canadian sovereignty, it is acknowledged that by their presence in the region, they have made a valuable contribution to building the Canadian presence. We recognize this contribution, and thank them for it.

**2. THE COMMITTEE RECOMMENDS THAT THE GOVERNMENT ISSUE AN APOLOGY FOR THE WRONGDOINGS CARRIED OUT AGAINST THE PEOPLE OF GRISE FIORD AND RESOLUTE BAY.**

The relocation was initiated with humane intentions, being based on the government's perception of the need to assist the Inuit to maintain their livelihood through hunting and trapping. As Professor Soberman remarks, "there is no evidence of a master plan, of manipulation of the Inuit families in order to carry out a project designed primarily to support sovereignty at the expense of the Inuit relocatees. . ." It is also the government's view that the relocation was based upon the consent of those moved, although, as Professor Soberman notes, there was a cultural gap between the Inuit and the government officials who dealt with them, and this may have occasioned mutual misunderstandings. It would, therefore, be inappropriate for the government to apologize for having initiated and carried out the relocation.

The Soberman Report, however, has identified deficiencies in the manner in which the relocation was prepared and implemented. The gov-

ernment thus acknowledges that the Inuit suffered both emotional and physical stress through having been moved so far from their home community and relatives, and by being separated from their peers and companions, upon the split of the groups between Resolute Bay and Craig Harbour/Grise Fiord. It is also acknowledged that, due to difficulties encountered through the sea lift, the Inuit arrived without all the supplies and equipment they should have had, particularly in regard to housing, making their first year in the High Arctic a very difficult one. It is to their credit that those relocated were able to persevere and create prosperous communities for themselves and their descendants. Nevertheless, the government acknowledges these deficiencies and the distress caused thereby.

A most serious area in which the government acknowledges that it behaved inappropriately was in the failure to honour the promise made to the Inuit, at the time of the relocation, that they would be returned to Inukjuak if they were not happy in the High Arctic. All the independent studies carried out on the relocation including that by Professor Gunther are unanimous in finding that this promise was made and that it was not honoured expeditiously. This was acknowledged in the federal government's 1990 response to the Standing Committee's Third Report of that year. Remedy has been made over the period since 1987, as the government has spent approximately \$950,000 in relocating Inuit to Inukjuak, along with their possessions, reimbursing those Inuit who had already returned at their own expense, and in ensuring the construction of additional housing in Inukjuak. In its response to the Standing Committee of November 1990, the government indicated it would extend to March 31, 1992 the offer to fund the relocation of any Inuit wishing to return to Inukjuak, and this was done. Some families did move back to Inukjuak in 1991.

The government continues to recognize and acknowledge that there was and remains an obligation to honour that promise, the more so since the difficulties encountered by those wishing to return may have contributed to emotional distress. For these reasons, the government will implement the recommendation of the report for the Canadian Human Rights Commission to continue to fund, for a further five years, the relocation of any Inuit, with their possessions, who still wish to return to Inukjuak. The government will also fund periodic visits between those who have chosen to remain in the High Arctic and their immediate family members in Inukjuak.

This is a much more substantive promise than previous promises to relocate Inuit, and includes a promise to both relocate Inuit and their possessions as well as to fund visits between Inukjuak and the High Arctic, diminishing the impact of the so-called "second exodus" - a secondary separation of families between Inukjuak and the High Arctic. For further reading about the second exodus concept, see Audlaluk (2020).

**3. THE COMMITTEE RECOMMENDS THAT THE SAID APOLOGY BE CARRIED OUT IN AN OFFICIAL CEREMONY OF DUE SOLEMNITY AND RESPECT.**

As indicated, the government will not apologize for having undertaken the relocation of the Inukjuak Inuit to the High Arctic as this was done with the express intention of improving the relocatees' situation. However, the government acknowledges that there were shortcomings in the planning and implementation of the project, causing unintended emotional and physical hardship.

**4. THE COMMITTEE RECOMMENDS THAT THE SAID APOLOGY BE ACCOMPANIED BY SOME FORM OF OFFICIAL RECOGNITION OF THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE INUIT OF GRISE FIORD AND RESO-**

**LUTE BAY TO CANADIAN SOVEREIGNTY - FOR EXAMPLE BY THE ERECTION OF AN HISTORIC MONUMENT OR MARKER AND THE ISSUING OF CERTIFICATES RECOGNIZING THIS IMPORTANT AND VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION, TO THOSE STILL LIVING OR, IF DECEASED, THEIR SURVIVING FAMILY.** As noted in response to the Committee's first recommendation, the government recognizes the contribution of the relocated Inuit to the building of Canada's presence in the far north. In this regard, the government is prepared to discuss with the Inuit their views as to a suitable memorial to commemorate the establishment of the communities of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in the 1950s and to work through the appropriate department or agency, as necessary, to ensure that the chosen commemorative action is implemented.

5. **THE COMMITTEE RECOMMENDS THAT THE GOVERNMENT CONSIDER COMPENSATION TO THE INUIT OF GRISE FIORD AND RESOLUTE BAY FOR THEIR SERVICE TO CANADA AND FOR THE WRONGDOINGS THAT HAVE BEEN INFLICTED UPON THEM.** The government will continue to take corrective actions, as outlined above. These include expenditures for further relocations to Inukjuak, for additional housing if required, and for visits between family members. Payment of additional compensation is not contemplated.

The government's willingness to accept a nuanced version of contributions to Canadian sovereignty here is reflected in the apology eventually given in August 2010. (See, Lackenbauer (2020).) The commemoration is eventually completed, though it is conducted by NTI 2009, with statues unveiled in 2010. (See Prouty (2016).)

Compensation of \$10 million is eventually agreed to in March 1996 following the release of the RCAP report.

**House of Commons Debates:**  
**December 7, 1992**

**House of Commons Votes and Proceedings**

[excerpted]

**Mr. Jack Iyerak Anawak (Nunatsiak):***[Editor's Note: Member spoke in Inuktitut]* [English]

Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to speak on Bill C-268. I must say that it is a nice gesture. At this point I think the only way we can look at it is as a nice gesture.

...

The people of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay who were moved to those communities from northern Quebec have been asking for recognition, an apology, as well as \$10 million to help them. The government moved these people to help maintain sovereignty over the Canadian Arctic. It should immediately move to do those things for the people of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay.

[continues, discussing the lack of work the government has done to recognize and empower Indigenous people.]

(Government of Canada, "House of Commons Debates: Official Report 34th Parliament Third Session (vol. 11)," 1992, *Library of Parliament*, Queen's Printer of Canada)

Bill C-268 was an act respecting a national solidarity day for First Nations of Canada. The bill was not supported by the governing party and was defeated.

This is the only time mention is made of the High Arctic Relocations in the House of Commons following the 's Second Report.



## **Part III**

# **The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples: High Arctic Relocations Special Hearings**

**Royal Commission on Aboriginal  
Peoples Testimony: June 8, 1992**

ROYAL COMMISSION ON ABORIGINAL PEOPLES  
 LOCATION/: INUKJUAQ QUEBEC  
 DATE: MONDAY, June 8, 1992  
 VOLUME: 1

Inukjuak, Quebec

— Upon commencing on June 8, 1992 at 8:45 a.m.  
 (Opening Prayer)

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Perhaps the Commission can introduce themselves.

**MAYOR JOBIE EPOO:** (Speaking through a translator) I would like to thank them for being able to come to this community and I am sure you will be informed by the people that will be making their presentations. Yesterday there were a lot of people present when we had entertainment last night. We should have started the meeting last night but unfortunately there are less people that show up this morning. First of all I should introduce myself. I am Jobie Epoo.

Since this is called the Royal Commission, we are very glad of course this public hearing is held here. When I was twelve years old back in Churchill when the Boy Scouts had a Jamboree and at that time when Mike Gordon was still alive, we had a dinner with the Queen and we are glad there are events that have been mandated that are able to come to Inukjuak. Further on when I make my presentation, I will cooperate as Mayor of Inukjuak and I just hand this over to the Commission.

**CO-CHAIR RENE DUSSAULT:** Thank you, Mr. Epoo.

It is a great pleasure for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples to open its hearings in the province of Quebec starting by Northern Quebec and particularly in Inukjuak.

I would like on behalf of all the Commissioners to welcome everybody during this day of hearings. Everybody should feel free to come and go, to bring friends and to speak to us.

My name is Rene Dussault. I am Co-Chair of the Royal Commission. I am a judge with the Court of Appeal for the province of Quebec. I have with me this morning two other Commissioners plus the Mayor Jobie Epoo, who is working as commissioner of the day. On my right Bertha Wilson, Madam Bertha Wilson, who was a judge, well-known judge with the Supreme Court of Canada until last spring.

Also of course we have the Commissioner of the day, Jobie and Mary Sillett is well-known in this part of Quebec as she is an Inuk from Labrador.

We are seven commissioners and the other Co-Chair of the Commission is Georges Erasmus, the former Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, a well-known chief of the Assembly; Viola Robinson, who is a Micmac from Nova Scotia. She used to be, formerly she was head or president of the Native Council of Canada and Paul Chatrand, who is a Metis from Manitoba; Alan Blakeney, who is a former – was former Premier of Saskatchewan for many years, more than a decade. So there is a majority of aboriginal peoples on the Commission, four commissioners out of seven.

The idea is really to try to put together a new basis for a new partnership between aboriginal and non-aboriginal people. We know that there is a lot of public consultation that has to take place. It is a very important component

The June 8, 1992 session of the RCAP hearings are not part of the Special Hearing on High Arctic Relocations that took place from April to July 1993, but rather part of the community hearings that form the majority of the RCAP testimony. They are included here because the presentation made by the "High Arctic Exiles" sets the stage for the RCAP's inquiry and the Special Hearings that take place the following Spring.

The transcripts from this session have been edited to include only material related to the High Arctic Relocations. A notation is included to indicate where excisions have been made. For a full transcript of this meeting in Inukjuak, please see the Official RCAP Testimony, available through Library and Archives Canada or the University of Saskatchewan Archives.

(Arctic Exiles, Markoosie Patsauq, Andrew Iquak, Anna Nungak, Patsauq Iqaluk, Samwillie Elijassialuk, "Testimony," June 8, 1992, *Commission Hearings*, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada))

Jobie Epoo was mayor of Inukjuak and representative on the Kativik Regional Government

The translators for this session were Alicie Nalatupkrak and Martha Kauki.

Co-chair and Commissioner René Dussault is a former justice of the Québec Court of Appeal and deputy minister of Justice in Québec

The RCAP was established in August 1991 to investigate the relationships between Indigenous people (Inuit, First Nations, and Métis), the Canadian government, and Canadian society. It heard testimony over 178 days and issued its final report in November 1996.

of our process and if we want to or hope to have our proposals approved and implemented by the various governments across the country, it is very important that people across the country, the larger society, follow what is going on in terms of policy development that will be the result of this Commission.

We want to have a very extensive, we are going to have a very extensive public participation process. We started mid-April in Winnipeg, the launch was in Winnipeg and we have been on the road for five or six weeks now. We are going to be on the road visiting the various communities for the coming three weeks. Round one will be over at the end of June. We are splitting the Commission in two or three panels to visit as many communities as possible. We want to hear from people, the people living in the community, living the conditions on a day-to-day basis. Of course we will speak with the leadership, the people who are the leaders of the various aboriginal communities and organizations, but we want to hear the people themselves and that is the reason why we have planned to visit over one hundred communities over the next year or fifteen months.

This is the first time a Commission is doing such an extensive travelling into the northern communities in particular. This Commission is different from others because it has about everything coming under its terms of reference. That means that you should feel free to speak to us about almost anything from social problems, education, justice, health, family violence, abuses of all kinds, alcoholism. Also about your thoughts on economic development, how the young people in this community and in Northern Quebec can be afforded a future in the life up north.

We also are very much interested in culture, language. We know it is a very important issue for Inuit people. I know Inuktitut is a living language and how important it is for this community and the whole of Northern Quebec and other Inuit communities across Northern Canada, so we have to talk about that.

Self-government is a very important issue. It is a cure-all device. It is not a panacea though, so we have to see how self-government could help to better the life conditions of as many people as possible in the community. We would like again that you feel free to come to us. We come to the communities, we try to speak with as many people as possible. We have visited institutions. We are going to visit other penitentiaries, jails, we want to hear from the inmates, the hospital facilities, the health services facilities, the schools. We feel that one of the most important aspects of our mandate has to deal with the education of young people and professional training, post-secondary training. We think that many solutions are in the society and community itself and they are not necessarily big solutions, but they are important and we want to hear from you about what you feel would work and what you know would not work.

You are the ones who can tell us. Of course we are going to have more academic research, but we feel that the basic things for this Commission are really to listen to everybody come, as many people as possible, and to hear not only about your hope for the community, for your children, for yourself, but also what could be done in a short time to better the situation, to enhance the living conditions.

We are going to visit many other communities across the country. In all the provinces, in all the territories, we want to establish a dialogue so

this is not the last time that you are going to hear from us. We publish a newsletter every month. We want to establish and maintain contacts with your community and to test ideas as they will develop. This summer we are going to publish a paper that will make a summing up of what we will have heard during the months of April, May and June and it will raise some questions. It seems to us important to get an answer, to be answered and we hope that when we hit the road for the second round of our hearings next fall, we are going to visit again all the provinces and the territories. We hope that we will be able to start really discussing about the solutions. We know that there is pain to be heard. There are problems to be told, but we hope that the community will be able to turn its mind and people and the commission as soon as possible on the solutions because people want action. That is the reason why the Commission was appointed, less to state what the problems are. This has been done by many groups and commissions in the past, and task forces, but more to develop policies that could be successful and implemented.

We have met with most of the premiers of all the provinces to tell them that we want their collaboration. We know that even if we are a federal commission, a Canadian commission, appointed by the Government of Canada, that many of our recommendations will be in the jurisdiction of the provinces. When we speak about justice, health, education and so forth, social services, it is quite clear and we hope to be able to come with a global approach that will put together the social policies, economic development, self-government and the territories' land claims, both specific and outstanding.

We again are very happy to start our hearings in the province of Quebec in Inukjuak and we hope that we will hear from you as much as possible ideas about the future and solutions and thank you very much again for being with us this morning. Tell your friends over lunch that they are welcome all day. Thank you very much. Merci.

I would like now to ask Madam Wilson to say a few words and then Commissioner Sillett.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** Thank you, Mr. Co-Chair. I am one of the three non-aboriginal members of the Royal Commission and I must say I feel very privileged to have been appointed to the Commission. I think there is a big job to be done in order to create a better relationship between native and non-native people in our country and this is really our overall goal.

When the Commission was set up, we were told that a big part of our task was to educate, that public education was to be very important. There is no doubt in my mind that the people who need to be educated are the non-aboriginal people. I know from my own personal experience that my friends really know very little about Canada's aboriginal people and I don't think that we can really develop a better relationship unless we understand each other. So I think this is why the emphasis was made on public education.

I must say that last night I felt I was back home in Scotland. I was born in Scotland and emigrated to Canada in 1949 and when I heard the music and saw the outfits, the tartan, plaids, I felt quite emotional about the whole thing and particularly seeing these beautiful young children doing the traditional dances which are the same dances that children would be doing in the north of Scotland, so it really took me back home, and I had no idea that that sort

Commissioner and Justice Bertha Wilson was the first woman appointed to the Supreme Court of Canada in 1982. She retired from the Court in 1991

of thing went on here. That is just one aspect of the lack of knowledge of non-native people about native people in Canada.

As I have been going around the native communities two points of view have been expressed to us about the Commission. Some have been very optimistic and hopeful that we were going to be able to achieve real change and improvement. In other communities there has been a note of cynicism or skepticism, wondering whether this is just another Royal Commission and will we really achieve anything. I would just like to say that I am one of the optimists. I think we can achieve real change, but we do need to hear from you. We can't create the solutions. They have got to come from you yourselves and that is why we are putting so much emphasis on visiting the native communities, so that we can hear your views. Thank you very much.

**CO-CHAIR RENE DUSSAULT:** I would like to ask Mary Sillett to make some remarks.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Thank you, Mr. Chairperson. Before I begin I would like to say that I am from Labrador, but I doubt if I am well known in Northern Quebec. I think there is a region of differences, so I would like to correct that. Having said that, I am extremely pleased to be in your community and before I begin my statement I would like to introduce the Commission staff, the people who work very, very hard to make this hearing successful. I would like to introduce Marlene Castellano. She works in the Research Department of the Royal Commission; Roger Farley, he also works in the Secretariat. Tim Compton, who is a Soto Indian from Saskatchewan and works in communications; Nora Jarrett, she is also from Hopedale, Labrador, my community, she is an Inuk, she works in public participation; Michael Lazore, he is a Mohawk Indian from Canada – Akhasazni and he works in public participation. I would also like to thank Johnny Williams very, very much for the work he has done and Martha Kauki for the translation service.

I would just like to say very briefly that the work of the Royal Commission is very important. We started off in Winnipeg in the month of April. At that time we made sure that we asked our Inuit and Indian elders from across Canada to help us decide what the future of the Commission would be. At that time we had Jobie Epoo and Lydia Tukai from Northern Quebec, and I am glad to see we are in Jobie's community. There are three teams of us and one of us are in Inukjuak, and we will be Waswanipi and the other team is in Ontario. The other team is in Alberta, so we plan to cover as many aboriginal communities as possible. We will be coming back to Northern Quebec, not necessarily Inukjuak, but we plan, we want to be a Commission that sees more people than any other Commission has been and I am looking forward to hearing from all to determine what the solutions are.

**CO-CHAIR RENE DUSSAULT:** Thank you. I think we would be ready now to ask the first presenter to come to join us at the table.

**FACILITATOR ELIZABETH WILLIAMS:** The speaker will be the Mayor of Inukjuak. He was just elected last November.

**MAYOR JOBIE EPOO:** (Speaking through a translator) Thank you. It is a hard job that you have undertaken. I would personally like to thank Johnny Williams, who has been preparing and everybody else who has been assisting Johnny in getting this ready. I would also like to thank the people from

Commissioner Mary Sillett was a founding member of Pauktuutit (Inuit Women's Association of Canada), serving as President for two terms and served as vice-president of ITC

Jobie Epoo's presentation provides a good overview of the Inukjuak community and many of the problems it was experiencing in the early 1990s. Epoo's presentation provides important context for the lasting effects of the 1950s relocation on the community whence Inuit were relocated, as well as the contemporary effects of an influx of returning Inuit.

Nunavik, John Amagoalik, Mary Simon, Charlie Watt and Mary Sillett, who have had to face the Federal Government on behalf of the Inuit and the late Mark R. Gordon, who has also made contributions too, in lobbying the Federal Government for the Inuit people and I am grateful that we are able to sit and make presentations in front of you that you will be able to take back home with you.

Inukjuak for a long time has had contact with the government. There were three small communities south of Inukjuak and three other small communities north of Inukjuak which started to be combined into a community in the sixties and that is when Inukjuak started to become a community. That was when the government started establishing health services, public services such as housing and those services were used as bait to draw people from different camps to this community. It is very hard to coordinate the people here in Inukjuak because they came from different camps. There is a lack of employment and a problem where parents and children are not able to communicate.

Although we haven't reached the state of poverty in the community itself because they help out each other, but you have to be informed that Inukjuak, even before it became a community, the Inuit themselves were able to look after themselves, continue their lives and live off the land when they first started working and started to look after themselves in making money and back then they were even richer than most people down south and they used to operate boats and they were able to purchase the boats that were used for hunting and looking back the settlers started coming back up north and started taking some money out of the communities and bringing them back home and up to date that is still the case. A lot of times money is sent south. For example, there is the northern store. People in the community buy or purchase certain things, their food and then that money goes back down south and the money that the people here in Inukjuak then generate, it does not benefit the community itself directly so there is a big thing here.

There are a lot of people living off welfare in Inukjuak. Close to one million dollars are spent in Inukjuak from the Government through welfare. In some ways there are some good sides to it and there are some bad sides to this, but in some ways it helps the people themselves because they don't make money otherwise, but on the other hand, to some people it makes people who are well and able look like they don't do anything and that is the bad side of it, because people who receive it are well and able.

So in regard to if our economy is going to get any better in Inukjuak, we would need a tremendous amount of assistance in the beginning and we could become economically viable only that way, because there is nobody here in Inukjuak who has been able to collect funds.

Basically the income of an average person is not much different from one down south, but the number of people that have a regular income are a lot less and only through financial assistance will we be able to start becoming economically viable.

Looking into the future, it is very hard to try to come up with the solutions and when you think of the young people most of them don't see their future too well. It is bleak for them and for that – that is the reason for a lot of the problems that we face because the young people don't seem to have anything to look forward to and when the James Bay in Northern Quebec was signed, up to date, some Inuit think they were awarded too little money

Jobie Epoo here refers to the slow incorporation of the Village of Inukjuak and to permanent services established by government.

through that agreement.

For example, education, health services, municipal services, they would have gone ahead anyway, even if there was no agreement. Some people think that way. They feel that the compensation we receive is too small because we were compensated \$90 million each stage for a vast area of land and up to date that money generates interest of \$2 million dollars annually and we have to spend many years in order to collect enough money on that interest, which would be able to benefit the Inuit in general.

A great vast – a great area of land that was taken for that amount of money is very small. \$180-\$200 million the government spent in regard for their north. If we were able to be given that amount of money, then we will be able to run our own lives with that amount of money in our own way and the people would acknowledge that and they will tell themselves, “Yes, we can do it” without having second thoughts. Without any outside assistance, if we were given a substantial amount, a sufficient amount of money, we would be able to pay for what has been spent and at the same time come up with jobs. When we hire people with the amount of money that we have, close to 7 per cent is spent in the experts from outside of our communities and that way we get the assistance we need and we assist the outside people by hiring them and we would have been able to cover more if we were compensated more, a lot more amount of money.

I am sure there is going to be a lot of comments that you will be hearing, different comments, and I am sorry that we were not ready to present you with written presentations and I hope we will be able to do that in the future, but right now we cannot present you with written presentations at this time because we don’t have funds to do that, to prepare these reports, and I am sure you, the Commission, will be contributing a lot for the benefit of the Inuit and since you say this is basically public education for Canadians that has to be carried through and it will have to benefit everyone, you and us at the same time. I am sure there will be other people with shorter presentations and I will be adding some more later on. I would like to also point out that I was a member of the educational task force in Nunavik, which was funded by the Makavik Corporation and the Titervik School Board and I was a member of this task force. We have completed our studies in Nunavik and we have been able to produce a report and I would like to present you with a copy of the report, not much different as what you are doing now. We did the same thing in Nunavik. We went to all the communities and we listened to what they had to say and then we came up with a report and recommendations and I would like to present it to you and I am sure it will assist you in getting your information on what the communities are like in regard to economics, their social problems. What has yet to be done and everything in regard to that is written here, so it will be able to assist you tremendously, I am sure. So it will be part of your studies that you will be conducting.

We do have a lot of things to say in Inukjuak and last of all I am sure people will be elaborating on this further, but in the 1950s, it seemed like – that was even before I was born – but people got something taken away from them that was doing the relocation of certain people of Inukjuak up to the high Arctic. When they tried to speak to the government regarding that, in regard to receiving compensation for the loss they had and for the effect it has had on their lives, the government hasn’t done anything in regard to that and I am sure there are a lot of people who think they have contributed



a lot into Canadian sovereignty in the High Arctic and they believe they contributed a lot to that, but I am sure they will be telling you this more, but the government has not been able to recognize that officially.

Now that certain people are starting to come back to this community and are trying to readjust to a normal community life again and although they are really related to each other, it seems at times they are not related to each other at all because they grew up in a very different environment and there are people who were born up in the High Arctic who don't know what it is like here and now that they have tried to come back and live in their original community, it has been really hard for them and for the population of Inukjuak themselves. So we go through a lot of hardship in trying to readjust with each other again.

I don't have a lot more to say at this time but at certain times I will elaborate on certain points that the people will be making later on during the day and thank you again very much. I know all of you and I am very grateful that you have been able to come to Inukjuak. Thank you.

**FACILITATOR ELIZABETH WILLIAMS:** Thank you, Jobie.

**CO-CHAIR RENE DUSSAULT:** I would like to ask some questions. Thank you, Mr. Mayor, for providing us with a verbal review of your community.

As far as the latter question of the Arctic exiles is concerned, we are going to the presentation later on this morning so we will wait for this presentation to comment further, but maybe as a start I would like know if you have the statistics on how many people are employed on a full-time basis in this community. The community is roughly a thousand people and we were told maybe there was one hundred or a hundred and thirty jobs available altogether. Is that the right figure?

**MAYOR JOBIE EPOO:** At present there is about one thousand people without jobs of which over half are less than seventeen years of age and over 160 of kindergarten age. It is a pretty young population. About 130 permanent jobs, 40 of which are held by outside workers, meaning teachers, nurses and so on. Normally every summer there is 50 seasonal jobs, summer and fall, which is not going to be the case this year because we don't have our housing program approved this year. But like I said earlier, a million dollars, almost a million dollars in social welfare cheques are given out every year to about 135 social welfare recipients, 55 per cent of whom are less than 30 years of age. That is about it.

**CO-CHAIR RENE DUSSAULT:** I know the future of the younger generation has great importance to you and of course to the community and it struck us that one of the problems is the pride to try to have young people attend school and have post-secondary and graduate training in the health professions and also in teaching as well. You say half of the jobs of people coming from the south are in the health field and also the teachers.

Because we kind of feel that this is a very, very important issue that all the young people who are in the communities and in particular in Inukjuak, you certainly have given some thought to what should be done. We were told that if there were programs to support the students when they go south to get their training and follow them to make sure that they are not left alone and give up after a few months, that it could improve the situation. What is the thinking about what should be done, because in ten years from now, most of those young people we saw last night will have to make a decision

as to whether they will continue their education. What can be done to make this possible and put them in a situation where they could decide to be worthwhile deciding they might come back, could come back to be with their people? Do you have some more precise comment as to how this could best be achieved?

**MAYOR JOBIE EPOO:** Well, school has always been said that it starts from the home, it has to start from the home. I agree a hundred per cent that it has to start from the home. The parents have to instill in the children's minds that education is important and that it is one of the things you have to have in order to be able to face the future and you have to have it and there is no two ways about it. You have to get that person in mind at home and then presently because of the fact that we are normally on the average two, three, maybe even four years behind as compared to a student in the south, when we come out of school here, there has to be on the school side an effort to come up with a catch-up program because what happens is when a child goes down south, there is a shock because of the fact that the child when he finds out he is way behind in knowledge, he tends to be very embarrassed about it and cannot take it and the only thing he can do is go hide back home and there is not too many people know about the fact that he hasn't learned too much. Those are the kinds of things that have to take place. The child cannot take it and he finds out he hasn't learned very much in all these years.

Sometimes you have a case where the parents are not in a position or don't have the ability to help the child at a certain point, so the school has to be extra sensitive in these cases.

Another element in the whole thing, I guess if you are going to be very conscious about people finishing school, you have to have ahead of them some jobs and I think that is where the government and our Inuit organizations do come in and to plan for a future for these people that have finished school and all of these have to take place and many things have to take place.

There are so many, but I am not saying that nothing is being done. There are some things of course that are being done to solve some of these problems, but somebody has to look at it from overall and I don't think anybody is doing that. It is segregated players, I guess.

**CO-CHAIR RENE DUSSAULT:** Thank you very much.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** Mr. Mayor, you mentioned that what was needed was really an injection, a major injection of funds in order to get people off welfare, which was creating a dependency and not really particularly helpful as a solution and that if you had the funding, you could get people back to work and provide jobs. Have you given any thought to the kinds of things that you might do up here if you had the funds to get started? What kind of business or industry or economic activity that would provide jobs for the people living in this community? Could you give us any ideas of what kind of things you would do if you had the money?

**MAYOR JOBIE EPOO:** There is many things that could be done. There is – first of all I would like to cover the area of community services that could be provided by a lot of the local entrepreneurs if they had money to start up with in a lot of little services that are provided in small communities. You can see for yourself when you go to small southern communities that they have services that serve the population in the town.

Those kind of things that could be started are slowly, slowly starting, but like I said, there is not enough money to start up with. That is one. In Inukjuak we have well known artists, carvers that I have felt many times are not being marketed in the right way. There is too many middle men selling the carvings of these people and that is another area that has to be worked on and then there is if we had some money we could commercialize wild life, one species, is the caribou, there is a lot of caribou in Northern Quebec and nothing has been done about it.

You see all over the world in Norway, Finland, Sweden, Alaska, even parts of the Northwest Territories, you find all of these people have benefits out of their herds.

They sell either the antlers, the meat, whatever byproducts of all these things and here in Northern Quebec, it is not allowed by the Quebec government. There was not too long ago, heads of caribou and absolutely no money coming out of them for the Inuit. Some sports hunters, sports camps, yes, but still a lot of caribou not being utilized.

There is another one, there is fisheries, for instance, that we could look at. Like I said, there is not a hell of a lot of people in Inukjuak, so it wouldn't take a lot of money to get a few things going and then there is people that could live off the land with a little bit of social assistance, I believe. There has to be an acceptable level of social assistance. Right now it is not sensible because there are too many recipients, people who don't need it, people who could work, who are physically strong and who could do anything, but they are not being utilized. I can go on.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** Thank you. You mentioned that some of the money was going down south and not being used for the benefit of the community. Could you give me an example of what you have in mind? You mentioned that a lot of the money that was being generated in the community was going south and therefore wasn't being used to benefit the people here. Would you give me an example of how that happens?

**MAYOR JOBIE EPOO:** You have major construction projects almost every summer here in Inukjuak involving millions and millions of dollars. Because all of these companies are owned by southern companies, all the profits go down south and these companies rent equipment from the southern companies, other southern companies, so the benefits don't go to this community either.

Yes, there are a few little truck rentals here and there. There is a few people hired, I would say a maximum of, I don't know, 5 per cent of the labour force is hired from this community, so not too much goes into this community.

Then we have sales let's say for the Hudson's Bay Company, who has been here for many, many years, or who was the first one here in Inukjuak, who have sales of up to, I don't know, I could easily say \$3 million a year coming from the people of this town that goes right out the window. That has been going on for many, many years. We have no control over it because we don't have anybody to buy out these companies. Because they have a monopoly over these people, they can charge anything they want. Of course, they pay some of the people that are living in this town, but whatever they pay goes back to them because they have to eat too. It is a never-ending circle.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** Thank you very much.

**CO-CHAIR RENE DUSSAULT:** Well, again I would like to say in your closing presentation, we will bear in mind that we will come back to Northern Quebec.

If you could pursue your thinking in terms of what you have already told us what should be done and what are the solutions, we are always anxious to hear from you, particularly you are certainly welcome to write to us or we have an 800 line where you could communicate with us and we will let you know what will be our schedule when we come back to Northern Quebec and continue what we started this morning. Thank you.

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*Presentation by Avataq Cultural Institute, Johnny Epoo. (Excised).*

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*Presentation by Nunavik Regional Government, regarding self-government. (Excised).*

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**FACILITATOR ELIZABETH WILLIAMS:** The following people are the Arctic exiles: Markoosie Patsauq, Andrew Iquak, Anna Nungak, Patsauq Iqaluk, Samwillie Elijasialuk. Mr. Patsauq will be the first one to speak.

**CO-CHAIR RENE DUSSAULT:** On behalf of all of us, we are very happy that you are able to come to give a presentation this morning.

**MARKOOSIE PATSAUQ:** (Speaking through a translator) I will first introduce the speakers here. On my left, is Anna Nungak who was taken to Grise Fjord in 1953. My name is Markoosie Patsauq and I was taken to Resolute in 1953. On my right is Samwillie Elijassialuk, who was taken to Grise Fjord in 1953 and on my far right Mary who was taken to Resolute in 1955. We are very happy to have a chance to address this long-standing problem we have been having for over ten years and has been very unsuccessful with the federal government up to today.

In my opening remarks I would like to have Samwillie be the first person to speak on our behalf.

**SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** (Speaking through a translator) Thank you. Now I am given the chance, I will try to be brief about the fact that we have gone through a hardship in the past and the fact that they told us a big lie, when the government told us the reason for sending us to the High Arctic was they said there was a lot of animals we could live off. They told us there was a lot of caribou and a lot of other animals but when we arrived there, there was hardly any caribou and they told us, we were told that we are allowed to kill one caribou in a year and they told us if we killed a muskox we would be taken unless we paid \$500. They told us that they would bring us back to our communities after two years, but when we told them we wanted to go back home, the police told us it is not possible any more. The transportation is not possible. They told us that the land we were moving to is going to be plentiful and that we would come back home in the future, but once we were in the High Arctic they didn't want to move us back home.

We have experienced and seen other Inuit who have insisted on going back home, but the government representatives kept telling us that we can't go home now and they are going to build a school there for us, for our

The term "High Arctic Exiles" is a self-imposed term used by some relocated Inuit during the 1990s as part of the political movement to gain recognition and compensation.

children and that is what the government was telling us. We were told there was caribou and muskox. One of us was hoping that he was going back home again, but when he learned he was not going home, he was highly touched. Often I think back and wonder if they did not send us to the High Arctic in the first place so we would have a good – maintain a good relation with our relatives.

The whole reason behind this was to maintain sovereignty in the High Arctic and they had to find people that would stay up there and not be able to go back home. They used to try to bring Inuit from the NWT to the High Arctic, but they knew how to return home and they couldn't maintain them there, so they had to find a group of people that didn't know the road back home and that would stay up there. That is the result of the relocation of the Inuit from Inukjuak to the High Arctic. Up to date it has had a really negative impact on our lives up to date.

We know that it was an experiment. It is not human to do an experiment on human beings. Thank you.

**MARKOOSIE PATSAUQ:** (Speaking through a translator) As I was saying, me and my family were victims of the experiment for relocation in 1953. I would like to concentrate on the papers I have prepared and I would like to read it for clarity, because as I understand it we have a limited amount of time to make our presentation, unfortunately.

I would like to start with just a few words concerning the documents that we have been able to learn from over the years. This experiment in relocation was presented by the Canadian government along with the RCMP to improve Inuit standards of living, but the Inuit economic situation was not the only reason. The motives behind this decision were moral conviction in Canadian sovereignty. These are the wrongs, that we had been arguing over the years. Also the federal government was saying the area was a completely devoid way of life and I would like to make it clear this is how I saw it. That the Nunavik area could no longer support its population was false. At this stage in the 1950s this area was a major nesting area for many of varieties of marine birds which hundreds of islands along the coast are homes to, many wildlife and fishes of every type are available from the sea and from the lakes that cover the entire area. Things like Canada geese go to that homeland each year. There are fifty or more varieties of animals which we depend on for food. To us who call this area our home, this land, this is the land of plenty and to tear us away from our roots was uncalled for. The suffering we have been forced to take over the years are unacceptable. To use us as experimental objects is illegal.

The fact is that in the 1950s the Inuit economic situation was no worse than in the 1930s or the 1940s. In fact our economic situation at that time had never been better and the government decision to provide family allowance in the 1940s greatly improved our economic conditions. The introduction of soap stone carvings meant for the aged, sick, crippled and widows, quickly improved our economic situation. These welcome reliefs were to disappear from our lives by the time we arrived on the High Arctic Islands and in the first week of September, 1953 the family arrived in Resolute Bay, which was to be our home, not for two years, as originally informed by the government, but for the next thirty years. On our arrival at the new home, we were shocked at the bareness of the land and the coldness of the air and the presence of icebergs and as far as we could see there was nothing but gravel, ice

and snow. At this time of year in our original home of Inukjuak it would still be summer and we would be catching thousands of fishes with our nets for our food during the winter.

Most of the animals that we were used to back in Inukjuak were not to exist in the High Arctic, and although we were not aware of it at the time, we have since learned that commanding officer of the Royal Canadian Air Force in Resolute Bay strongly objected to this experiment, since no adequate planning had been carried out. There had been no concern on the government's part that there would be no housing, no medical facilities or schools.

The commanding officer also said that he was afraid there was not enough animals to support new arrivals, but still thought the government had reason to believe there was plenty of animals and besides they would make sure that the Air Force would not be inconvenienced and that Inuit families which was to arrive shortly would not become a liability to the Air Force.

The first year in our new home in Resolute was the hardest for us, mostly because we did not know the land. We did not know where to hunt and the fact was there was no daylight from November to February. We survived mostly on the garbage of the white man. If the dump had not provided us with these edible garbages, we would have had faced serious hunger or maybe even starvation and since we were not allowed to have any contact with the white people, my father and the rest of the men had to go to the dump under cover of darkness and sneak into the dump. In the dark season which was preventing us from hunting it allowed us to sneak into the dump without being discovered by the RCMP.

When daylight returned to the land in February, we no longer sneaked into the dump as we were so desperate for food that the dump was providing for our dogs and not for ourselves. Travelling to the dump for a bit of bread became our daily labour. A certain government official who played an important part in this experiment of relocation had a dream that one day the Inuit would once again become self-reliant instead of counting on handouts from the government. With this dream the government went out to prove the Inuit were the people who could survive without any assistance from the government, and certain government officials feel that Inuit has lost a certain amount of interest in hunting and fishing for a living. The government also felt it was paying too much money, too much welfare for the Inuit in the north. A certain government official felt that a way of dealing with the Inuit problem had to be found. At the same time they were very concerned about the Inuit hunting and living freely in Canada's north and since American people were outnumbering Canadians, they were concerned that Canada's sovereignty question might be challenged. In this situation the Canadian government felt it would lead Canadian people to occupy the Islands. At this stage in time Inuit people were the only people who could survive in the harsh land without assistance from the government. Unlike white people who had to be directly paid for their services, this was an extensive venture. The simplest solution to the problem would be to use the Inuit people as the guardian of Canada's interests.

When the government personnel came once again to our home in the fall of 1954 one year after the relocation, my father, along with the rest of the men, made a request that they be returned home, having spent one

This reference is to the meeting on August 10, 1953 between members of the DRD and RCAF. It is reproduced as Document 50 in S. Grant (2016).

It is unclear to whom this references, though it is likely either Alexander Stevenson or James Cantley.

Concerns about the presence of Americans, and particularly members of the American military, in Canada's North were rampant in the 1950s. In large part, this was a result of the United States' construction of military facilities and radar stations to support continental defence. While there was no threat of a legal challenge to Canada's sovereignty, there were political implications which led many senior politicians and Cabinet members to worry about "Canadianization" of the North - transferring American operations to Canadian command and ensuring that Canadians made up the majority population of these bases.

year in the High Arctic and having learned about the land and its abysmal conditions, they were convinced that they were not better off in the new land and no news from the families, they knew this land had a lot less to offer. Their request was turned down and instead the government said they would bring their families, bring the rest of our families up north next ship time, which would be 1955. So the second relocation took place in 1955. My father's brother, along with his brother-in-law and three more families arrived, and this did not consist of all the family that my father had. He was fated never to see the rest of the family still living in Inukjuak.

I would like to talk about a few things that we have discussed with the federal government. At the famous relocation in 1953, I was also suffering badly from tuberculosis. I was not sent south for treatment, but instead went along with my family to the High Arctic. The treatment subsequent was to have a very negative impact on the people who went up to Resolute in 1953. In a few years, all of us were suffering from TB. The TB I had started a chain reaction which was to affect every one of those who were relocated in '53. I would also like to say a few words about the sickness. There was my grandmother who was 73 years old at the time of relocation. She was healthy when we left here. She was strong and she was a very active worker on daily labours. She died within two years after we were relocated to the High Arctic. We knew she died because of lack of different varieties of food and also because of violent change in the environment greatly contributed to her death. Also among the group we had two polio victims, my mother was one and my mother died in March of this year and Anna Nungak to my left is one of the people who are polio victims. Mother also had a heart condition, although we did not know it at the time, nobody knew that she had a heart condition. She died within eight months after we arrived in the high Arctic. It is also known she lost the will to live after finding out the government had no intention to bring us back to our home. She died a broken woman.

Lastly, right up to the present time, the government and the RCMP insisted that this experiment was successful. They are partly right, because the experiment proved that people could survive without government handouts, without aid from the government and it proved people could survive off the land in the harsh environment and continue to occupy the land despite the hardships, but the people who were used as an object had to pay a heavy price which continues to this day. Many graves of our relatives are grim proof of the suffering we had to endure and the separation of the families continues to this day. Thank you.

**ANNA NUNGAK:** (Speaking through a translator) When we were relocated to Resolute Bay, we should have been given a briefing before we were left. They should have told us there was no housing. We learned only when we arrived what conditions we were going to be facing. When we arrived up north the whole town of Inukjuak was still summer, I can never forget it to this day when we landed on the shore and they put us on the shore in Grise Fjord. They separated us into two groups and we were informed that we would be relocated to a better area which we never did and we were told that we would be relocated by ship and I used to wonder where that ship was, but all I could see was a little boat and it was very hard for us in the beginning. There was no drinking water in the area and all we could see was ice and we later learned that the ice was going to be there all year long, all year round and there was no water supply. If there was no ice, we wouldn't

It is not clear to whom Markoosie is referring. It is possible that this is a reference to Paddy Aqiatuk who died in Spring 1954 after being relocated to Grise Fjord.

Anna Nungak was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Grise Fjord in 1953 at age 26

have any drinking water at all.

We used to get this water from the ice and we used it for drinking water, we used it for washing and we didn't know exactly what to do and when we first got there, I used to wonder when we would get snow good enough to build a snow house, but since there are high winds in that area, it was not going to be possible to build a snow house, we later learned. Our parents used to try to pick up, look for wood to burn, but there was nothing in the area and we spent the whole winter in a tent and we used to try to look for things in the surrounding area. Since we were not used to the darkness all year all those months, it was very hard for us the first year and luckily we were able to make it. There was no nurses, no teachers, there was nothing and we spent the whole winter in a tent. We were able to survive because there were ring seal, a few fowl and a few fish, but it took us a long time to find out where to get some fish because we didn't know where to look for food and all winter it used to be very hard for me to get to sleep. I finally got a little bit used to it. We used to miss our relatives and I remember our parents used to cry. My mother became a widow. She used to miss our relatives back home. Right now I am grateful I am back in Inukjuak but two of my kids are still up in the High Arctic because that is their homeland. That is where they grew up and they don't want to leave because that is where they were born. They don't know Inukjuak, so that is – I thank you to give me the opportunity to speak. I have a lot of things to say and at times I put these things on tape, what I think on tape. Since there are other people who would like to be given a chance to speak, I just thank you.

**Mary Attugutaluk:** (Speaking through a translator) My name is Mary. We were relocated in 1955. I was aware that we would be moved to that area. I used to have a best friend. Her name was Sarah and we used to – she used to spend a lot of time with me. I can never forget Inuit were going to leave on a ship. I wasn't aware that I would be one of them and I was one morning woken up and told to get dressed because we were leaving. You must remember this occasion because he was one of the people who came to inform us about this and I was picked up and that was when I left my friend and for a whole year I cried. My friend's late husband lived there for a period of one year. She said that to comfort me because I was crying all the time. I tried to get over the hurt I was carrying. On leaving Inukjuak, when the sight of Inukjuak started to fade away, it was – I was crying and it felt like I was being sent to hell at leaving all my friends and my family.

I also had a friend by the name of Janie. I would stay there for days in the new area that we had been relocated because I am crazy about berries, but she said, "There is nothing, no berries, nothing but gravel." It was for the next eight to ten years that I would not be able to have any fish and we were in the High Arctic for twenty-one years and it was only when we were to work going to back to Inukjuak that we started to have fish only.

One year I didn't get up for the whole year because I was craving for fish. I used to dream that I was eating fish. I was so weak although I wasn't sick, I was so weak with craving for fish that I couldn't get up.

The government who sent us to the High Arctic made me lose my adoptive parents. Although I felt that they were my own parents, I was never able to forget them day and night and I dreamt about them. I also used to dream about the streams in the area where there was a lot of Arctic char in those streams. I would just take however much Arctic char I need and eat it. Then

Although unidentified in the original transcript, cross-referencing the list of Inuit witnesses to the RCAP Special Hearings suggests that this was Mary Attugutaluk. Mary Attugutaluk was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1955 at age 5



I would wake up and it was only a dream and I would start crying again. After a few years of living in the High Arctic, the non-Inuit people there started to give us a lot of things to do like sewing, making clothes for them. Although I had work to do at home myself in trying to keep my house clean, I mean warm, trying to maintain water and at the same time making all these clothes for the nuns. I have also lost six children, stillborn children because there was so much work to do, make me to have these stillborn children. I am sorry. One of my children died at the age of one because he had a disease. All the rest of these children were stillborn because I had so much work to do. I can't even complete the things I would like to tell you about because it was very emotional for me to talk about.

**ANDREW IQALUK:** (Speaking through a translator) My name is Andrew Iqaluk. I had to be relocated from here to go along with my friends. My mother was 63 years of age at the time and I had recently lost my father and it was a frightening experience to be left behind. I learned that preparing to leave for this trip had a symbol to it and in saying that there was a symbol to it, I mean that we were taken and just sort of shoved to this area and that it was very improper. I had an older brother of fifty who upon leaving here, my sister and me and my sister didn't get a chance to speak to each other to say our goodbyes because we didn't agree upon parting. We cried over it. In my mind it tells me that a wrong had been done to us.

When you look at a brand new tent, you can see that it is really white and when it is standing up as all the tents were being taken and loaded on the ship, when I was watching this tent it was empty. Everything inside was loaded on the ship and looking at that tent, it changed colours. I guess it was dead, it was no longer white. That was a sign.

I think that I saw, back then I couldn't recognise that fact then. But today, Canada was really proud to own this area. They were able to tell the world that this part of the world is Canada. They didn't tell me that and when I got back to Quebec, my homeland, I saw that I had contributed to this and my children have grown and my children started hating other children. This has had a negative impact on our life, because that relocating us was not right.

The head of the RCMP in Ottawa had caused a move up north and there were a whole bunch of them that were supposed to look after the land. They told us that we as Inuit would continue our livelihood as Inuit and since it is our nature to try to survive that, that would be the same case up there. The head of the police in Ottawa told us that we would have to live our own lives and he had our dogs killed, which we depended on and that was the case.

I was a very young man then and I used to buy the hunting dogs up there, trying to maintain the sovereignty of Canada in the High Arctic and I contributed to the sovereignty in the High Arctic but no credit has been given to me. When I came back here I became very small, an old man and no credit shown to me, so I would like to discuss this further with the government. Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR RENE DUSSAULT:** Thank you very much. I would like first to thank each and every one of you for coming to speak with us this morning. There is nothing like meeting with people who have lived through an experiment like the one you did. To start at least – we are very humble on this – but to start at least on this we understand what has happened. We know that these sad events have been documented. We know that we could exchange

When Inuit who had been relocated to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay returned to Inukjuak in the late-1980s with their children and grandchildren there were significant challenges in readjusting. These challenges are discussed in RCAP testimony, "Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples Testimony: April 8, 1993" in this volume, and in the interviews conducted by the *Iqqaumavara* Memory Project in 2011. See *Iqqaumavara* (2011).

The RCMP-led slaughter of Inuit dogs is discussed further in community testimony of the RCAP and in-depth during the Qikiqtani Truth Commission. For further reading, see Qikiqtani Truth Commission (2015).

with you and discuss with you every and all aspects of these events at length and that would take many hours, if not a few days. The Commission has received in particular the report that was written by Professor Daniel Soberman for the Human Rights, Canadian Human Rights Commission. For one, I have heard that report a couple of times, and I think it would be more useful this morning to tell you and give you the assurance that the Royal Commission will have a look at the situation that occurred nearly forty years ago now. We will want to meet with Professor Soberman to discuss because he was an investigator who took a lot of his time and your time to talk and visit and discuss the question. We will meet with him. We will want also to meet with government officials, probably the Minister of Indian Affairs also.

From what I have learned and from what is the situation and the understanding of these events and their interpretation, I can assure you that we will have a look at it and we will, as soon as we can, come back to you and let you know what we think of it and to see if we can play a role in – being of some help in making of this situation – these things can't be erased, but certainly thinking about them, and also acknowledging their occurrence is already part of the healing process. Again, we are going to meet with all those concerned and come back one way or another to you. So again, we have many other presentations today and we would like to thank you very much for telling us your story and we realize it was done in a nutshell, very short and it is a much longer story. I understand that you might have an original presentation to submit to us, but again we are going to have a look at the file and let you know that we are thinking about it. Thank you very much.

FACILITATOR ELIZABETH WILLIAMS: This is the lunch hour. We will come back after lunch later. Sorry for the short time we have had this morning, so we will break for lunch for an hour. Thank you.

— Luncheon Adjournment (12:00 p.m.)

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*Presentation by Johnny Inukpuk. (Excised).*

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*Presentation by Simeonie Weetaluktuk. (Excised).*

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*Presentation by Johnny Naktialuk (Health Committee). (Excised).*

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*Presentation by Mina Kingalik. (Excised).*

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*Presentation by Anna Samisack (Atirag Women's Group). (Excised).*

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*Presentation by Pauloosie Weetaluktuk (Local Co-op). (Excised).*

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*Presentation by Peter Inukpuk. (Excised).*

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*Presentation by Lucassie Echalook. (Excised).*

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*Presentation by Lazarusie Epoo. (Excised).*

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*Presentation by Peter Naluktuk. (Excised).*

The Soberman Report is reproduced in Lackenbauer (2020).

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*Presentation by Mary Nowrakudluk. (Excised).*

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*Presentation by Martha Echalook. (Excised).*

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*Presentation by Daniel Oweetaluktuk. (Excised).*

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**FACILITATOR ELIZABETH WILLIAMS:** Excellent. We have another speaker whose name is Minnie Nowkawalk.

**MINNIE NOWKAWALK:** (Speaking through a translator) My aunt was in the High Arctic from 1953 and I remember my mother talking about her older sister, saying, "I wonder if my sister is still alive," because we never used to hear from them. I remember one time I got a piece of clothing and I remember my mother telling me, "My sister must have been touching this," and she was really grateful for that and after I had grown older, until 1973, my mother didn't see her sister. Then in 1973 we heard she was in Montreal in the hospital. My mother didn't have any money to travel to visit her. When I was old enough to work I had a child and I was getting family allowance cheques and then I started working at the store and I started saving money. After I had collected enough money from working and from the family allowance, my mother was able to visit her sister, who was in the hospital in Montreal. Up to date, I am grateful that I did that, since they hadn't seen each other for so many years. When we heard that her sister died, my mother was not able to visit her sister or go for the funeral because we didn't have any money and now if there is going to be a hydro project in the future that is going to have the same negative impacts on our lives, it is going to have an impact on the land and on animals as well and to our children in the future. Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR RENE DUSSAULT:** Thank you.

**FACILITATOR ELIZABETH WILLIAMS:** We don't have any more people to go.

**CO-CHAIR RENE DUSSAULT:** Before asking my friend to make the closing prayer, I would like to ask the committee of Inukjuak for its welcome hospitality and very good turnout to the hearing. I would also like to extend the thanks of the Commission to the church committee for allowing us to have the cultural event last night on Sunday. I would like to extend thanks to Johnny Williams, the community co-ordinator, to the translators, Alicie Nalatupkrak and Martha Kauki, our facilitator, Elizabeth Williams, Charlie Adams from Nipingak – that is difficult – for filming, the National Film Board crew is with us to take a sample of the hearing. Jobie Epoo, who has been working as the commissioner of the day and of course who is mayor of the Inukjuak community deserves many thanks from the Commission. Our thanks extends to the people who cooked our meals and this is an opportunity to convey to them our warmest thanks and we will do so, but we want to acknowledge it. Also we would like to thank the school for allowing us to use this library. It is a very nice facility and I do hope that even if the day was spent in maybe not reading books, as is usually done in this room, that it has been a learning experience for people who attended the hearing to listen

to what was said to us. Also I would like to thank those who came as observers who decided to say a few words in the open forum. Also I would like to thank Daniel Aupaluk for opening the meeting and I will ask for now the closing prayer. We have been very happy to have this opening hearing in the province of Quebec here in Inukjuak and certainly we will be back in Northern Quebec, maybe not in this community. I am told to thank again Alicie and I think she deserves it twice, so again this is the beginning of a process and we are going to keep in touch with you through the document we are going to publish this summer and we hope that this is only the beginning of a full year of discussion. Thank you very much.

**FACILITATOR ELIZABETH WILLIAMS:** If Reverend Daniel is not here, we will call upon Christine for the prayer.

(Closing Prayer)

— Whereupon the Commission adjourned at 4:52 p.m.

# **Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples Testimony: April 5, 1993**

ROYAL COMMISSION ON ABORIGINAL PEOPLES  
 LOCATION: OTTAWA, ONTARIO  
 DATE: MONDAY, April 5, 1993  
 VOLUME: 1

Ottawa, Ontario

— Upon commencing at 9:30 a.m. on Monday, April 5, 1993

**RENÉ DUSSAULT:** [English] Thank you very much for coming here today for these important hearings of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. Today there are many peoples who travelled long distances to come to give testimony to these hearings.

First of all, I want to recognize the fact that we are five Commissioners this morning, five Members of the Commission. One Commissioner, Viola Robinson, could not attend because of a death in her family during the weekend and, as you know, one Member of the Commission has resigned. We regret that Allan Blakeney will not be with us to the end of the project when we will table our final report. His experience and many talents were valued by all of us. We were sorry to see him go.

Je voudrais dire quelques mots sur les circonstances qui ont amené la Commission à décider de tenir des audiences spéciales sur la question des exilés de l'extrême Arctique.

Le 8 juin dernier à Inukjuak, dans le nord du Québec, Mme Wilson, Mary Sillett et moi avons entendu une partie d'histoire des Inuits qui ont été réinstallés à Resolute Bay et Grise Fiord. Nous avons alors dit à ceux et celles d'entre vous qui avaient témoigné devant nous que nous examinerions la situation et que nous vous informerions de nos constatations.

Alors que nous examinions la situation, le ministre des Affaires indiennes et du Nord canadien a présenté, le 20 novembre dernier, une réponse aux recommandations formulées à ce sujet à deux reprises par la Comité permanent de la Chambre des Communes sur les Affaires autochtones.

Le 14 décembre, la Présidente d'Inuit Tapirisat du Canada a écrit à la Commission pour l'informer que son organisation considérait que les exilés eux-mêmes n'avaient jamais eu la chance de présenter leur version complète des faits. Les témoignages livrés par les Inuits que le Comité parlementaire a entendus pendant trois heures en mars 1990 devaient, disait-il, être étayés et corroborés.

Compte tenu notamment du rapport du Professeur Gunther et des nombreuses mentions qui en sont faites dans la réponse du gouvernement, la Présidente d'Inuit Tapirisat du Canada a cependant fait valoir que si elle s'inquiétait auparavant des traumatismes que pourraient subir les exilés si on leur demandait de relater à nouveau les épreuves et les souffrances qu'ils avaient endurés, elle en était maintenant venue à la conclusion qu'il fallait recueillir davantage de témoignages.

Elle a donc demandé que des audiences soient tenues pour permettre aux exilés de vraiment raconter ce qui leur était arrivé. Cette demande a été appuyée par la Société Makivik.

Le 15 janvier 1993 la Commission a demandé à Mary Simon et Roger Tassé de passer en revue et d'analyser les divers documents, témoignages et rapports portant sur la réinstallation. L'exercice visait à aider la Commission à déterminer les orientations à prendre pour l'avenir.

Dans le rapport présenté le 1er février suivant, Mme Simon et M. Tassé

(Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, "Testimony," April 5, 1993, *The High Arctic Relocation Special Hearings*, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada))

Allan Blakeney, former premier of Saskatchewan, resigned from the commission in April 1993 and was replaced in June by Peter Meekison, a former provincial deputy minister of Federal and Intergovernmental Affairs in Alberta.

The ITC president in 1992 was Rosemarie Kuptana..

The Gunther Report is reproduced in Lackenbauer (2020).

This summary provides a good outline of the events that occurred between 1991 and 1993, leading to the RCAP decision to hear testimony.

ont fait état des difficultés qu'ont eues les Inuits déplacés à faire prendre en considération leurs allégations de façon juste et équitable, ainsi que des problèmes auxquels s'est heurté le gouvernement fédéral dans ses tentatives pour faire la lumière sur les événements qui remontent au début des années '50.

Dans leur rapport Mme Simon et M. Tassé concluent premièrement que bien qu'il se soit fait beaucoup de recherche sur le sujet, les exilés Inuits n'ont pas vraiment eu la chance de présenter complètement leur version des faits et que c'est que lorsqu'ils l'auront fait que l'on pourra tracer un tableau complet des événements qui se sont produits.

Ils ont aussi fait remarquer qu'il existait de profondes divergences entre les auteurs des divers rapports, notamment entre celui du doyen Soberman, produit pour le compte de la Commission canadienne des droits de la personne, et celui du professeur Gunther, produit pour le ministère des Affaires indiennes et du Nord canadien.

Sur certains points les divergences semblaient découler moins de différences au niveau de la preuve que d'interprétation différente de la preuve. Sur d'autres points, cependant, les différences semblaient découler du fait que chacun s'appuyait sur des preuves et des sources d'information différentes.

Par exemple, le doyen Soberman a interrogé de nombreux témoins inuits sans publier le détail de ces entrevues dans son rapport. Quant au professeur Gunther, il n'a pas interrogé les Inuits eux-mêmes. Il est apparu à Mme Simon et à M. Tassé que les rapports et études en question avaient été dirigés séparément sans que leurs auteurs aient eu la chance de confronter leurs opinions et conclusions divergentes.

Ils ont donc recommandé que la Commission offre aux exilés inuits la chance de lui présenter leur version complète des faits et qu'elle invite les principaux auteurs d'études et de rapports à comparaître devant elle pour lui présenter leurs constatations et conclusions. La Commission présenterait par la suite un rapport au gouvernement.

La Commission a accepté cette recommandation du rapport Simon-Tassé et c'est pour cette raison que nous sommes réunis ici aujourd'hui dans une première démarche pour entendre l'histoire complète des Inuits, et nous aurons une seconde démarche à la fin du mois de juin, où nous allons entendre les auteurs des principaux rapports et recherches.

Avant de demander à mon co-président Georges Erasmus de parler un peu de la façon dont nous allons conduire les audiences cette semaine, je voudrais demander d'une part la...je me rends compte que la prière n'a pas été faite dès le début, et je m'en excuse. J'aimerais demander à Lizzie Amagoalik de faire la prière et par la suite Georges Erasmus va dire quelques mots sur le déroulement des audiences durant cette semaine.

Je voudrais d'abord demander à Mme Lizzie Amagoalik de dire la prière; if you would like to say the prayer.

**(Opening Prayer)**

**RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Avant de passer la parole à Georges Erasmus je voudrais également indiquer qu'à ma droite se trouve Mme Bertha Wilson, qui est juge à la retraite de la Cour suprême du Canada. Mme Wilson a été la première femme nommée à la Cour suprême du Canada en 1982, et est bien connue pour ses opinions importantes, notamment en ce qui touche tout le développement de la Charte canadienne des droits de la personne.

Mary Simon, a respected Inuit leader from Northern Québec who held numerous positions with both Makivik Corporation and ITC in the 1970s and 1980s, co-wrote the Simon-Tassé Report that reviewed evidence related to the High Arctic Relocations and determined that Inuit had not been given an opportunity to share their story. She also facilitated Inuit testimony during the April 1993 Special Hearings on the High Arctic Relocations.

Roger Tassé represented the Canadian government during both the Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accords and led the team that developed the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. He co-wrote the Simon-Tassé Report.

The research referred to here is primarily that of Bud Neville (Hickling Report), Magnus Gunther (Gunther Report), Daniel Soberman (Soberman Report), and work completed by Alan Marcus and Shelagh Grant. With the exception of Marcus and Soberman (who interviewed Inuit but did not publish their interviews) these researchers focused on archival documents, all searching for the rationale for the relocation.

À mon extrême droite, le Commissaire Paul Chartrand. Paul Chartrand est un Métis du Manitoba. Il est professeur à l'Université du Manitoba en études autochtones, particulièrement en ce qui concerne les Métis.

Mary Sillett est une Inuk du Labrador. Avant de joindre la Commission, Mary était vice-présidente d'Inuit Tapirisat du Canada et présidente de Pauktuutit, l'association des femmes inuites du Canada.

Et, bien sûr, Georges Erasmus, qui co-préside la Commission avec moi, qui était président de l'Assemblée des Premières Nations pendant plusieurs années.

Je voudrais demander à M. Erasmus de présenter la façon dont les audiences vont se dérouler pendant cette semaine.

Merci beaucoup. Thank you very much.

**GEORGES ERASMUS:** [English] Thank you, René.

I would like to say a few words about the conduct of the hearings over the next few days. The Commission is charged with investigating and making concrete recommendations concerning the history of Aboriginal people and their relationship between Canadian governments and Canadian society as a whole. Building on its historical analysis, the Commission may make recommendations promoting reconciliation between Aboriginal people and Canadian society.

The Commissioner's mandate makes particular reference to the special difficulties of Aboriginal people living in the north. Our mandate directs us to govern our work by the desire of Aboriginal peoples, to meet with us and to tell their stories in person. We will sit today and for the rest of the week to hear your stories on this very important part of Canadian history and the hardships that you have endured.

The object of this week's hearings is to complete the record. We will, in the week of June the 28th, invite the various authors of different reports to discuss their approaches and conclusions. These reports are referred to in government response and are the particular subject of comment in reports commissioned by the government. The Commission wishes to understand the reasons for the differences so that it can better evaluate the information which is before it. This would provide for a better and more complete understanding of the circumstances concerning some of the important aspects of the relocation.

Our goal is to complete the picture of what happened so many years ago in the Canadian High Arctic. We are very happy that you have come to make these presentations. Should any witnesses wish to present evidence in private to the Commission as it has done in other hearings, we are prepared to arrange for in camera presentations.

We are fortunate to have as our facilitator Mary Simon. Ms Simon was born in northern Quebec, has held various positions with different Inuit organizations, including the Northern Quebec Inuit Association, Makivik, the Kativik School Board, the Kativik Board of Health and Social Services, and so forth. She is the past President of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference representing Inuit from Canada, Alaska and Greenland.

Ms Simon has played a major role in developing Arctic policy principles on a wide range of domestic and foreign policy issues. Her efforts, along with other Aboriginal peoples resulted in the historical recognition of Aboriginal and treaty rights in the Canadian Constitution. In 1992, Ms Simon was appointed to the Order of Canada and to the National Order of Que-

Co-chair and Commissioner Georges Erasmus was President of the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories from 1976 to 1983 and National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations from 1985 to 1991



bec. Ms Simon continues to be actively involved in advancement of Inuit objectives.

Now I will ask Ms Simon to say a few words.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [English] Thank you very much. I would like to, first of all, explain the process that we will be undertaking during the hearings and after I do that, I will introduce the speakers before the main witnesses begin.

The week will be broken down into general areas and there is a schedule of presentations that is available both to the witnesses and to the public, if they wish to get a copy. At the beginning of each morning and afternoon there will be an opening presentation by one witness. This witness will tell their own story in their words as to what happened to them during this period between 1953 and 1955 and before and after those years.

The rest of the evidence and the testimony will be given by a core group of six witnesses, which are now before you, and I will introduce those people as they speak. As they tell their story, they will be bringing other witnesses to the table. Whenever anybody feels they would like to speak, they will notify Kurt Ejesiak, who will then tell me, and I will introduce that witness that wishes to speak to the Commission at any given time.

We want to let you know [Translation] – even after you have spoken, if you feel that you would like to speak some more, feel free to do so and before you speak, please indicate who you are, where you are from, and where you are residing now so the Commission would know exactly where you are from, where you came from, and where you originally are from. I would like you to go by that schedule.

I would be asking you periodically, for the information of the Commission, if you feel that you have not completed your testimony, then I would be asking questions for the sake of the Commission and if they feel that they have to ask a question, they will do so in order for everybody's understanding. I am here to assist the hearings here for the Commission and if you think that you need assistance, I can do that while you are presenting your testimonies to the Commission.

[English] We all recognize how important these hearings are and it is the first time the whole story is being told by the Inuit at one time and we feel it is very important that the whole story, that the Commission understand everything, and that is why I was explaining that there will be questions asked either by myself or by the Commission at any given time, so that the complete story will come out and be told.

[Translation] I would also like you to know that you are telling your testimony not to me but to the Commission, so please don't – you would have to ignore me completely because your testimony is for the Commission here and not to me.

[English] At this time the first person that would speak is Zebedee Nungak. He is the Vice-President of Makivik Corporation. He is very actively involved in this issue and he will be making a statement. So, I will open the floor to Mr. Nungak at this time.

**ZEBEDEE NUNGAK:** First, I am proud to speak in my own language in this setting. The reasons behind these hearings are very important and I will go into them now. Forty years and three months ago, in January of 1953, the Prime Minister of Canada chaired a Cabinet meeting at which

The core group of six witnesses includes: Samwillie Elijasiauluk, Anna Nungak and Elijah Nutaraq from Grise Fiord, Minnie Allakariallak and Simeonie Amagoalik from Resolute Bay, and Lazarusie Epoo from Inukjuak.

serious concern was expressed about increased American military activity in the Canadian Arctic Islands. A senior minister, later to become a Prime Minister himself, argued that the proposed American activity could result in infringement of Canadian *de facto* sovereignty in the High Arctic. The Prime Minister of the time agreed and directed that steps be taken to address the problem.

Forty years and two months ago, in February of 1953, the Deputy Minister of the Department of Resources and Development, the forerunner of today's Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, asked the Commissioner of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police for assistance in selecting Inuit families for relocation to the High Arctic from northern Quebec and from Pond Inlet on Baffin Island.

Forty years ago this month, on April 14, 1953, a senior official of the RCMP sent messages requesting that his offices prepare lists of volunteers for such a relocation. On July 25, 1953, officials of the Canadian government boarded 34 men, women and children from Inukjuak aboard the government *C.D. Howe* for the journey north. On the map we see first to Churchill, crossing Hudson Bay, then Coral Harbour, Cape Dorset, then Lake Harbour, then Frobisher Bay, then Clyde River, then to Pond Inlet and their destination. Once arriving in Pond Inlet there was an additional three people – where three Inuit families were added to the group from Inukjuak, one for each of the three proposed colonies.

In late August of 1953, five Inuit families were put ashore at Craig Harbour on Ellesmere Island. Two more families were added when heavy ice made it impossible to reach Alexandra Fiord. In early September of 1953 four families were put ashore at Resolute Bay, into a very different set of conditions and four more Inuit families were relocated to the High Arctic in 1955.

Today, almost 40 years later, seven of the relocatees, who have come to be known as the “High Arctic Exiles”, and a number of their descendants find themselves in the grand ballroom of the Chateau Laurier Hotel in Ottawa, a few hundred metres from the relocation of the meetings which resulted in their lives being thrown into turmoil, the meetings which resulted in so much pain and suffering.

How has it been possible for the Exiles to find themselves in such unlikely surroundings?

First, they had to survive. They withstood challenges that few other human beings could have endured. The relocatees to Ellesmere Island had to learn to find food in a land that bears little resemblance to their homeland in northern Quebec, and do so in the harshness of winter, in the total darkness that would leave most of us numb with depression.

The relocatees to Resolute Bay had to survive on margins of the largest military installation in the Canadian north. At times, this meant relying on the garbage dump. Both groups had to endure the isolation from each other – they hadn't been told that they would be separated until the *C.D. Howe* was almost at Craig Harbour – the isolation from their families far to the south, the isolation from the simple pleasures, such as picking berries or eating mussels, that were a part of their previous lives in Inukjuak.

But survive they did, and while many Exiles have returned to Inukjuak and Pond Inlet others have chosen to remain in the High Arctic, often because their children call Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay home and would be as

The Cabinet meeting referenced took place on January 22, 1953 and included a report by the Minister of External Affairs (Lester B. Pearson) on the current and proposed military installations of the United States in the Arctic. Pearson had concerns about *de facto* Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic, noting specifically that there was potential for questions about Canadian claims to “some relatively unexplored areas” to be questioned in the future, should there continue to be an increase in U.S. activity. The recommendation was to revive the ACND which had been inactive since 1949, and to direct the committee to “consider all phases of development of the Canadian Arctic and to report on the present situation and on the means which might be employed to preserve or develop the political, administrative, scientific and defence interests of Canada in that area.” See Document 27 of S. Grant (2016). The ACND would meet beginning February 1953. The complete minutes of the ACND (including this document) are available in Lackenbauer and Heidt (2019).

The letter from Deputy Minister H.A. Young to Commissioner Nicholson on February 20, 1953 indicates that relocation of Inuit is a current discussion among DRD officials and that the intention is to relocate Inuit only to areas where there are RCMP detachments in order that the RCMP can “assist these people in adjusting themselves to new conditions.” (See Document 30 in S. Grant (2016). The request for assistance in selecting Inuit families for relocation occurs in April. (See Document 38 in S. Grant (2016).

The initial plan was to land families at three separate locations - Resolute Bay on Cornwallis Island, and Craig Harbour and Alexandra Fiord on Ellesmere Island. When the *d'Iberville* was unable to unload Inuit and supplies at Alexandra Fiord due to ice, the ship returned to Craig Harbour and these families joined the settlement there in early September 1953.

out of place in Inukjuak as their parents were in the High Arctic. Today Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay are happy, healthy towns, the kind of Inuit community that I wish every Canadian had the opportunity to visit at least once. But today's happiness cannot erase a legacy of broken promises and broken lives.

However, as more and more of the younger relocatees finally began to receive the formal education they would have received years earlier in Inukjuak, more and more questions began to be raised. Why were we relocated? What promises were made by the government officials and why were they not kept? Is it fair and just for people in positions of authority, as the government officials were in northern Quebec in the early 1950s, to coerce Inuit in the way that even the government's apologists today admit they did?

The consciousness of the High Arctic Exiles began to rise at the same time as the political consciousness of Inuit across the Canadian Arctic began to rise. The national political organization representing Canadian Inuit, the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, was only formed 20 years ago, which is not long ago. Democratically elected representative organizations like ITC and its regional affiliates in northern Quebec, the Makivik Corporation, provided the Exiles with the organizational and legal support they needed to advance their claim for justice. It has been my honour and privilege to be a part of that process over the years, and I have come to have profound admiration and affection for the High Arctic Exiles.

We all thought we had won a major victory in 1990 when, after a number of the Exiles testified here in Ottawa, the all-party, non-partisan House of Commons Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs recommended that the federal government should issue an apology for the wrongdoings carried out against the people of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay, to be carried out in an official ceremony of the due solemnity and respect and accompanied by some form of official recognition of the contribution to the Inuit of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay to Canadian sovereignty and acknowledge the role played by the Inuit people who were relocated to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in the protection of Canadian sovereignty in the north, consider compensation to the Inuit of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay for their service to Canada and for the wrongdoings that have been inflicted upon them.

[English] We were overjoyed. Finally, we thought, justice would be done. But instead, the "second exile" of the High Arctic Exiles was just beginning. The federal government refused to act on the recommendations and instead hired a consultant to challenge the Standing Committee report. The Standing Committee weighed the evidence and repeated its call for an acknowledgement, an apology and compensation. A report prepared for the Canadian Human Rights Commission largely agreed with the Standing Committee Report. The federal government's response was to hire another consultant to write another whitewash.

So, we have had a situation where the High Arctic Exiles, when given the opportunity, tell their story, make their case, and have groups as diverse as the Canadian Human Rights Commission, an all-party standing committee, seeing the truth of their story and recommending that, yes, they deserve these recourses.

The behaviour of the Government of Canada with regard to the High Arctic Exiles since 1990 is, to us, a national disgrace and is it quickly becoming

The ITC formed in February 1971 to provide a national Inuit organization to voice concerns related to land and resource ownership in Inuit Nunangat, with additional advocacy organizations forming in the following years. The ITC's formation came at a time when Indigenous advocacy movements were growing and developing throughout Canada, including the National Indian Brotherhood (NIB). Makivik Corporation formed following the JBNQA in 1975 to protect the rights, interests and financial compensation provided by that land claim. Although the two organizations have different mandates, they have often worked together toward shared advocacy goals.

an international embarrassment. It has engaged in what the *Toronto Star* has called "a cynical exercise in semantics calculated to relieve Ottawa of its responsibility to finally make amends." But the High Arctic Exiles have not given up their struggle, they will not give up their struggle, and that is why we are all here today.

I might add also that you will hear from certain members of the second and third generation of the original exiled people and you will learn from them the extent to which this story and its facts are passed down from generation to generation since the original exiles of 1953 and 1955.

At the second hearing, which we understand will be in June, others can explain the significance of the fact that the pain and suffering that the Exiles endured was a direct result of the Government of Canada's breach of its fiduciary responsibility towards Inuit. This week you will not hear the Exiles speculate on the motives of government officials, whom they never met, nor discuss the geo-political implications of the Cold War in the High Arctic.

Commissioners, the people from whom you will be hearing testimony this week are decent, honest, hard-working, God-fearing people who will tell you the stories of their lives in considerable detail. At the heart of the Exiles' claim is their collective memory of the conditions under which they were relocated, of the promises that were made and then broken and the suffering they endured, the details of how they were profoundly wronged, how their sense of order and harmony and rhythm of life was brutally and violently disrupted and disturbed by this experiment.

But in order for someone to hear a story, there must be someone willing to listen to that story and that, of course, is why we find ourselves in this impressive setting; because you, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, are committed to healing some of the outstanding grievances that lie heavy in the Canadian soul and were willing to take the time to listen to the human beings whose life stories are one of these issues. These people have an aching of the heart, a crying of the spirit, a hurting of the soul that cries out for healing.

Commissioners, you are the only forum that exists at the present time for a range of issues regarding Aboriginal people and regarding the relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians. The Inuit Tapirisat of Canada and its affiliated organizations are committed to making a substantive contribution towards your work. Not only can your recommendations assist us in advancing our political, economic and social priorities, but Inuit also have a unique, important and progressive experience to share with you.

You have identified our four "touchstones", which you suggest must be a part of any positive change for Aboriginal Canadians: a new relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in Canada; self-determination for Aboriginal people within Canada through self-government; economic self-sufficiency for Aboriginal people; and personal and collective healing for Aboriginal people and communities.

Inuit have much practical experience to offer in regard to self-government and economic self-sufficiency. Two of our regions in the Canadian Arctic have implemented self-government and economic self-sufficiency strategies that have proven to be much more effective than anyone would have predicted at the time our land claims were signed. Three other regions, jointly called Nunavut, are about to embark on this course, and just two weeks ago the Inuit of Labrador tabled an agreement-in-principle with the federal and

provincial governments.

All Canadians have a right to expect meaningful, achievable and solution-oriented mid-term and long-term results from your Commission. It is unreasonable for anyone to expect you to have the answers before your work is completed, and especially not before you have completed your extensive public consultation process.

I can only hope that as you reflect on what you have heard and what you are about to hear from the Exiles, you begin to develop your recommendations that you give the Inuit experience the consideration it deserves. Inuit hope that in the near future you also demonstrate a commitment to genuine dialogue with our mature, responsible and democratically-elected representative organizations on a range of issues of deep concern to all of us. But as you begin to develop the recommendations that will comprise your final report, please do not lose sight of the need to spend the time required to address your fourth "touchstone", that of personal and collective healing for Aboriginal people and communities.

Your public hearings and special hearings such as this one have proven your commitment to the importance of listening to Aboriginal people and to taking our oral history seriously. You have heard the pain that exists in our communities and, by hearing it, you have given voice to it.

This is a difficult and sensitive process and not one that can be guaranteed to produce deliverable results during the life of your Commission. For example, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal peoples may not be able to "solve" the High Arctic Exiles issue. You do not have the authority to impose your conclusions, whatever they may be, on a government which, in the words of this year's annual report of the Canadian Human Rights Commission, has adopted a "rather grudging and ungenerous position" on the question. But you can do your best to heal this wound and through your commitment to do what you can, you are making a major contribution and for that we thank you.

As someone with a deep personal commitment to achieving a just resolution of this painful and shameful chapter in Canadian and Inuit history, for the sake of all Canadians I want to thank the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples for giving the High Arctic Exiles the public forum they require in order to tell their stories fully and completely and in their own words. We are encouraged by this sense of partnership which has made this special hearing possible.

Thank you.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Thank you, Zebedee.

[English] Our next speaker is Susan Aglukark. She is going to be speaking on behalf of Rosemarie Kuptana, the President of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada and she will be speaking on the importance of oral history.

Susan?

**SUSAN AGLUKARK:** [Translation] While I was following what Zebedee was saying, hearing about the hardships that the exiles have had to endure, I have prayed that this week's hearing would be useful.

[English] I just want to say, first of all, that I am very pleased to be here. I am honoured and humbled to have been asked to give this presentation on behalf of Rosemarie. Having followed what's been happening with the Exiles and their children and the pains and heartaches that have been passed

This is an important statement on the general acceptance of oral history in 1993, which becomes an important element of the conversation at the RCAP hearings. Legally, courts were not required to accept oral history until 1997 when the Supreme Court of Canada (SCC) determined that oral traditions must be "placed on an equal footing with the types of historical evidence that courts are familiar with." (*Delgamuukw v. British Columbia*, 1997)

Susan Aglukark worked for the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs as a Core Communications Coordinator in the Inuit division and as an executive assistant with the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada before becoming a Juno Award winning artist

on from generation to generation, I can only hope and pray that what will happen today and result in the hearings will be a good one for these people and for the sake of their healing.

I am pleased to be here today representing Rosemarie Kuptana, President of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada. Rosemarie could not be present at these special hearings of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples because she is in Amman, Jordan attending an important preparatory meeting for the United Nations World Conference of Human Rights.

The relocation of Inuit to the High Arctic during the 1950s began one of the most shameful episodes in Canadian history. In 1993, 40 years after the first families were relocated, this episode continues. This week you will hear the testimony of the High Arctic Exiles. They will speak of their experiences and, in doing so, you will understand the hardship and pain they have suffered and continued to suffer today in 1993. Their testimony is the most essential element in evaluating the relocation program and must guide any determination of how outstanding matter should be resolved.

Numerous studies and reviews of this issue have been undertaken in recent years and a great deal of emphasis has been placed upon the original intentions of the Canadian government. These intentions, while relevant, should not divert us from the most fundamental aspect of the relocation, which is that Inuit families suffered irreparable harm and damage because the Government of Canada decided that they should be moved over 1,000 miles away to a harsh, remote and unknown area of the Arctic.

Since 1978 the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, in cooperation with the Makivik Corporation of northern Quebec, has repeatedly called upon the Canadian government to acknowledge, apologize to and compensate the High Arctic Exiles. Instead of responding fairly and honestly to our requests, government's approach has been to deny history and attack the integrity and credibility of the Inuit witnesses.

Because of government's approach, it has become critical that the Royal Commission and all Canadians understand two very important features which provide a context for the evidence of these witnesses: First, that the credibility of Inuit testimony can only be evaluated by understanding the role and accuracy on Inuit oral tradition; and secondly, that the nature of the relationship between government officials and Inuit which existed at the time of the relocation program prevented any meaningful or real consultation with Inuit as to their wishes in this matter. I will briefly address these two items on this presentation today.

Inuit have resided in the Arctic for thousands of years and have developed a complex language and cultural practices which allow us to exist in harmony with our Arctic environment. Our continued survival has depended partially upon our ability to successfully communicate exact information about these practices and our environment to succeeding generations of Inuit.

Accurate observation and careful recollection are essential to the well-being of all Inuit communities. This attention to detail is reflected in our Inuktitut language. Inuktitut contains precise expressions for weather patterns, ice conditions, wildlife movements and many other environmental phenomena. In this respect it is similar to the languages of other peoples whose subsistence is based upon wildlife harvesting.

However, Inuktitut contains further features which facilitate the accurate

This is the most critical aspect of the High Arctic Relocations: Inuit families suffered immensely from 1953 onward as a result of the relocations and many families continue to suffer the effects of the relocation today. While many research and government reports have focused on the intention behind the relocation, its human effects - the *experiences* of Inuit who were relocated, those who were left behind, and the generations that succeeded them - are often missing from the record. This then, was an important goal of the RCAP hearings.

Societal values help shape the Inuit worldview and contribute to the ways in which Inuit interact with and experience their world. Inuit have explained that colonization and relocation throughout the Arctic disrupted the transmission of this value system in the twentieth century; some Inuit acquiesced to the dominating force of the federal government, forcing them into a society for which they had no compass. (See Tagalik (2012).)

communication of information. Formal linguistic structures in Inuktitut specifically distinguish between matters of fact and matters of supposition, between facts known firsthand to be true and opinions or speculations.

The second phase of the Royal Commission's High Arctic Exile hearings scheduled for June will provide us with a more appropriate forum for a fuller discussion on these linguistic forms. They are important for you to understand because they help demonstrate the high regard for truthfulness in Inuit society.

The linguistic evidence, when considered together with Inuit values and the patterns of our social relationships, reveal a culture where facts are treated with respect, where knowledge depends upon firsthand experience, and where opinions are offered and tentatively and only with formal linguistic qualification.

Detailed observations and an extensive body of knowledge is meticulously maintained with Inuit society and passed on by elders to younger Inuit. Inuit have repeatedly demonstrated the reliability of these oral traditions to non-Inuit. A recent, prominent illustration of this reliability is the revision of the accepted account of the Franklin Expedition due to the re-examination of the Inuit oral history, despite the fact that most of the information was collected from Inuit decades after the events occurred.

The testimony you will hear must also be viewed with reference to the relationship which existed between Inuit and *Qadlunaat*, or "white people", during the 1950s. To Inuit, this is best explained by the concept of "*Ilira*". Inuit use "*Ilira*" to refer to a great fear or awe, such as the awe a strong father inspires in his children or the fear of the *Qadlunaat* previously held by Inuit.

This fear of "*Ilira*" developed very early in our initial encounters with explorers, missionaries and traders. We quickly became subject to the overwhelming power and fabulous wealth of these *Qadlunaat*. They possessed guns and all types of wonderful manufactured goods. They also engaged in new and supposedly better ways of doing things and urged us to forsake our traditional practices and beliefs in favour of a Christian, *Qadlunaat* way of life. The origin of our relationship, therefore, was based upon the erosion of Inuit culture, self-reliance and self-confidence.

The rise of the fur trade, the expanding influence of the RCMP and the continued onslaught of western diseases during the early 1900s profoundly deepened this dependency relationship. As traditional subsistence patterns became impaired Inuit increasingly relied upon the *Qadlunaat* for many of their basic needs.

This relationship and the feeling of the "*Ilira*" to which it gave rise, meant that whatever the *Qadlunaat* suggested or wanted was likely to be done. *Qadlunaat* could make the difference between success and disaster, sustenance or hunger, and Inuit responded to their desires and requests as if they were commands. In this cultural setting, a challenge to the authority of the *Qadlunaat* or defiance of their requests was almost unthinkable.

This relationship also meant that the *Qadlunaat* developed a particular approach to Inuit. They took their authority for granted and presented a greater air of superiority since the Inuit were obviously so appreciative, eager to please, and becoming more dependent upon them. The prejudices and ideologies of the day asserted that the Inuit were indeed inferior and that the *Qadlunaat* knew what was best for the Inuit.

The Inuit concept of "*Ilira*" or fear and awe of *Qadlunaat* described the

The Government of Nunavut outlines Inuit societal values as including *Inuuqatigiitsiarniq* (respecting others, relationships and caring for people), *Pijitsirniq* (serving and providing for family and/or community), *Pilimmaksarniq/Pijariuqsarniq* (development of skills through observation, mentoring, practice, and effort), *Piliriqatigiinni/Ikajuqtiigiinni* (working together for a common cause), *Tumnganarniq* (fostering good spirits by being open, welcoming, and inclusive), *Aajiiqatigiinni* (decision making through discussion and consensus), *Qanuqtuurniq* (being innovative and resourceful), and *Avatittinnik Kamatsiarniq* (respect and care for the land, animals and the environment). For further reading, see Government of Nunavut (2024).

For further reading about Inuit societal values, see Mashford-Pringle et al. (2023), Tagalik (2012), and Tester and Irniq (2008).

For an excellent examination of Inuit worldviews and the many definitions across Inuit communities, see Gearheard et al. (2013).

The HMS *Terror* was ultimately found in 2016 as a result of Inuit oral history and knowledge guiding scientific efforts.

relationship from the Inuit perspective. Within these historical circumstances and this relationship of subservience and dominance, it was impossible for real consultation to take place. For this reason, it is very difficult to accept the position forwarded by government that Inuit were informed and willing participants in the relocation scheme.

The full strength and impact and credibility of the testimony of the High Arctic Exiles can only be understood and evaluated within the cultural and historical context I have briefly described today.

There are many opposing views as to the intentions of the Government of Canada and its reasons for undertaking this relocation. Whatever these reasons may have been, they are not important today in 1993. As Inuit and as Canadians, what is important and what we must be concerned about is the effects that Canada's decision had upon these Inuit families. A real, human tragedy has occurred. It is still occurring. The suffering goes on.

Canada must finally accept the consequences of its actions and recognize that the human rights of these Inuit families have been violated. This represents a serious breach of Canada's fiduciary responsibility to Inuit, which must be corrected through acknowledgement, apology and compensation.

In January of 1992 the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada issued a public statement calling upon the Government of Canada to stop denying history and begin the healing process. In the 15 months since that time, this government has continued its intransigence and compounded the pain and suffering of the High Arctic Exiles. In hearing the voices of these witnesses, it is our hope that Canadians will finally say to their government that it is time to close this sorry chapter in Canadian history.

Thank you.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** The next speaker is a lawyer, who will make a few statements in regards to the people here he will be representing. He will be speaking on the legal aspect of this issue — [English] Gilles Gagné, who is counsel for the Inuit witnesses for the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada and for Makivik Corporation, will make a statement.

**GILLES GAGNÉ:** Thank you, Mary. It was agreed with counsel for the Commission that the following statement would be read into the record at this time.

This hearing was requested by the Inuit known collectively as the High Arctic Exiles, who have not been compelled in any way to appear and testify here. The High Arctic Exiles have been encouraged by the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, the Makivik Corporation and the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples to come forward to give their sides of the story concerning the relocation from Inukjuak and Pond Inlet to Craig Harbour, Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in the 1950s and, at all times and in regard to all aspects of the relocation, to tell the truth.

The hearing before the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples have been decided procedurally as a non-litigious and non-adversarial process. They have intentionally been structured by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples in consultation with the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada and Makivik Corporation as a less formal process. As a result, the parties have agreed that their respective counsels shall not examine or cross-examine the witnesses, but instead simply allow the witnesses to tell their stories about the relocation issue.

On January 15, 1992 both Minister Siddon and the ITC issued statements responding to the Soberman Report. The Minister focused on the conclusion that the "primary motivations for the project were humane" and that sovereignty was not a primary reason. The ITC focused on the report's validation of Inuit complaints and the conclusion that the government had failed in its fiduciary duties. These conflicting responses prompted the SCAA to revisit its report to the House of Commons in February 1992, and ultimately for Inuit to testify before the RCAP in Inukjuak on June 8, 1992.

Inuit were represented by several lawyers who worked together at Makivik Corporation throughout this process. The lead legal representative during the 1980s, Mark R. Gordon, died in 1989.

Gilles Gagné served as counsel for Inuit witnesses for the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC) and Makivik Corporation during the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples Special Hearings on the High Arctic Relocations



However, a previous hearing on the High Arctic relocation issue before the House of Commons Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs and previous studies and reports by the Canadian Human Rights Commission, the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police have led us to the conclusion that it is advisable for the Inuit witnesses that will testify before the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples during the next four days to invoke the protection of section 13 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which provides as follows:

A witness who testifies in any proceeding has the right not to have any incriminating evidence so given used to incriminate that witness in any other proceedings except in a prosecution for perjury or for the giving of contradictory evidence.

This protection is, therefore, invoked now for the entire duration of these hearings.

Thank you.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [English] Thank you, Gilles.

At this point we will start to get into the main witnesses and I think that after we have our first presentation, I will call for a break because I am sure everybody will be wanting a break by about quarter to 11:00. So, after we have our first presentation, we will have a short break.

Our first speaker will be [Translation] – who has just been agreed to is Minnie. She will also present pictures. Please indicate who you are and where you are from.

**MINNIE ALLAKARIALLAK:** [Translation] Minnie Allakariallak from Resolute Bay. I am one of the Elders from that community. I was involved in the second move. We were going to go on the original trip, but we were left behind as my father did not want to move to another community. My husband, Johnny, was worried of being left behind, but he didn't want to leave my father and since my husband did not want to leave my father, we did not go on the original first trip.

The RCMP, using Josie Nowra as an interpreter came to us and they told us that we had to leave, "You have to leave to another community. The government wants you to move." Since they were telling us this and they were policemen, when the *Qadlunaat* or white men spoke, we were afraid of them, but they were just being directed or they were just following what they wanted to do. I guess, understanding today, they had their own intentions and sometimes they would not tell the whole truth and when they continued to ask us, but not all of it was true and we were left behind as my father didn't want to go.

Iqaluk Moses and my father don't have the same mother, but I'm the eldest of the children. When we moved, I will talk about the place where I was. There was firewood, there was plenty of food, seafood, codfish was the regular diet of ours and even in the wintertime we would fish for cod.

When we moved there, when there were seals, at the time – this is still in the original home – we had plenty of seal meat and fish. They told us, "You are hungry and you would have to move to where there is lots of game." That's what they told us originally. But there were lots of lakes in the surrounding, where there was fish and the fish would migrate and there will be plenty of fish along the shoreline. There was lots of food, bird, so we were not worried.

Minnie Allakariallak was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1955 at age 39

We were not thinking of moving anywhere else. There was lots of bush or firewood around and this was what it was like, the place where we left from. So, we had to comply with the government's request for us to move to another community. We thought it was the same because when the *Qadlunaats* or white men told us, we feel obligated to their requests and this I have been worried and anxious about the move.

I know that God has placed us here and we were imagining the place where there's plenty of vegetation. At the original place we had plenty to eat.

I want you to know I am talking about the Inukjuak-Povungnituk area in the summertime. I would like the government officials to come and visit Resolute to see how it was on our land so they will see for themselves how it was. How could they have sent separate families who left, who loved them so much, and never to see them again? We had to leave a lot of our families in Inukjuak, some of them that we didn't get to see again because they had passed away.

I have some pictures to show that were taken the first few years we had settled in Resolute because when we first landed and put in in Resolute land there was nothing as a shelter that we could get into. We had to use tents. I remember I had to use tents to stay warm. It was getting very cold. I remember my husband had to find some lumber to build a house from the dump.

I have a sickness called polio when I was younger and it was very difficult. I have difficulty walking and having to have polio before, it was very hard for me to be in the cold. They put us on the land that there was no shelter for us. We had to bring our tents and we put up those and later on we had to build our own houses from the dumps.

You know, it is very hard when you are disabled. It was very hard for us to be in the place. There was nothing to warm yourself up, no lumber to heat our houses, no lumber to heat our tents. I mean no one told us that there was no lumber for heat, no oil, no anything to warm ourselves. I mean no one told us that it was like our homeland in Inukjuak. It was like a desert, just gravel.

We were in some ways forced by RCMP. We used to be so scared not to say "no" to white people. It hurts my heart just to talk about. I mean I have to say this. My husband suffered so hard and my family. I'm saying what I'm saying right from my heart and it is not like – I mean I remember living in my homeland in Inukjuak. We used to be close, but at least we were used to it because it was our home and we had oils to heat our lamp, our *qulliqs* and our igloos. Then, we were told to go to a different land.

You know, what they should have done was to find out if it was a good place for us to live. I mean something that was so different, how could they have sent us there where there was nothing? At least we had seal oil to heat our lamps in Inukjuak. I mean the food was different. We were not used to eating different kind of foods that they have up north.

I remember they told us, "You will be home maybe in a year or two", and then after two years I remember my husband asking when we would be going back. I mean they wanted to go back afterwards because they were promised they will go back in two years. I remember our Elders asking almost everyday, "Have they told us yet that we will be going back, when we would be going back to Inukjuak." I mean we have no way of knowing. No one told us afterwards.

I mean when you think about it, it hurts my heart to remember that my husband, the eldest we had there, they were suffering. They wanted to see their families again in Inukjuak and they had no way of knowing how they would go back because no one told them again that you could go any time you want to, but they broke their promise.

That's all I will say for now. If I have any more to say, I will say them again later on.

This is the picture of the houses that my family, my husband built. These are the houses that we built ourselves without any government support or help. Those are the houses that my husband built and the rest of the families that was sent to Resolute and they gathered them up from the dumps. They weren't given to us by the people or the RCMP there.

This is the ship called *C.D. Howe* that took us to the High Arctic in Resolute. I mean there was nothing on that land. There was nothing to use, nothing to buy. Those are the first houses that were built in Resolute, built by those families who went up to Resolute with their own hands. They were no pull-horses, they had to carry them from the dump. Everything was done by hand all from the dump. There was an air force base when we first moved there. They were not allowed to come down and help us in any way. We had to do everything on our own.

You could see for yourselves. He is trying to put up his tent because there was no houses. There was just gravel, no big rocks to tie up your tents. I mean what could we do if there's a hard wind, there's nothing to hold up our tents. We had to fill up some boxes to put gravel on and tie it on. It was just gravel, nothing to tie anything.

I remember having to scrape a polar bear skin. It was cold. I remember it was cold. It was always cold there. July and August was always cold. We were used to warm weather. We didn't have any shelter to work and to clean the skins that we were asked to clean up.

Those are some of the children they have standing by the house that my husband built from the dumps.

This man is Amarualik and his wife and his child and he was from Pond Inlet, who was asked to come up to help those Exiles from Inukjuak. He and his wife were asked to come up to help those Exiles from Inukjuak. I remember receiving a letter from my daughter and my son-in-law that they helped so much when they had first come up to Resolute, to a strange land which was dark 24 hours a day in wintertime.

In August there was no nurses or doctors in Resolute. So, *C.D. Howe* had to come in every year to check up on Inuit people there.

This picture is a picture of my family. We believe strongly that we used to worship together. My husband was the lay reader – helps to have sent his services in our house. We strongly believe that we kept together and asked our Father to help us.

Those are some of the pictures again that were born after he had been to Resolute, after my husband had built a new house for us.

This is all I will say now. Thank you very much.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Thank you, Minnie. The pictures that you were holding are going to be presented by Zebedee to the Commission Members so they will have a better chance to review them, if you want to speak further.

We will break for now and when we come back from our break, the other

Members —

[English] We will take a short break for now, a -minute break, and we will return in minutes.

— Short recess

— Upon resuming

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [English] I would like to call the meeting back to order, please.

I would like to introduce the six witnesses that are before the Royal Commission at this point so that the Members of the Royal Commission will know which witnesses will be speaking.

To your far right is Samwillie Elijasialuk. He's formerly from Grise Fiord. Next to him is Simeonie Amagoalik from Resolute Bay and Lazarusie Epoo from Inukjuak. Then next to him is Elijah Nutaraq formerly from Grise Fiord and the lady next to him is Anna Nungaq from formerly Grise Fiord and Minnie Allakariallak from Resolute Bay, which you have heard from already and she will be speaking again. These are the six witnesses that I spoke of earlier this morning and they will be giving their testimony in a certain order so that they can tell their story the way they would like to.

We are going to start off the testimony with Simeonie Elijasialuk formerly from Grise Fiord. [Translation] Simeonie, you go ahead.

Sorry, I made a mistake. That is Samwillie Elijasialuk.

**SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** [Translation] I was moved to Grise Fiord in 1953. I was at the age of 17 back then. I would like to say, first of all, the group that has been relocated – we are glad that we are able to present our testimony. In the past we have had testimonies and this is true. We will be presenting the hardships we went through.

I am glad for the opportunity to be able to speak here. You have given us a tremendous lift. We had previously sort of lost hope of having any way for the government to listen to us, although our story and the truth of it is unassailable.

We were delivered to two locations, which were very different in themselves to our previous surroundings. I myself had written a letter to the Minister and the reply that I received was that the Minister told me, "I thought you had lived in Resolute Bay." I am going to give copies of this correspondence and the reply that I received to you later on in the proceedings.

I am very glad of the opportunity to have the opportunity to speak to you here and now I am going to speak about how we were handled and how we were treated in the course of this.

I think all people, all human beings, have distinct attachment to the place where they grew up and were raised. I think it's true of everybody that there is a certain affection that people have for their original surrounding. We were sent to a very, very different place from where we were born. This affects us to this very day.

When they were recruiting or selecting people – that is to say, the RCMP who were doing this on behalf of the government – I am going to first of all speak that we were fully satisfied with how life was treating us in our original homeland. We did not ask anybody to be moved. What I am going to relate to you is how we were treated and how we were mistreated.

It's been said many times that we were living in poverty and that we were starving, but that's not true. We had all the full range of equipment

necessary to make a good living. I know in my own individual case my uncle had two large boats, which we use as equipment for hunting and sustaining life.

When I was growing up, I did not know any extreme hunger, but I started experiencing this when I was moved to the High Arctic. It is because in those locations there was no trade goods, there was no food and groceries available in any measure in the new locations. I'm just mentioning these in passing before I really get down to speaking and relating how things were conducted.

I am going to show you where we were taken. He is showing the routes and this is where they were landed. We were landed in Craig Harbour and then later on, very shortly afterwards, moved to another location that was absolutely desolate of anything sustaining life.

The reason given for moving us further was that if we were located in that place which had a certain limited presence of white people and *Qadlunaat*, they were very concerned that we may be a strain on the supplies of that particular police post. So, we were moved further in order for us not to be a burden on the police, who had a small outpost.

When we landed in the other place, the people that went to get supplies for the first time had a very narrow escape with death in trying to get to the police post to get supplies. I am going to describe this in more detail later on. I'm just mentioning it now.

The one thing that I want to make very clear from the beginning is that having survived this and having gone through this, it has an ongoing continuing effect on our lives for those of us who experienced this and I know that this is going to have an effect on our children and our grandchildren. I know that the descendants, the children and the grandchildren of the original relocatees are going to make sure that this issue does not die and that it does not get ignored any longer by the government.

All of us have our living with pain resulting from this and we will never stop pursuing solutions to this. We are going to be bothering the government practically forever until some solution is found.

It's also been said that when we make our case and certain replies are made to what we say, we have a pain in our heart and it was a result of deception and being told lies or being promised things that nobody ever had any intention of fulfilling.

When I heard my mother and my father relating what they were told in the evening, they often said that they were promised – they were told they would be promised plentiful caribou in the new land and they were told they have the freedom to return back to their original homeland after two years, if they so desired. But what we found there when we got there was very, very different. We were told right off that, "You can only catch one caribou per year for your family. That's the regulation.

Also, "You are not allowed to kill any musk-ox. You are liable to a \$5,000 fine or be arrested if you kill any musk-ox." My question is: Why did they even bother mentioning caribou and musk-ox and the plentifulness thereof when they were trying to recruit these people.

Also, besides, they said, "You will have the freedom to return if you want to." So, people went with the idea that, yes, they will have the freedom to return after two years, but this turned out to be a very big lie. People who returned did so – the first groups who returned did so at their own expense

having to pay their own way.

When we were still in the High Arctic and our parents attempted to make the case for returning, they were told outright that there's no possible way for them to ever go back and in fact some government officials said, "If you want to return, you are going to have to find other people to take your place before we allow you to go back." This was said by people where no appeal was available to a higher authority. When an approach was made and that answer was, "You have no recourse", we had no way to get at higher authority to appeal to pursue this decision. We have been lied to in a great way.

My father lived for only eight months after our relocation into the High Arctic. He did not even last the year after we were relocated when it sunk into him that it will probably never be possible again for him to ever return to his original homeland, ascertaining that what he had been told about plentiful wildlife was absolutely not true, and he died of a broken heart.

He had a heart attack resulting from a severe depression that was caused by having been lied to and learning that what he was told was not true. Many of our older generation and adults have suffered depression caused by broken promises and finding out that what they were told was not true. So, their lives were irreparably damaged by this. We make a point of relating all this to our children so that they do not forget.

I said earlier that human beings have a tendency to have a very fond attachment to where they were born. When we took up the promise that we could return and mentioned it and were told that, "No, it's not possible for you to return", it has broken our spirit, it has broken our lives.

When we were still back in our original community, we did not initiate any move to be moved out of there. This was imposed upon us. It was said earlier that white people in those days were feared, that their word was taken as authority, and it seemed that if they insisted on something it's not wise to try to counter the white peoples' wishes in those days.

Our parents are now buried in the High Arctic. They are buried there having been lied to by the government. They were made promises that the government had absolutely no intention of keeping. In those days, also, there was no communications, readily available communications, and the only way they could communicate with relatives back home was through letters in those days.

Now we had cases and know about cases where letters being sent to their relatives were torn by the RCMP. My own mother's letter to her relatives I found at the dump torn. So, these are the type of things that cause hurt in our heart and when we say them, we are telling the truth.

That's all I'm going to say for now, but I will speak further later on.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Thank you, Samwillie.

Simeonie Amagoalik is the next speaker, Simeonie from Resolute.

**SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] Thank you, Mary. I am very happy that you have taken the responsibility to transport us here and to give us the forum to speak. We are going to speak again on stuff that we have spoken of previously and the facts don't change, but we, nevertheless, feel it necessary to relate them again to you.

I was a young man, I was a young boy in 1953 in the Inukjuak area. I had a father and a grandfather when I was a boy. My father was a very active

Paddy Aqiatasuk, sometimes referred to as "Fatty" in government records, was born near Inukjuak and relocated to Grise Fiord in 1953. A skilled soapstone carver and father to Larry Audlaluk, Paddy expressed a desire to return to Inukjuak almost immediately upon landing in Grise Fiord. He is noted to have suffered from isolation-induced depression and died within eight months of the relocation. His story is detailed in Audlaluk's autobiography *What I Remember, What I Know*

Simeonie Amagoalik was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1953 at age 20

boating man, transporting supplies to Povungnituk because the ship could not go to Povungnituk. So, he had an open whale boat with a motor. He was one of the first ones in the area to attain that equipment.

When I was 20 years old, my younger brother and I, who were fatherless at the time, were able to use my father's former dogs, although he was now dead, to hunt animals and harvest wildlife. In those days, any man who was able to catch fox was economically well off and in those days my younger brother and I were attaining the ability and competence to catch foxes. So, we were gaining confidence and getting better at this activity.

When the police came – and they came very soon or very well into the season. It was actually a month before we were going to be put on the ship. The government had been planning this for years well before, but we were informed of this request about one month before the actual ship. My brothers-in-law were living in another camp. His sons, who are still alive, are here in this room.

I myself was newly married at the time and the police told me that my brothers-in-law would probably agree to go to the High Arctic if I myself could agree to do so and my mother-in-law, Minnie, sort of pushed me on. I myself had questions in my own mind about why do we have to do this, but this was being said by a policeman, who was armed, an armed policeman, and an armed policeman in those days you don't argue with very much.

In those days, we did not have councils or municipalities and it was thought in those days that the white man was all powerful, next to God, actually, and you don't argue with him if he insists on something. So, my nieces and nephews, whom I would have grown up with if we had not been disrupted, now are living all over Canada. Some are in Inukjuak, some are in Ottawa, some in Yellowknife, some are in Resolute. They are all over the place. It has disrupted our family structure very widely.

Now it has been said that the *C.D. Howe* took us up to the High Arctic, but we were taken ourselves by the icebreaker *D'Iberville*, not the *C.D. Howe*, to Resolute Bay. When the police came to our camp, he told us that there would be many of us, Samwillie's father and his parents, with a mixture of Inuit from Fort Chimo. That's what we were told.

So, when the ship came with people from Fort Chimo on board, I asked them, "Where are your women and where are your children? Where are your wives and children", and he was told by them that all they were doing was going to work in Churchill, so they weren't bringing any wives and children.

When we went beyond Pond Inlet, we were separated into different groups and when they started separating certain groups, my older brother, who couldn't really look after himself, was designated to go to Alexandra Fiord. That's how insensitive the police were. I had to eventually go get him myself by dog team from Resolute to Craig Harbour.

The government who did this relocation simply dumped us on the ground, dumped us on the shore, and we were forced to live off the garbage of the white men. The police, who was conducting our lives in all ways possible, was doing his best to prevent us from going to the dump. We used to have to act like criminals and sneak around to get life-sustaining food from the dump and here we were, having been plucked out of an area that had just about everything, berries, vegetation, and all sorts of different varieties of food. Here in the High Arctic we were now living only on polar bear meat and seal meat. Those were the only two staples.

Although documentary evidence suggests that government had been planning the relocation for only a few months with the ELF program approved only in mid-March, the time between contacting Inuit and the arrival of the ship was extremely short. For Inuit, the period between discussion of relocation and the relocation itself was perhaps only two months as the local RCMP detachments received notice mid-April to begin recruiting and the *C.D. Howe* arrived in Inukjuak in July to carry relocatees to the High Arctic. Minnie Allakarallak, who moved in 1955.

The *C.D. Howe* left Montreal in June and arrived in Inukjuak in July to transport Inuit to the High Arctic. It then travelled to Mittimatalik via Churchill and Coral Harbour before arriving at Craig Harbour. At Craig Harbour Inuit were divided into three groups: one group was put ashore at Craig Harbour; the other two groups were transferred to the *d'Iberville* and attempted a landing at Alexandra Fiord. When this failed, the *d'Iberville* returned to Craig Harbour and landed a second group there before continuing on to Resolute Bay where the final group was landed in early September. Inuit from Fort Chimo were part of a different relocation project that transferred them to Churchill for wage employment. They were considered for relocation to the High Arctic, but it was determined that they would not be a good fit given the lack of housing available.

We left behind us in Inukjuak teachers, spiritual advisors, stores. The government told us that they were going to help us out in the new locations, but there was absolutely nothing in the High Arctic locations.

So, the eldest of our people died off very quickly and my wife had several infant deaths, some infants born to us never lived long enough because it was too cold, there was not enough food, and then there was also many of our people sick. When the police, who were the only available medical personnel, had to look after people, all he fed them as medicine was apple juice.

That's it for now.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Thank you, Simeonie. Lazarusie Epoo will be the next speaker.

Are you ready now?

**LAZARUSIE EPOO:** [Translation] Yes. I would like to speak on the matter of – well, I'm not one of the Exiles, I'm just directly related to many of the people who were relocated themselves, who were sent to the High Arctic.

I treat Minnie like my own mother. Although she's a relocatee, I grew up under her care. So, she has related to us what pain and suffering they went through.

I'm very happy to be able to tell my particular story. I'm very glad to have this opportunity to be able to tell this story.

I lived and grew up and worked with many of the men here before they were relocated. We developed as young men competence in the skills necessary for Inuit men to have at that time. We had not any knowledge of government's intentions and life as it was before it was interrupted was this. We were learning the skills as young men to be hunters when we parted company with my relatives here and I would like to relate this.

All of us had dog teams, we had kayaks and some of our camps were well equipped with large boats, peter head style boats, which sustained life and were able to be used. Some of these people themselves were in possession of small whaleboats and I was still living with them and working with them and hunting with them at that time.

I was able to learn many of my skills from the parents of these people, Andrew Iqaluk, Simeonie Amagoalik, Jaybeddie Amagoalik; these people and many others. Many are here that I grew up with and their parents were sort of like my parents, Johnny Eckalook, Allie Patsauq, Salluviniq and Isa Paddy. All the adults that were involved were all somehow related to me or, if they weren't related, they taught me my skills as a young hunter and we were well taught in the skills that we required to survive and to support our families.

Some of the people that I am talking about, Johnny, Allie Salluviniq, Philipoosie, Elijasialuk, some of what they were told have never turned out to be true. I cannot forget the facts, I cannot forget what was told them because I was very well aware of what they were told when they were being recruited. What they are saying now to you is true.

What they are saying is not lies, but the truth, and I am very glad to be able to tell my part of the truth because we were left behind by our relatives who were sent to the High Arctic. We have been touched also by the departure of our relatives. They are cousins. Not all of them, but many of them are my cousins. I had the opportunity to work and hunt with them before

Lazarusie Epoo was born in Inukjuak and remained there following the relocations. He is considered one of the "left behind"



they were sent to the High Arctic and I was able to have very solid family relations with them before they were shipped out, these people, Simeonie, Jaybeddie, Jackoosie, Andrew. So, I know them very well.

I don't have much to say about what happened to them after they were relocated, but I do have something to say about how life was like before they were relocated. None of us were at the time independent enough to make our own decision to go or not to go. I myself was prevented by my parents from following the relocation exodus.

Back in Inukjuak, as I said earlier, we were very well equipped. We had dogs, kayaks, boats, knowledge, knowledge of the lay of the land, and we had absolutely no desire to move out of there and relocate to some sort of promised land of plenty. It never even crossed our minds to want to move out of there at that time. This is the truth. I am not lying. I was part of that life.

The wildlife available and the varieties of wildlife available was very widespread and people were able to make a very good living off of small game, for example. Ptarmigan, for example, they are a very good food, and small game birds, bigger game birds. All of these were used for food. Fish. Our area is well stocked with many rivers with many different species of fish and we were beginning to get to know where we could get these.

We were gaining confidence and skills and we depended on the advice of our parents to get to know where to catch these life-sustaining wildlife species. So, we were not in any way disposed to thinking let's move out of here. I have to make it absolutely clear that poverty and starvation was absolutely not a reason for those of our family members to be shipped out.

Larry Audlaluk's father; I want to use him as an example. It's been said by Samwillie that he lived only eight months after their relocation. He was a very, very competent hunter. He did not own a boat, but he was an extremely good hunter and he was one of the best. He was also an excellent carver. He was also a very generous provider to many families and camp groups. So, he was a very well respected hunter.

I have also heard how he was described by government officials in archives. He's described as poor, as sort of a badly disposed sort of person. That I know is not true. So, some of what he was promised has never turned out to be true and that's what I'm trying to relate here.

I am going to speak more on these later on, but now it seems like I have said too much already. I'm going to make other points later on. That's all I will say for now.

Thank you.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Thank you, Lazarusie. I am going to save my questions until after all you speakers have had your say.

I would like to ask Anna Nungaq now to speak.

**ANNA NUNGAQ:** [Translation] This is Anna Nungaq. I was relocated to Grise Fiord with the original group and back then when we were told that we were leaving, my immediate family was never in a place where there were *Qadlunaat* at our camp. We were picked up by a dog team because we were told that our parents are leaving to a far away place, but we weren't informed that this far away place is dark for many months. Larry's father came to pick us up by dog team.

We weren't hungry. I don't remember going hungry at all in Inukjuak. We

The RCMP report from Craig Harbour in 1953 describes general conditions and includes one paragraph on Paddy. See Document 60 in S. Grant (2016).

Inukjuak consisted of many smaller camps near the trading post, some of which were extremely isolated and the RCMP did not visit all of them.

didn't have a father then because he died when we were very young. So, our uncle used to provide for us. He had a big boat. He provided for us until we were old enough to look after ourselves.

I remember we never went hungry in Inukjuak. Whatever the men went hunting for, they used to get it, even beluga whales, and when we were in this new place in the High Arctic, we used to think of all the food that we used to have back home and we used to speak to each other saying, "Gee, I wish I could have that." For many years we never saw any fish. A number of years later we eventually had some fish.

When we first got there it was a very strange place. First of all, I'd like to say that the relatives that we left behind – like we were picked up by dog team and we were supposed to wait for the *C.D. Howe* to pick us up then. The dog team went to pick us up and we were to wait in Inukjuak for the *C.D. Howe*. When we were waiting, my grandfather already started missing our original camp and he came by. My grandfather came to see us for the last time. He came by kayak and he had already missed us between the time that we were picked up by dog team until we were to board the *C.D. Howe*.

When I left my grandfather, although I missed him, I couldn't stay with him because my parents told me where to go and we abided by their wishes. If you defy what your parent is telling you, it was not possible back then. For the first time I left my grandfather, who raised us. We were relocated. When we were going by *C.D. Howe*, I remember looking at my home for the last time. It's too painful.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] If you want to rest now and continue later, that's fine. You can do that.

**ANNA NUNGAQ:** [Translation] When we got to where we were going, when we got to Pond Inlet, more Inuit got on board. We were told that these are the new people that we would live with and when they got on board, the family of Salluvinik and Simeonie, we thought we were going to be living together, but we got separated again. We were separated when we got to the High Arctic and we were wondering what we were going to do. We thought we were going to be kept together as a group.

I thought I was going to be living with Sarah and I was crying at the time. I was sorry I had left home. Even then we were almost moved to a different location again, but Patty did not agree and I still appreciate for him, for the decision he made, because he could not leave us. Again we got separated.

We were to be separated again and I was wondering how can I do this, I'm not capable of surviving on my own. We got to a place where there was absolutely nothing, no housing, no medical services, and since I'm disabled I was wondering how I was going to survive because when I was two years old, my youngest sister died. But the information I did not get before we were relocated is, "You are going to a place where there's no medical services." They should have informed us that.

They should have informed me because I was disabled and that's the main reason why I've been hurting up to date, is the fact that they separated me from my grandfather and the fact that they separated us again and we were landed to a very cold place and the ship – they just left us there and we saw the ship sailing away and we were just dumped in a place where there was absolutely nothing.

I will continue later. Thank you.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Thank you, Anna.

Minnie, you wanted to continue?

**MINNIE ALLAKARIALAK:** [Translation] I appreciate for giving another chance to speak again. What Anna is saying is true. Those are the facts. That's exactly what happened. They left with the original group and they were separated.

Simeonie also mentioned what it was like back home, how their father passed away due to lung cancer. He missed his friend. He will be with Johnny. That's what he told his friend when they were kids. Now, they became orphans. Simeonie married our oldest daughter and he helped us when they got married and they helped us and we helped them. We did not have any sense. We have a daughter. We have seven daughters and some of them are here, Sarah, Lizzie, Dora, Mary and Elizabeth.

Elizabeth was born in Resolute Bay and the boy is back home. When we were in Resolute Bay the boy was born. I just wanted to say that beforehand. This is how it was. My daughters, some in Sanikiluaq and one in Spence Bay.

Lazarusie also was speaking to this. The grandmother. We had our late grandmother, Lazarusie's, mother's mother.

We left them past the *Qallunaaq* or white people – white men told us that we were leaving. Now, when they were kids, they used to be with us, but when the time for us to separate or to leave them, when the *Qallunaaq* told us to leave, we had to leave them behind. Our uncle did not comply to come along and his wife, although they were scared or afraid at the time, they were reluctant in not complying.

Lazarusie mentioned how it was difficult for him emotionally to be left behind because there was lots of crying, lots of emotion. It was quite emotional when we had to separate and this was really difficult for us, leaving our home, and those of us left behind. It was really quite difficult for all of us.

And hunters, when they had a successful hunt, we would share the food equally. During the summer time, spring – during the spring when the seals were basking on the sea ice, all of our men were all equipped with kayaks. We used to sew kayaks for our men. We had the joy of life as we went about it. We had absolutely no care in the world at those times and we had very good family relations, even with those who were not directly related to us by blood. We were happy in our original homeland.

So, we were shocked when we were told that we should leave this place. We were not clear on the reasons. It was a great strain on us when we had to divide, we had to part company with people who were related to us and some of our family members did not have parents to look after their security.

We were under great strain. It was very traumatic for us when we were parted. They were crying and when they were boys they had grown up together and their friends were parting from their homeland. These same boys we with such great joy built the kayaks for. We prepared the skins and we dressed them in such a way that we bleached the skin because that is the way it glides more easily in the water.

What Lazarusie and Simeonie related is that, yes, they were happy in the old homeland. They were getting competent in the skills required by men to support a family. We were living in a place where there was plenty of fuel available, wood, and we were moved to a place that was so desolate that not even something to use as toilet paper was available on the bare desolate rock.

Sarah Amagoalik, Lizzie Amagoalik,  
Dora Pudluk, Mary Attagutluk, and  
Elizabeth Allakariallak.

Now, when I brought pictures that I wanted blown up to demonstrate or to illustrate for you what sort of conditions we came to live under, I cannot even speak about how much of a strain it was for us to depart from our family members, not only for our behalf, but on the behalf of the people who we were leaving behind.

There has never been such a trauma as hard as that in our lives ever. My oldest child was now leaving us. My father did not want to go with the original relocatees, although we were recruited as part of the original crowd.

I have taken some notes that I intend to cover, but I want to make sure that anybody who has ears hears about our story. This is how we were treated. We did not have any care in the world when we were still in our original homeland.

We did not want for anything. We were secure. We were happy. It was such a great strain for us to have to go through this experience of parting with our relatives.

What Anna has related also is very true. We were devastated by what we had to live through. Anna's adoptive father died of a broken heart, it has been said earlier. Yes, he died of a broken heart. He was very depressed by what happened to him.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Elijah, perhaps we can take a break first and you can start at 1:30 and there will be questions we would like to ask of you after this afternoon, so you are going to be the last speaker, and then we will have questions. So, we will break for lunch now and we will return at 1:30 p.m.

—Luncheon Recess at 12:05 p.m.

—Upon Resuming at 1:30 p.m.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [English] I think we are ready to begin again. Welcome back everybody.

[Translation] The people who were speaking earlier did not finish so the next speaker is Elijah Nutaraq.

[English] – earlier today during the morning session and the speaker will now be Elijah Nutaraq.

[Translation] You can now speak, Elijah, if you are ready.

**ELIJAH NUTARAQ:** [Translation] My name is Elijah Nutaraq. I am originally from Inukjuak area. In 1953 I was part of the people that were relocated.

I would first like to express my thanks for the opportunity to be able to speak to you. I thank you very much. I have always dreamed of having my day in this such setting and now the opportunity here and I want to tell you my part of the story.

I have been to Ottawa three times. This is my third trip to Ottawa to testify on the events surrounding this issue. I am speaking on my own behalf, but I am also speaking on behalf of all of my relatives back in Inukjuak. For this reason, I now have knowledge of two sets of locations. One is nearer and one is further and I will describe both of them.

I now have knowledge of two sets of geographical locations. We have four adoptive children. We do not have any children of our own. They are all grown up now.

I was employed for a time back in Inukjuak but now I am supporting

Elijah Nutaraq was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Grise Fiord in 1953 at age 10

my family only by unemployment insurance. We are poor. We have been relocated and back again. We are unable to pay our rent and, therefore, our water delivery has been cut.

We struggle to make ends meet. Most of my children and relatives do not work. I have two adopted daughters and two adopted sons. One of my daughters has a boyfriend. We are here, but we are very poor.

I know of two lands and it causes me pain and I am very torn between the two of them, especially when my children talk about either of them.

I thank you again for being allowed to speak.

Now, I would like to start from when we first lived in Inukjuak. Now, I am going to speak.

I remember when I was on my mother's back, riding on my mother's back as I was growing up. My father died when we were very small. We grew up without a father, so we have memories, both pleasant and unpleasant. We have much to relate. We lived with our relatives, with my mother and my mother's parents and their various relatives and other extended family members in a camp between Povungnituk and Inukjuak.

I did not grow up in Inukjuak itself. I grew up in an area between Povungnituk and Inukjuak. That is where I grew up.

I returned in 1988 from the High Arctic and I do not know all the areas that I would probably be required to know had I lived there all my life and never moved. I spent many, many years away from that geographic area.

In 1953 I was 22 years old. I was a young man of 22. I was well known from my early years and so people make me secure and feel welcome on that whole coast even now. Now I would like to talk about their circumstances that surrounded our return.

When I was growing up and was still small, my mother's brother owned a boat, so our relatives were always equipped with a sizeable boat that they could use for harvesting wildlife and when my mother's brother was capable of being a hunter and a capable provider, during the war years he got another boat and therefore the camp itself was equipped with two large boats, although only one was in use at the time, so that was our situation at the time.

I do not remember ever experiencing hunger and our extended family was able to catch lots of foxes and so were able to support the families and I was beginning to follow on hunting trips and we were able to catch foxes. So, we lived a secure life at that time, never having experienced hunger. They were well equipped with dogs.

Then when I became more able to hunt and I was able to operate my own dog team, I was able to live much in the same style as my extended family relatives. Although we were fatherless when we were growing up, we were helped and we were able to learn those skills.

Now, in the winter when we living in the High Arctic, we lived in an area that often had the sure fast ice get blown away by the wind and it was a very different set of geographic area.

In Inukjuak we were able to have a much larger variety of food and wildlife. To my experience, it is an area that supports a very wide range of life and sustenance. It does not have any big tides and so we can get around and we are very mobile. We can get in and out of areas without too much problem, so in the Inukjuak area we had access to all these.

When I was able to build my own igloo, I used to go hunting and when

we were still living in our original camp, I gained a reputation for being a very good sharpshooter of seals, so our meat caches were always full, our meat cache which was made of snow. So, we lived a plentiful life and I remember that very well.

Now, when we grew up a bit more, we started learning about the land because in those days there were no jobs, as we know them now, available. All we could be was be hunters and when we wanted to visit other camps we were able to do that with complete freedom.

I never knew even from visiting other camps of anybody experiencing hunger. The only thing I can say is that there were some certain species that were rarely taken, such as polar bear or other species of wildlife that was not plentifully available, but was every once in a while caught and people shared the resources of these amongst the different camps, and I am describing this practice in the camps between Povungnituk and Inukjuak.

I would like to stop for now and allow somebody else to speak.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Thank you, Elijah.

The speakers have ended the first round of presentations. I have a few questions. Perhaps the Royal Commission members will have some questions themselves and questions I want to pose and I know you are going to have a lot more to say in the course of the hearings and in relating your experiences.

Lazarusie, something you said earlier I would like to ask further. You said you were not one of the relocatees to the High Arctic and you were describing your life in Inukjuak or in the Inukjuak area. You made a brief summary. Can you please restate that part of your testimony. How did you find out about the government's intention to relocate your relatives? How exactly was that done? Can you please clarify that.

**LAZARUSIE EPOO:** [Translation] I can say and I can only speak from personal experience because my relatives were relocated, were not actually living in the same camp at the time as I was living. We did not live in the community itself, although we did not live far away.

Our relatives came to us. We were in our spring camp and in our spring camp we would stay there until the ice broke up. So, the police came to tell me and they had an interpreter who was actually interpreter for the Hudson's Bay Company. He was a very competent interpreter. He was an elderly man and I was at my prime. I was in my prime in those days and I was very competent in the matter of going after animals and wildlife, whichever species they may have been.

I myself was absolutely ready to go on the relocation project because we were told or informed that there were lots of wildlife and lots of animals in the new land and according to what I heard I liked everything that I heard because they gave us a very good description.

Do you want to ask another question?

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] You and Anna mentioned Paddy. What were the circumstances surrounding Paddy?

**LAZARUSIE EPOO:** [Translation] Well, when I mentioned Larry Audlaluk's father, I can only state what I myself know, not what I heard from somebody else. Not all of us were all competent hunters, but hunters were known by their reputation and they lived in a camp that we had to pass by whenever we travelled. We did not live in the community of Inukjuak itself, although we went there to trade as did all other camps.

Their camp was right on the road and so everybody knew him. He had a very good reputation as a very able provider. I do not quite remember if he travelled very, very long distances by dog team, but I knew about him, that he had all equipment and he was competent in everything that he did, so I know for sure that he was not picked for being a poor hunter.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] When you were describing a recruitment drive or the efforts to recruit people for the 1953, was he one of the ones who were recruited?

**LAZARUSIE EPOO:** [Translation] Well, I do not quite know because we did not live in the same camp so I would not be able to provide exactly what he himself was told. I can only relate to what I myself know. I was not supposed to listen in any of the meetings and the descriptions, so I know from directly having heard the men and the elders of the community who were being met by the RCMP, so I know what they were told.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Anna, do you have anything to add to this, Anna?

**ANNA NUNGAQ:** [Translation] Where, in Inukjuak? Well, when we were in Inukjuak and we had a not a worry in the world when we were relocated. So, this having happened to us, it seemed like a sorry affair. We used to abide by what our parents and our relatives decide so we went along with the decision. I regretted that we went along with the decision when we were up there.

I longed for the food, the fish, the various species, especially fish. We never had any more fish when we lived up there. We never had any vegetation to eat. We did not have any more small game birds as we used to have in Inukjuak. We never were hungry in the summer season, even in the winter when we lived there originally, when we were living in Inukjuak and we had no thought of being sent away from here. We were in fact forced and we can never forget this. When I really think about, the people who were never moved from the Inukjuak area seemed to be so content and comfortable whereas we who experienced the relocation are suffering tremendous burdens.

I have six children. I was relocated before I was married. All my children were born in the High Arctic. I have had three children who moved back with me to Inukjuak, but my only son has moved back to the High Arctic because it's his home. It's where he feels he belongs.

For me, Inukjuak is my home and I could never forget it. Even after all these many years I was always, always homesick. I had a very heavy longing for home and so having experienced those sorts of emotion myself when my son, who happens to be my only son, expressed a longing to go back to where he wants to be, I had to go along with his decision. I myself am well fed in Inukjuak, so my son can stay where he wants to be.

When we were told about the High Arctic, we were told that it was a land of plentiful wildlife, but what they did not tell us was that it was all rock, no vegetation, very desolate, very bare of any resources. They should have told us that. I myself do not quite know how the police prepared the families because I myself was gotten after all the preparations had been made for the relocation so I myself am not intimately familiar with how did the RCMP prepare the family members for relocation.

So, Samwillie, who is my brother, who living actually with my parents – I myself was not at the time – is more familiar with the way the police handled the preparations.

We lived in a camp in between Povungnituk and Inukjuak. My two brothers have said this already and I can only agree with them.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Thank you, Anna. Are you ready to answer questions, Minnie?

When you were talking about being in the second wave. After the first group went up in 1953, you said you went up in 1955. Can you clarify further why it was that you were later, you came later, what were the reasons for that? If you can explain further the reasons for that, please.

**MINNIE ALLAKARIALLAK:** [Translation] I used to have the surname Eckalook when my father's name was Eckalook, but we changed our name to Allakariallak. We were first named Eckalook who was my father. We had our names changed when we were in the High Arctic. He was our father and he was our leader.

What has been told to you by the other speakers is the truth. We did not all live in exactly the same camps, but we were very familiar with each other and we very often met and we were all related and had extended families.

It is true, people's family relationships were very solid and extended in those days.

My father did not want to come along in the relocation project and I said that earlier, so we came later. Our oldest child, Sarah, who is married to Simeonie Amagoalik, was sent on the first wave and she was pregnant at the time and they went without us because we had originally been planned as part of the first group, but we stopped, we did not go with the first group.

It is true that this has to be very well understood because we were worried sick about our relatives going up to the High Arctic. My husband was very worried about the security of this group that was first going up, but my father would absolutely not agree to going up with the first group.

Then, again, this present set of people at the time were not developed yet as adults and so they went by the leadership of the elders and followed the advice and decisions of the elders at the time.

The RCMP officer in Inukjuak – I don't know his name, but he had Josie Nowra as interpreter and we knew him very well.

So, all that has been said is true and so we were all familiar with what we were told and then the police started coming and they started being quite insistent that we should agree to relocate to an area that had plenty of wildlife. They never told us the disadvantages. They never told us about the extended periods of darkness. They never told us about the lack of vegetation up in the High Arctic. They only told us there is lots of seals and lots of walrus.

I have to say also that species of wildlife, for example, walrus, depending on what they eat, have a flavour and smell. I can say that the seals of Pond Inlet taste different from other places. Grise Fiord seals taste different. Each location has a distinct, even the same species, but a distinct smell and flavour.

The people who were originally sent were mainly youngsters, very young adults, and they were sent up first. They were sent up first and then it was our turn later to go and be relocated and this was based on the advice and decisions of our elders.

Can I speak about what happened when we went to Churchill?

Minnie's testimony here outlines the various stages of family separation that occurred as a result of the High Arctic Relocations - the first wave of relocations in 1953 separated families between Inukjuak and the High Arctic, as well as within the High Arctic. The second wave in 1955 re-established some of those family relationships, but also created additional separations between the High Arctic and Inukjuak. When Inuit finally did return in the 1980s, this created yet another separation of families, with many children of the original relocated Inuit staying in the High Arctic, the only home they knew.



So, when the first group who was now in the High Arctic and had been there and we were also aware that they could have returned after two years. That is what they were told.

We did not in those days have any reason to keep on travelling to the main posts unless we had a need to get supplies, ammunition, fuel and other food items. We were always living out in the camps. We never lived in the sedentary community.

In Inukjuak there was a trading post with two *Qallunaat* manning it and eventually there was also an RCMP post, so when it was our turn to go after the first group, we had to leave our group, our family behind in the camp and they were all crying. We did not know where we were going. We had no idea where we were going. We were crying. Parting relatives were crying as if they were attending a funeral.

We had absolutely no idea what sort of situation geographically we were going to. It was as if we were leaving with our eyes closed. It took us all day and all night to travel across to Churchill. We travelled all day and all night to Churchill, as I said. We arrived in Churchill. When we got there, we were encamped across the river from where the settlement of Churchill was. It was very windy at the time and when we were first delivered by a barge across the river, many of our household items drifted away. They somehow floated away by the tide. All our belongings, they were trying to deliver all of our belongings to the place where we were going to be encamped.

Nobody seemed to bother with replacing these items or even being concerned about the loss of them. These were our willow mats and other items that were very important to us, household items.

I have the same father as Andrew and Jackoosie but not the same mother. There are four of us all with the same father. There were two of us sisters and two brothers, all from the same father, but not from the same mother.

We lost a sewing machine at that time also. It sank. They were lost and nobody seemed to be very concerned about their loss although they were very important to us. We did not have any proper matting to sleep on and having suffered this loss, we had to pitch a tent up in Resolute eventually.

We were in Churchill for two days. We were encamped across the river.

I do not quite remember what the ship was doing. Perhaps it was loading on something and there were quite a few tuberculosis patients on board. There were no air strips at the time and aircraft was not the way yet widespreadly used in the north.

So, you see on the map the communities that we covered on our journey to the High Arctic and we were all throwing up and vomiting all the while because we were suffering from sea-sickness. We were never allowed to get off the ship and land in any of the places where the ship stopped. We were not allowed to land there. We had to stay on the ship all the time.

We were able to land in very few of the places and I do not quite remember which ones. I remember we went to Coral Harbour and we were taking this journey with the first group having already been there.

Because nobody was able to give us a description during, we had a hard time keeping our eyes closed because it was daylight at all hours. We were very sleepy, but we could not sleep. We were expecting the sun to set and get dark. This is what we were used to, but this was very strange to us. We were not used to it.

Pond Inlet was the last place where we encountered any other Inuit. As

it turns out, that was the last place that was occupied by Inuit. We were delivered to a place that was desolate of Inuit, having left behind a whole host of relatives back home.

When the first group who had been quite literally dumped on shore, they were dumped on shore and left by the ship right away that had delivered them, we got there. There were no rocks or stones to use as anchors for the guy ropes of the tents. It was just basically bare rock and many of our household items had been lost in Churchill.

Fortunately, we had a wood stove that was not lost and our tent had not been lost, but many of our household items had been lost when we were pitching our tent across the river in Churchill and our children, Rynie's daughter and my two daughters, we left them in Churchill because they had tuberculosis. When we pitched up our tent across the river, we left them. They were expecting to get off with us. They were very ill, although Dora was the oldest one. Our eldest daughter was already married at the time and they had left at the first trip. I can just see it today what we went through. We cannot forget it.

That will be it for now.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Yes, you will be given another chance to speak. We will still have three days so you will be given another chance to speak again.

Although I have more questions, I will not ask any more questions at this time because there are people who are ready to speak.

Simeonie, did you want to speak right after her? Go ahead.

**SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] As I said earlier how we were approached regarding the relocation, I want to explain a little bit further. I have four children. I have three sons. They live in Resolute. My relatives here, they have gone back to Inukjuak. My children think they belong there because that is where they grew up and that is why I am still in Resolute Bay.

When I am asked the question whether I will be returning to Inukjuak, I cannot answer that now because I don't know what decision I will be making in the future. I often think that maybe once my children are well or have grown up, maybe I will go back.

When police approached us, he had a good interpreter, so when the police first approached us, they went and approached different people down south of Inukjuak, but they did not agree to that, so they found people who would agree to go.

When we got to Churchill, we were taken to the other side of the river because where Inuit were and *Qallunaat*, they did not want us to associate with the *Qallunaat*, but there was also an Indian guy living across the river. That is where they brought us and I thought maybe he was also mistreated like us.

When we were on the ship, we used to eat meat that was like rice and they used to give us a little bit of tea and so after that some men used to keep their teakettles and we were kept in a very small space on the ship that was better, but when we got on the other ship, it was even worse and there were oil drums all around us. Maybe they were just trying to burn us up. That is how we were transported.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] The second group of people will also speak. The first person to speak about the second part of the sched-

ule and Samwillie Elijasialuk will start off the second part of the discussions here.

**SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** [Translation] Thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak.

In regards to the question that you asked about Paddy, I would first like to clarify that. When you asked that question, I should have answered that question, but I was living with my parents and I went with my parents because their son, although I grew up with my grandfather, I remember just before we left in the spring, in the month of May, the snow gets soft and we start taking our traps from our trap-line, me and my older brother went to pick up our traps and the snow was getting very soft and that is when we heard that the police had recruited Inuit for the relocation.

Since the snow was very soft, because it was in the month of May, we couldn't even pick up the rest of our traps and we left them where they were. Even though we had to leave our traps, we were told that we were moving to another location. We were told that we had to move and we had no choice but to leave our traps where they were.

We were told that we would be gone for two years and I know now that the reason why they told us that we would be gone for two years was because they wanted us to agree to it. They told us there was a lot of caribou meat and we were told so we decided that we would go to a place with a lot of caribou and a lot of seal and where there is musk ox. That is what I heard.

At that time, the police, the officials, did not approach me because they felt I was too young, but I heard this from my parents that we were going to a really nice place.

Since this is not the truth, when he realized that what he was told was not true, he did not have the willpower to live any more. That is why it did not take him long to die.

Since we were promised that we would be returned, we requested for that, but the answer was always no, you can't go back.

I would like to be clear on the government's decision to send us up north. Back in 1920, there are buildings that are still up, but the people that were sent up north used to go back to where they came from. They said some years it was vacant because looking at the map, you can see that the only way to get up there is by ship and the government had decided where to get the Inuit that would not be able to go back. They said their reasons were you will go back in two years and there is plenty of wildlife.

When my mother wrote a letter to her relatives back in Inukjuak, I found the letters that she had wrote when I went to Resolute Bay by dog team, I found the letter that she had written. It was torn and in the summertime when the ship got there my grandfather was still alive and my mother said that my father had died.

When my mother found out that the letters that she had written were never sent and they had been opened up and when she heard that her father died, she cried and it hurts me today that the letters that were written were never sent.

I wonder why, why did they do that? How can anybody open up a letter that is not yours and read it?

They used to tell us that they would call by radio and relay the message, but no, there was never any messages sent through their radio. Those are the

The second part of discussions relates to the process of relocation from Inukjuak.

lies that they gave us, and they used to open up these letters. After they read them, they would throw them in the garbage. To date, they still touch us in our heart and the letters that had been torn and thrown away and the lies that were told to us.

Is it right for us to be treated like this by our fellow Canadians?

They say there was plenty of food. There was nowhere to go shopping for food and when we ran out of supplies, if we ran out of flour in April, if we ran out of tea, the next time you would have tea would be in August. That is where they brought us, to a place where there was no store.

The government used to say: "What use is your money going to do you if you have no place to spend it?"

There was no store at the time. We would go without tea for so long, without bannock. My money would be set aside and I remember not having these necessities.

I was young at the time when the relocation took place and the fact that we did not have tea or bannock, our main diet was seal meat and the government moved us where there was no shelter and we were moved into a location where there was no *Qallunaag* or white man and telling the truth and the letter that I wrote to the government I have received a response.

You were close to the air force, the armed forces, that is the response I got with the letter I sent.

I can give that to you. They did not want to respond in the right way to my letter so you will get a chance to see that letter of response. Some I agree with, however are not true, so you will see that yourself. So, I wanted to bring that up.

He lived only eight months, that's true. His younger brother, William, who was an employee of the RCMP at the time, asked me when I arrived back in Inukjuak: "Did my older brother get dragged to his death by a walrus?" I was asked. I said: "No."

So, this was another lie. The RCMP told my stepfather's brother that he died a hero's death, that he died being dragged by a walrus. This was a total fabrication. This was absolutely untrue, so he was said to have been dragged by his death by a walrus. I know for a fact that he did not die being dragged by a walrus. I know he died of a broken heart when he came to realize that he was never going to return again.

I would like to talk about Josephie Flaherty. In 1959-60 -, around those years, before we had federal teachers - I would like to slow down a little bit here for the interpreters - Josephie said that when he went to request a return to his original homeland, he was given the following reasons for refusing his request. There will be an establishment of a school, so you shouldn't return to your original home community. You have lots of children and there will be education for them now. That is what he was told.

Josephie Flaherty did not even get a chance to ever see his stepfather again. So, Josephie Flaherty, when he requested a return back to his original homeland, he was refused by the RCMP. This happened around 1962 when a school was being established there.

I am only relating what he told me himself about how he was treated when he requested return, so when he was refused, he was a very healthy man, he was a fast runner, he had a very sunny disposition during part of his life, but ever since his heartfelt request to return to his original homeland was refused, his disposition towards life totally changed. He was no longer

pleasant. His life was changed for the worse. It seemed he lost an alertness, he lost a vitality of life. He went downhill after having been refused.

I, myself, returned in 1979 and when we parted company he cried. This is part of the hurt in my heart. The government has done a lot to deceive people and actually lying to them to entice them to come along on this project.

Now, I would also like to say that I went by dog team and that trip when I went to Resolute where I found torn letters of my mother, I am not quite sure now of the year, but I was on a dog team trip from Grise Fiord to Resolute, and on that particular trip I was accompanying some RCMP officers and their special constables.

On that trip I happened upon two white RCMP officers. Fortunately, my dogs had picked up their scent and they were going to certainly freeze to death had I not come upon them and I saved their lives. We have never been thanked. We have never had any mention from the RCMP records that Samwillie Elijasialuk saved my life. This has never been seen in their reports. I know for a fact they were going to die and they were not going to live.

I built them an igloo with a small knife. I saved their lives and I have never received any thanks. For this reason I am very unhappy because I was told by one of the officers that perhaps he wanted to pay me, but he told me that you are not going to be paid for any of your work in Resolute because you are amongst fellow Inuit. I spent over one month working on their behalf and I was told simply: "You are amongst your fellow Inuit, so we are not going to pay you."

I had to feed the dogs of the RCMP, keep them tied down, make sure they were well fed, and right now I am asking why was I never paid for those services? I have many things in my heart that I have to get off my chest.

When I expressed a desire to return back to my original home community, I returned, but I was given many excuses. People tried to dissuade me very aggressively, actively, in my efforts to return back to my homeland.

When I expressed the desire to go and return, the police used to tell me: "Your original homeland is now governed by a bad bunch of people", so my comeback was: "If they are living in a bad land, I shouldn't be here in the promised land while my relatives back home are living in a terrible place. If they are going to be mistreated, if they are going to live in a bad land, I deserve to be with them." That was my reply. Then, I also said this when the point was made to me, "are you going to leave the graves of your mother and your father?" I said, "yes, I am going to leave their graves. I am not Jesus. I am not going to resurrect them." So, I always had counter-arguments, fortunately, unlike many others who could not really argue with those sorts of points.

I am very glad that we are able to get all this exposed to you. I am going to speak again further, but I am going to stop here for now.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Thank you, Samwillie.

Before you speak, Simeonie, Larry would like to speak. Larry.

**LARRY AUDLALUK:** [Translation] I live in Grise Fiord. I am going to speak in English.

[English] I am Larry Audlaluk from Grise Fiord. I was only three when we were relocated from Inukjuak to Craig Harbour, then in later years, to Grise Fiord.

Larry Audlaluk was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Grise Fiord in 1953 at age 3

I would like to add a little bit to what my brother, Samwillie, had to say about my father's death, how the government tried to portray him as a hero death, as a hero who died hunting walrus, when in fact, as my brother said, he died of a broken heart.

I would like to add to that fact my brother saying that his younger brother being told by the RCMP in Inukjuak that he had died while hunting walrus. That is a very true statement.

When I was only eight or nine years old I went to a hospital with an RCMP plane via Frobisher Bay at the time, now called Iqaluit. I went to stay with some relatives down there and one of the first questions they asked me when they knew who I was: "Is it true" – this is in Frobisher Bay, not Inukjuak; this is in Iqaluit, in Baffin Island – "is it true that your father died while hunting walrus with kayak?" I said: "No, my father died in our tent."

Then years later – this is more recent; let's say five years ago, because my father, Aqiattusuk, was a very outgoing man. Every chance he had he used to go on shore on *C.D. Howe*, en route, as you see on the map, all through these communities, much against the government's wishes, when we were not supposed to get off the ship, and many Inuit people from Baffin Island remember him. More recently, as I say, five years ago, as I stated, I met a man from Lake Harbour who remembered him. Much to my surprise, he said: "Are you the son of Aqiattusuk who was relocated who came by on that *C.D. Howe* ship?" "Yes". "Is it true he died on a walrus hunt with a kayak?" The same question, the third time in my lifetime.

That only can mean that the government with the RCMP communications system probably published my father's death as a hero's death in the new land that he was moved to, pioneering this new land that he was moved to as a big event, when in fact, as we say, it was not true at all.

The other statement I want to say about my mother receiving mail that was opened, Samwillie, my brother, said it happened during when the ship came and brought the mail. I remember my mother on another occasion in the wintertime, when my brothers and other people went to Resolute, when they used to go and get some supplies by dog team – this story will be told later about these going to Resolute Bay for supplies when the trading post runs out of supplies – my mother receiving a letter from Inukjuak via Resolute Bay because it was an air force station which received regular aircraft, my mother received a letter from Inukjuak via Resolute Bay to Grise Fiord by dog team and I remember her very upset and saying: "I received a letter, but it was opened." Somebody had read it.

So, what my brother says about open mail, it happened. I heard it myself.

That is all I have to say for now. Thank you.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Thank you, Larry. Any of you sitting amongst the seats down there, if you want to come here and wish to speak, you are entirely free to do so. All you can do is indicate to me your desire to speak. I would like to ask Simeonie Amagoalik now to speak.

**SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] Thank you Mrs. Simon.

I probably was not too clear and I would like to clarify when the police came to tell us, to recruit us, came to tell us, they said: "You are going to return. You have the freedom to return after two years if you so desire." So, after the first year, or even before the whole year was up, by springtime, one of my brothers-in-law went to the police and said: "Look my two years are

not up, but I would like to return" and right away he was turned down.

When the annual supply ship came, we were gathered outside by the government officials and we asked them: "Are we going to have to wait another year because you told us previously we could return after two years? Do we have to finish those two years or can we return now?" And the federal officials said this to us: "Perhaps it would be better if you could just ask your extended family to come up, invite them up the High Arctic instead."

So, the federal government, who had the RCMP doing its work, had the message conveyed by the RCMP in Inukjuak to our extended family members: "Your relatives up in the High Arctic want you to go up to the High Arctic." We, ourselves, never said this. We, ourselves, never requested that our family members be shipped up, but the government, because it was all-powerful, made the point that your relatives who were now in the High Arctic request that you move up.

It is hurtful. It is painful that the government has the dishonesty to have done this. This should be examined on an international human rights level.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Jaybeddie Amagoalik.

**JAYBEDDIE AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] I am Jaybeddie Amagoalik. I am from the 1953 group, relocated in 1953. I have returned to Inukjuak in 1980, so I now live in Inukjuak and I have been living there for 13 years now.

After a long, long absence from my family, certain family members, I have now seen my relatives, sisters of my wife, older sisters, younger sisters. I have never seen them for 13 long years until now. This is one of the effects, the after effects, the devastating after effects of the relocation.

It is wrong. It is hurtful. It is not comfortable having to live under such conditions. Now, I would like to concentrate my comments now on the actual ride, ship ride, itself up to the High Arctic.

We went by ship, first to Churchill and as I said earlier, we pitched up our tents across the river from town and we were given a white whale as food and we spent ten days there actually and we were already homesick back to Inukjuak. There were big tides in Churchill and it was strange. It was very different from Inukjuak. The sea and the behaviour of the weather patterns were already very different from Inukjuak, so we were on the ship for a long time. We got on the ship in Inukjuak in July. The weather was beautiful. It was warm. When we finally landed in Resolute it was autumn and it was snowing. It was snowing for the winter and we were already not eating right. We were longing for fish and birds, so our physical situation was weakened by the time we landed and we were not very well protected against the cold as a result.

The icebreaker, *d'Iberville*, took us in very thick ice conditions. Some particular stretches in the summer, or as it was late summer, we never saw water. We were going through solid ice fields and the sun was up all the time. We were totally disoriented by the difference in weather and climate and ice was already very solid. The sun was up all the time. It never disappeared over the horizon and we found out later that the ice conditions are like that up in that particular stretch of Canada. So, it was a shocking ship ride.

I have quite a bit to say about other things, but I am trying to concentrate my efforts now on the ship ride and I am going to say quite a bit later on other issues and I am going to be as truthful as I can to you and you are going to for sure want to hear from me again. That's it for now.

Jaybeddie Amagoalik was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1953 at age 18

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Sorry for the misunderstanding about the name.

Elijah, were you going to be next? Yes, go ahead.

**ELIJAH NUTARAQ:** [Translation] I would like to carry on from where I left off. Please be aware that we are here trying to co-operate on something and I appreciate that you are here giving us a forum to help us out and I hope you write down the facts as you hear them. We are trying to give you as truthful account as possible of this whole episode.

I would like to pick up where I left off earlier when our stepfather who was now married to my mother had lived not very far away from the community of Inukjuak. It was a long, very long occupied traditional hunting ground or camp. We were aware that it was a very long occupied traditional place.

The question usually comes up as to how many times the RCMP came to our camps to express their insistence that we relocate.

We lived not too far away from the post itself and so when people were aware that they were going to be moved or relocated, it caused some sort of worry and when it was time for us to go, we were given new duffle cloth. We were given the inner layer of a parka. Some got denim cloth for homemade pants, material made for homemade pants, so we were given duffles, socks and duffle parka.

When my grandmother heard about what her grandchildren received, she asked that she see what exactly they were given so when Anna, my sister, sewed something here – duffle socks.

The government officials were not very happy with the clothing and what we did with them right away, so they issued these items of clothing and were unhappy already with what we ourselves and our women did with them to try to make them suit us.

When we went to Churchill or when we went across to Churchill, we spent one night on our way to Churchill. We were given a sort of porridge or a soup. It was boiled. I do not know exactly what was in it. It was stringy, strandy stuff. We were not quite sure what exactly it was, but that's what they were feeding us when we arrived in Churchill – Jaybeddie said earlier we were in there for ten days.

Then on to Coral Harbour after ten days and in the course of the trip we eventually got sick and tired of the food which was always the same. Our dogs, who were on the ship with us, were being fed pork fat and this was issued as dog feed but because we were never given any fat of any sort, we sneaked in quite a few pieces of pork fat that was intended for our dogs, and our parents and elders were absolutely famished for country food, traditional food, by the time we reached Cape Dorset, and, lo and behold, when we landed there there were people some of whom we recognized and who had food to offer.

I lament for the fact that we should have gotten off the ship right then and there in a place that had familiar food. It is not shown on the map there that Ponito (ph), which is in Cumberland Sound, is not shown as a stoppage place, whereas we went there. So, we passed through Ponito (ph), but we did not land there because we were told that there was a flu epidemic or a common cold going around.

Beyond Ponito (ph) we ran into high winds. It was very rough seas and very high winds and the *C.D. Howe* was pitching and rolling. The window, if



you were looking out, would be sunny one moment and very dark the next. That's how much it was pitching.

Our household items and other utensils and goods were covered with a tarpaulin on top of the ship. Our dogs were strewn about on top. Our household belongings were simply covered with a tarp on top of the ship on the deck. None of the items were in the hold.

At the time I was quite a young man and I know that there was so much of it on the deck that it used to impede my ability to get around the ship.

The wind was so high that the whooshing of the wind made normal conversation impossible and we were travelling against the wind. Then, finally after having gone through all this terrible weather, we arrived in Pond Inlet and it was not getting dark. I am leaving the conversation now.

Before I leave, before I say how we were divided, how the families were divided beyond Pond Inlet, I am not aware of all aspects of that particular episode, but I am going to be able to add from what I know of that particular incident.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:**[Translation] Thank you for having your say. Samwillie will be able to speak again after two.

**ANNA NUNGAQ:** [Translation] I will speak about the trip on the ship. During that time, as Elijah was saying, my brother, about the high winds, we could not take it and even the dogs were just howling and the *C.D. Howe* could not even have lights on because of the wind. We were in the dark during the high wind and we couldn't even eat and we couldn't see each other and we could hear our dogs howling.

The food on the *C.D. Howe*, we really got sick of it and we were missing our regular food, the fish and we missed having a lot of tea. The Inuit usually have a lot of tea, but we were never given a lot of tea. We really missed our food.

The trip was very long. We would get a little bit of food from the Inuit where we landed, but we couldn't really get off the ship.

Although we were going on this trip on the *C.D. Howe* I remember my mother was sewing a tent and when I think back I think my mother was really working hard then.

I was a young woman. I was not married then and when we were in Grise Fiord I got married and my husband is dead now and my inlaws are dead and I returned to Inukjuak leaving the grave of my husband.

A lot of *Qallunaaq* have approached me and asked me questions and some have taped me and some of them write down everything I say and even though when we were still in Grise Fiord, they used to interview me and tape them on tape and after we returned to Inukjuak the same thing happened. People interviewed me and put it on tape.

When we had decided to go back to Inukjuak, my husband was looking forward to going back to Inukjuak. He wanted to get back to Inukjuak while he was able to hunt and we were looking forward to our trip back, but unfortunately he died before he returned. He used to tell me that we would sell our belongings and return to Inukjuak, but shortly after that he died.

When I requested to go back to Inukjuak, even though after my husband had died, I was asked the question: "Why would you want to leave your husband's grave?" My answer was: "I am disabled. I would like to go back to Inukjuak and, God willing, I will see him again in another lifetime."

So, we returned back to Inukjuak. I just thought about my husband who really wanted to get back to Inukjuak, so when my brothers were returning, I wanted to go back too.

It is very hard when you return, when some of your family members are missing. You had left as a whole family and when you come back some of the family members are missing. It is really bad and it is hurting.

I have left my husband's grave and I returned to my relatives in Inukjuak who were in good health. They were fine and some of our relatives that we had left behind also had died. My only uncle, Johnny, had raised us and that is the main reason why I had really wanted to come back to Inukjuak. All my aunts were gone. Although we had returned back to Inukjuak, now I am back because I wanted to, but I am still hurting.

Some of my grandchildren who grew up in Grise Fiord, that is their homeland. Martha's little son, who grew up in Grise Fiord, who is 11 years old, keeps asking us when are we returning back to home.

It hurts me a lot, and even one of my grandchildren, Joanassie, although he had wanted to go back to Grise Fiord, now he has gone over that and one of my grandchildren, he keeps saying: "Even if I am alone, I am going back home", because he was born there. The ones that have been born up in the High Arctic, it still hurts us because although we are back in our hometown, the older ones, the young ones who were born in the High Arctic are homesick. Every time he is down or sad, he keeps saying: "I want to go back to Grise Fiord."

The answer I give him is: "When you get older, after you have your education and after you have been able to make some money, you can pay your own trip and visit."

One of my daughters, Martha, she is not complaining about having returned to Inukjuak and she helps me in that way, but one of her kids keeps saying: "When are we returning?" The answer I give them is that I don't know.

Sometimes he doesn't speak about returning, but he still brings it up. Every since we landed in Craig Harbour, it was really bad. It was cold, no wood, and we were told that we would be moving again by ship to another location. Because we were told that, I thought that the boat that was going to move us would be a boat like my uncle had.

There were lots of musk ox, too, where we went. We were told that there were a lot of musk ox where we were going so I thought some rocks were musk ox, but no they were not.

After we were landed we were relocated into another area. This place was rough, nowhere to go. It was pretty desolate. There was hardly any firewood and before the snow came, we did what we could do to try and get firewood because there was hardly any place to look for it. Maybe we were moving into an igloo after the snow comes or later in the winter.

We stayed in a tent. We hardly got any supplies and all winter there was no plywood or anything and throughout the whole winter we had rocks as our floor and there were no flashlights or lamps, no houses, just tents, and it became dark when the months came around.

We do not use lamps during the summer months. We had our heads down and would keep ourselves warm by the small fire and our parents would look for ice to make water, but one time they came back with nothing. If there was no seal oil, we would have easily froze to death. We used the

seal blubber for oil to keep the fire and not knowing where we were headed and not having known or seen the surrounding, it was really difficult. Like I said, we landed in Craig Harbour, where we were landed and some things that have not been said I would like to say.

Immediately after we arrived in Craig Harbour, how come the police killed the dogs? How come parents they were told to clean the dog's skins and they were not paid and I wonder why? So, that's it for now.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Thank you, Anna.

Sarah, are you ready? Go ahead, you are free to speak now.

**SARAH AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] I may not be very clear. This is Sarah Amagoalik from Resolute Bay. I have been living in Resolute Bay since 1953. I was a girl then. I was about 18 years old and I love my mother. This is my mother and I am with my four sisters here. My oldest one was my first child. She was born on the ship.

I did not bring any of my sisters who would help me, leaving my mother, my parents. I was happy because I was young. It was going to be my first time on a ship. It was the first time I saw a ship and I got on one, leaving my parents, leaving all my sisters. I did not have any of my close relatives with me, although I have my husband.

I was happy when I got on ship. This is my first time on a ship, but my happiness started to fade when I saw, looking at my parents who had gone to see us off. They were in a canoe and the ship started to pick up speed and it seems like we were going nowhere. That was at night.

I didn't really understand it back then, but we started getting into a strange place when we got there.

It started getting colder and it was not – kind of dusk, getting darker, and every time we stopped in various communities, there would be Inuit there and we were travelling all summer. The Inuit that we met, they used to feed us.

Shortly after we left our community, this was my first pregnancy and I was hungry. I didn't like what they were feeding us on the ship and I didn't like the taste of the water and I was always thirsty because I didn't like the water that I was drinking on the ship.

The dogs were given some food. I used to eat the whale meat when the dogs were being fed because I was hungering for the traditional food. So, that is how I was at that time, but things got harder and harder when we landed in the High Arctic. In our first year in the High Arctic, that was very difficult. I almost starved to death in my first winter in the High Arctic and I almost starved my baby.

I was not aware of anything wrong myself and I was not aware that I was doing anything wrong, but I was not able to eat anything for about a month. I lost my appetite. I never ate anything other than tea and I was feeding my baby, breast-feeding my baby, and I was unintentionally starving him by losing my appetite. Also, I did not know how to wean a baby. I did not know how to bring up and nurture a baby. So, I was going through this experience.

What brought my appetite back was my uncle, Allie Patsauq who is no longer living, went to the garbage dump and scrounged some cans of food, sardines. He picked up a few of those items from the dump and I started eating again and my baby, I was told to stop breast-feeding my baby because he was going to starve if he kept breast-feeding from me because I was

The RCMP slaughter of Inuit dogs in the 1950s and 1960s was discussed several times throughout the RCAP hearings, but was not thoroughly addressed following the RCAP final report. The Qikiqtani Truth Commission in 2015 explored the issue in-depth and in 2024 the federal government issued a formal apology. For further readings, see Qikiqtani Truth Commission (2015), and Goldring (2015).

Sarah is referring here to her son, Paul, who was born onboard the *C.D. Howe* in July 1953. The translation between Inuktitut and English often confuses pronouns and gender.

not healthy enough to give him nourishment and when my baby stopped feeding off of me, when I started eating, I started getting my health back. I started gaining my weight back and my appetite back and, likewise, my child. So, both of us started getting healthy again. That is what I experienced.

Also, the other burden was that we stayed at home while our men were out hunting or out somewhere all the time. It seemed that I was the only one in Resolute with my baby on my back. When I went out with my baby on my back, the only sound I could hear was ringing in my ears. There was absolutely nobody else in Resolute other than the very few people that we had living with us in the community.

Our men used to be out for, what seemed to me, like months at a time and our husbands were taking around geologists and other explorers in the High Arctic islands. My old mother-in-law, who was so old that she could hardly stand, could not walk upright. She was my only company. She was also deaf. I had to shout at her at the top of my lungs in order for her to hear me. She used to try to ask me, and my mind was not at its maturity yet and I did not have a strong mind at that time, but she asked me: "When are we going home?" She used to ask me this: "When are we going home?"

I didn't know myself the answer to this question, so I often tried to just tell her: "I don't know", although I was aware from what was going on around us that we were probably never going to return back to our homeland. Whenever she received any small gift from anybody, she would put it in a box somewhere so that she will take it back it back home when she returns back to her homeland. It was a great loss for us when she died. It was as if our own mother had died because she was always talking about going back home and expressing a desire to go back home.

That is how I lived up in the High Arctic. These were my first few memories of living in the High Arctic. It seemed quite empty at the time when I was getting used to it, but now I am used to it. I have been living there so long.

I started getting physically unwell and it seems like my physical situation has gone downhill ever since having moved to the High Arctic. I was also suffering from tuberculosis and all my early years in Resolute I really can't recount because I was away for three solid years in a tuberculosis sanatorium. I was in hospital, in a TB sanatorium for three years. That's how bad my lungs were from tuberculosis. My physical well-being has never been fully restored ever since I was in the hospital.

I have a lot more to say, but this is what is mainly on my mind at this time. I will speak on other issues later, but thank you for now.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Thank you.

[English] Before we take a break I have two more speakers that will give a short statement, so I will let them go ahead. The first one is Martha Flaherty.

[Translation] Martha Flaherty wanted to speak.

**MARTHA FLAHERTY:** [Translation] Perhaps I will be understood. I am a little bit nervous. I am Martha Flaherty, first of all. I was named at that time. When Inuit were born, they were given names. My Eskimo number is E-9-1900, my identification number. Inuit are still identified by those numbers, even today.

First of all, I would like to say that the Government of Canada study has

stated that Inuit should not remember what happened long ago. I do not believe that statement and I want to say that I remember even before I was able to sit up by myself, my parents would prop up some pillows behind my back.

I remember that far back and I remember being on my mother's back, so therefore, I cannot believe the government when they try to discourage us from remembering what happened in those days. It seems an effort to destroy the memory of young people. It seems they are trying to discredit the memory and the recounting and oral traditions of the people. If any person had a traumatic experience early on in life, for the most part children, especially if it's a hurtful experience, can remember exactly what happened and how they were hurt.

I would like to relate our trip on the ship. Some of it is funny. It wasn't funny at the time though. I cried all the way, all the time we were on the ship. I was very afraid of *Qallunaat*, white people, at that time. I was the last one that they looked after because I was always fighting the *Qallunaat*, white people.

I was always fighting about when our fellow children were all given brush cuts, all their hair was shorn off. This was done without any permission or consultation with their parents. I fought against this and the doctor ran after me, ran after me with scissors in his hands, wanting to cut off my hair. I fought against him. I pushed him off with both of my feet. I hid under *Qallunaat's* bed. When I left, my mother and I were crying very hard I remember because we were in the bottom of the hull of the boat, but I ran away onto the deck and when my mother caught up to me, we cried tremendously and then I sort of drift off into what seemed to me like a dream and I did not ever since that time ever trust *Qallunaat*, white people.

It is only recently that I am starting to be able to trust *Qallunaat* again, white people, because I had those traumatic experiences. When I had to get needle shots, five men were required to physically fight me to get those needle shots and when the ship was pitching and yawing in the violent seas, sometimes the mast would almost touch the surface of the water and we were not able to eat because the cups and plates and whatnot could not be still on the table top and we could not sleep very well.

When we were on the ship, what specially was traumatic for me also was that these experiences led me to have an attitude towards white people, unfortunately, that is not very positive and I know that other children who experience similar things cannot really have a ready trust of *Qallunaat*.

When the ship was in violent weather, we used to have drills, life drills. We used to have life preservers slapped upon us and all run up on the deck and I still dream about this. I dream about this very often and in my dream I am always saved.

Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay Inuit were ruined actually in their lives. They were ruined. I can say that, and the Government of Canada, I heard this winter when Canada was considered number one country in the world because its government was working so diligently for the welfare of its citizens, but this totally turned me off because the Indians and other Aboriginal People are treated very badly in Canada and Canada does not deserve that award or that recognition because it does not treat its Aboriginal People right.

Besides, why have they refused all these years to compensate us. We

are rich. It's a wealthy country. Why don't they pay us what we want in compensation? That is all I have to say for now.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Thank you, Martha.

Samwillie, can you wait until after coffee break?

[English] He is going to speak after the coffee break.

We will take a 15-minute break.

—Short Recess

—Upon Resuming

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [English] Welcome back. We are ready to proceed once again. We are going to try and end the day around five o'clock so I will try and keep us to the schedule because I am sure everybody will be tired at five o'clock after a long day.

[Translation] We will be finishing at five. Perhaps tomorrow we could continue.

First of all, we would like to return a bit to the time of 1953 and how the relation was between the Inuit and the *Qallunaat*. We would like to hear more about it.

[English] We would like to go back to the relationship between the Inuit and the *Qallunaat* in northern Quebec in the early 1950s, on around 1953, and how the RCMP told the Inuit as to the relocation issue. They have agreed that they want to discuss this in more detail so we are going to get back to that.

[Translation] First, Samwillie Elijasialuk will be speaking on the subject. You can start now.

**SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** [Translation] Thank you. I would like to briefly repeat what was said earlier. I just want to be specific on where we went to there were no lakes.

Where we came from we had a place where we could get some water for drinking, but then where we went, Akpaliapik had taught us how to get some drinking water. There we had ice. They pick up ice for drinking water and they said our home, as we were absent, they went to pick up some ice, chopping ice, but what they chopped on was the rock. It was the rock. They wouldn't know that it was just rock in the dark.

That is how it was when they tried to get some ice for drinking water. That is how hard it was to get some water to drink.

Another thing was we were told in letters, you were so skinny at the time of your arrival to the High Arctic. That is true because on the boat we lost weight in the boat. We were not so skinny when we departed from Inukjuak. Because of the waves on the boat, we had lost weight on the way up to the Arctic. The fact that he said that we arrived there as skinny people is true. That is true. The fact that we are told that they say we were skinny at our arrival is true because of what we had eaten on the way, on the boat.

Now, I was going to continue on our journey on the boat.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] It was on the subject of the relation of the *Qallunaat* with the RCMP and the Inuit, the relationship what it was like before the departure.

**SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** [Translation] I will talk a little bit about that – perhaps Simeonie could talk more about it. Me, perhaps as I was a young

man with no wife, the government did not look at me because I personally did not get approached, but the news saga was my parents since I was absent most of the time on the land. We would not stay home because the news they got was when we were away on the land hunting and the news went directly to my parents and not to me. They would arrive directly to the camp.

What was said when they wanted to recruit people was two years. They mentioned two years. After two years you were free to return. That was not correct.

The other things that would be provided – I mean, the animal, the game is plentiful. We were not afraid, but just before we left, the Inuit, I can imagine now, getting on the boat crying, weeping. This was so sudden that we were not prepared very much. We even left behind our traps. That is how sudden it was. Even our kayak, our canoe, our outboard motor, all our facilities we brought, but we had no traps because the traps are in the land, stay in the land. At the end of each year we would go in the land and we would leave them.

That was a sudden departure and the snow melts. That is one of the reasons why we left our traps because recruiting people was so sudden and we had to go along with it because when the *Qallunaat* arrived, as we were absent in the land, our parents, they would approach our parents, and where are you going is like a promised land, as if it is heavenly up there. That I know for sure.

Now, Simeonie can say, perhaps be more specific and he was one that had direct information regarding recruiting people. He was married by then. Perhaps the police saw him more like a man, so I will give it to Simeonie.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Thank you, Samwillie. Simeonie, can you talk about this.

**SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] Thank you. On the departure, being sent and being divided, I just want to add. Us, when we were being divided in the boat, after we departed Pond Inlet in three different lands, all the people were crying. Even the dogs were crying. It was so noisy on the boat. It was terrible and the government – one of the reasons is so hard, they are being so stubborn – the government looks at they think the whole Arctic is all the same, but it is not the same.

Quebec and Baffin Island is not the same. If you want to get on the map, you are free to go on the map. The government believes that the whole Arctic is just the same. On this part is day and night and further up, it is dark and night. It is dark throughout the whole winter and light throughout the whole summer. The High Arctic is different than the whole northern Quebec. There we have trees. There we have vegetation and further up it is just rock. There is no land. That is how different it is from northern Quebec. You can remove what you have on.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Are you finished or do you still have some more to say? Jaybeddie, do you want to be the next?

**JAYBEDDIE AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] What are we talking about?

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Near 1953, the relationship between the *Qallunaat* and the Inuit at the time the RCMP was approaching the Inuit for the relocation, what was said, why you agreed to go, just specify

your name, where you come from each time, so they will know exactly who you are.

**JAYBEDDIE AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] My name is Jaybeddie Amagoalik from Inukjuak in northern Quebec. At that time when the RCMP was recruiting, he arrived by dog team around the end of June. Just one time he came. He just said a few words. He is an RCMP and everything was solved. That is all I can say. He dictated. Very few words were said by the officer and he had the full authority and he would get crimson very easily perhaps when he would not understand easily right away. He was like a polar bear. That is how I see it now.

The *Qallunaat*, the Hudson Bay clerks, traders, were playing a role and the police, the Hudson Bay employees perhaps. Hudson Bay wanted to keep the ones that could go trapping. They were kept and the poor ones, the ones that were poorly equipped – they would recruit not necessarily the best and most competent trappers and not necessarily the poorly equipped, so they were very careful as to who they recruited for this relocation. It was a very deliberate and calculated effort. Their targets were very specific.

**ELIJAH NUTARAQ:** [Translation] In regard to the preparations that were made for our relocation I would like to tell a bit more. At the time of our relocation we were plucked out of our traditional camps. Our parents, cousins, uncles, aunts, they were all crying. There was a lot of weeping when we about to move and then we were put on the ship the *C.D. Howe*, the hospital ship.

I was young at the time so I did not really have a care either way because I was so ignorant. We were not informed and because of this we did not have many cares to express.

I have heard of other lands that have trees and I know that Inukjuak does not have trees.

I thought, for example, that all the land had berries growing and I thought that perhaps where we are being sent, there are trees over there. I had images of lush greenery, so that is how ignorant we were as to where we were being sent. I had mental images of this promised land. I didn't pay much attention to all the weeping that was going on because my mind was not really fully matured. I was a single man. I was very active and I was in my prime and young.

There was a lot of hugging and weeping when we were being prepared to go and so when we were put on the barge to get onto the ship, the whole barge was plucked out with a crane. We left behind all our crying and weeping relatives, so when I myself was put on the ship, I was simply glad to be on the ship, sort of relieved actually, because I knew that I could return within two years, as we were told, because to me I thought at the time a year was a long time, but now I am getting older I know how short a year is. A year is a long time when you are in want and when you are in need and you do not have all the equipment and shelter and whatever else is necessary.

I am going to go to the map. I just want to return to the fact that they were weeping when we were getting on the ship. Now we were divided beyond Pond Inlet. Larry will do the pointing on the map. Go ahead.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Where is that long stick?

**ELIJAH NUTARAQ:** [Translation] We had passed Pond Inlet when they started dividing us into different groups. I had gained friends on the ship



during the time we were on the ship, friends from the old homeland. We were on the deck of the ship and they started dividing us, near the bow of the ship.

For me, I did not have an ominous sense of fear at first because we were told to get out on the deck, but then as time went by, it became a very wrenching time when we were being divided. We thought all this time up to the time they had us on deck that we would all be living in one location and we felt security within each other's company.

This is where fear was struck in our hearts for the first time. Dogs were wailing. People were crying and the people of Pond Inlet who were now on board, were on board, and we were given, first of all, one man from Pond Inlet and one group was put on the icebreaker *d'Iberville* to go to Alexander Fiord but they returned because ice conditions did not allow their arrival in Alexander and so the people designated to go there were brought back to Craig Harbour, so we were landed at Craig there, there on the map, and that is when we arrived. The ship anchored there.

Our elders, Philipoosie and Paddy, who were brothers. Paddy was the older, who was my stepfather, the husband of my mother. When they were preparing us to land he said: "Which one is the boss?" He asked this of Inspector Larsen and a police officer named Kayualuk and Alex Stevenson, who was called Tungujuq by the Inuit and the priest who had gotten on board in Inukjuak and the police who had served in Inukjuak, but was now being transferred to serve in Resolute Bay.

All these people had a meeting and I heard what they said at the meeting. Samwillie and I were single young men at the time and our stepfather was told by Kayualuk. First of all, he said: "He's just an ordinary officer, but I am a government official." That's what he said first, so he made it clear that he was acting on behalf of the government and told us that "when you land, you are now going to have to be clothed as well as fed by your two single young men." That is what the government official told my stepfather.

So, Paddy, our stepfather, spoke and said: "Sealskins are liable to make you freeze to death if that's all you have to wear." So, when he said that, the officials probably started allowing them to harvest one caribou per year per person. Originally, I think, we were not going to be allowed to kill or harvest any caribou, but my stepfather mentioned this and perhaps it changed the minds of the police and government officials to allow us to kill one caribou. This was the only thing available for us to have bedding.

When we landed in Craig Harbour, we spent very few days there. When we landed there, that's where they kept us.

It was mentioned earlier we were going to be a burden on the resources and the wood of the police post so we were moved to many miles away – I didn't get the exact number of miles – which was another location from where we were landed. That is the distance as shown on the map. Because we could only travel by dog team at that time we had to spend all day and all night travelling to and from the posts to get supplies. When we landed at our new location we were taken walrus hunting by the police boat. We caught some walrus. We caught three actually and I have a picture of the walrus that we caught, so I know that. They were all transported to Craig Harbour and we were made to leave Craig Harbour, the police post there, to another location. It is beyond Grise Fiord. In English it is called Lindstrom Peninsula, miles – is that what he said – which is that many miles away from

Special Constable Lazarus Kyak, stationed with his family at Craig Harbour. For further reading on the Special Constables, see Baril and Levesque (2024) and Webster (2019).

the post.

Then, again, after that, we were moved to Grise Fiord, the present site of the community, but where we were first landed after being moved out of Craig Harbour there was hardly any space. It was simply a small ledge in front of a large mountain and it was a very small place and when we peeked through the breathing hole of the tent, we could see not the sky, but the top of a big mountain and when we pitched our tent there it snowed. It snowed lightly. There was a layer of snow and before it had the opportunity to get hard packed enough, it was blown away by the wind and we thought perhaps it was going to eventually harden, but it never did.

We were given buffalo skins or musk ox skins and we were given very poor quality bedding which hardly had any more fur on it and I heard from the government that that was issued by the government as bedding. That is what I heard more recently and because they were used very heavily all summer, they were of very poor quality. There was hardly any fur left on them, and this is supposedly what we received as a gift from the government in helping us in our settling in our new location.

So, we made a go of living there, living in a tent all year in that harsh, cold climate. We were cold. We were very cold. It seemed that the government had left us out in the cold literally, quite literally, and that is what happened.

Part of much of the summer we were on the ship and when we landed there we had to wipe our behinds with snow. We were very poor. We were very poorly off when we landed, no wood, all rock. All we had was very few small twigs and willows for a bit of fuel. We had a stove in the style of the Inukjuak area. We did not have a stone lamp, called a *qulliq*, but the weather was not conducive to having a wood stove and we had to have a *qulliq*, a stone lamp, whereas we had been used to a wood stove and we were forced to live in the tent all year, depending on ice for drinking water. The pails did not have any water in them all night because if we had any water in them, they would freeze and burst the containers and we had tea only from water melted from ice all the time we first spent time there. Any liquid would freeze and damage the containers.

We spent our time in bed fully clothed when we went to bed, in sweaters, with pants on and long underwear. That's how we bedded down for the night when we first started settling there.

When we landed we thought about the government, but it seemed that the government had disappeared altogether after they landed us. We never heard from them again. Our local police officer was the boss and he conducted himself in such a manner that he had served as an officer in the Netsilingmiut region and he had been briefed or heard that the people who were being relocated were habitual stealers, thieves, and he had heard that we were all thieves.

So, when I think back I often think that we had a bad particular individual as a police officer because he had this attitude that we were all a bunch of thieves. The police officers came in the winter and the Inuit who worked for them, whose names were Areak and Kyak, tried to warm themselves with their backs to the wooden stove. They were trying to warm themselves near the wood stove because they were so cold and we observed them doing this.

Samwillie told earlier when we made the near fatal trip to the post to get supplies. I would like to stop there for now and continue on tomorrow.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Thank you. Larry wanted to add something to what has been said.

**LARRY AUDLALUK:** [Translation] Thank you, Mrs. Simon. I am Larry Audlaluk. I am going to speak in English again.

[English] I will speak in English. First of all, I would like to say for the record that I live in Grise Fiord, though I was only three when we were relocated. At this time I have no desire to move back to Inukjuak because I have known Grise Fiord all my life and at this time Grise Fiord is a very prosperous community and it today has very high tourism potential.

I have come to know the country and the wildlife and I am very much adapted to the area and for the record, I would like to say that when I speak about the hardships and the memories, it is the early years that I will speak about, until I was old enough to be on my own.

I would just like to add to my brother's story – I'm sorry, my brother's talk about the voyage from Pond Inlet. My uncle, Philipoosie Novalinga, the brother of my father, had a hardship that my brother was talking about speaking to the government officials.

All the time that I was growing up since I can remember my uncle used to tell me the story about the voyage from Pond Inlet to Craig Harbour and later on their move to the camp area my brother spoke of. He used to tell me that when they were anchored off Craig Harbour and being put to shore, the conversation they had, my father and my uncle, with Inspector Larsen from the RCMP because my uncle said – well, he used to tell the story of their argument about when they noticed that there was no boat for hunting, it became obvious that something was not quite right, he used to say. So, he asked: "Where is the boat we are going to use", because they only brought their little kayaks from Inukjuak. When they were going to leave Inukjuak, they had been told not to worry about anything, just bring your tents and your personal possessions.

Among other things they didn't worry about, I am sure, was boats because they had kayaks. They thought everything was going to be provided for. After all, they were promised that this was going to be a land of plenty.

So, when they were anchored off Craig Harbour my uncle used to tell me he noticed all they were trying to put on the barge was a little row-boat and he said: "Where is the boat we are going to use? Well, we have this little row-boat" and the brothers were saying: "Well, that is not going to be good enough because we hear there are lots of walrus. Walrus hunting is very dangerous – just a row-boat with no motor."

So, the RCMP with other government officials, Alex Stevenson being one of them, said: "Okay, well RCMP in Craig Harbour will provide you with their boat for getting your winter supply of dog food and your food." The brother said: "Well, we can live with that for now." Then, he started being told: "The caribou season is over for this area. You will have to make do with sealskins for outdoor clothing." Again, the brother said: "That's crazy. We are going to freeze. We are not used to having sealskins for outdoor clothing." And, once again, the RCMP with government officials said: "Okay, we have some of these reindeer hides that we can loan you."

The other thing I wanted to say is that my uncle used to say that after spending a week in Craig Harbour, that second move to the new location, how my uncle was very surprised and worried when the boat that we were put on was heading straight for a 2700 foot mountain which did not seem

to have any kind of land to get off. It seemed just a straight up and down mountain and he thought they were going to go into the fiord next to it. No, the boat kept getting close to the mountain. Surely, they were not going into that mountain.

Well, it turns out there was a little strip of land there that they were put off and he said those mountains looked so scary. He thought the mountains were going to fall on them, the mountains my brother was talking about.

I may be talking about hearsay information, but let me say for the record, going back to history, when Charles Francis Hall went to Frobisher Bay over 300 years after Sir Martin Frobisher, he was so surprised that the Inuit still remembered the voyage of Sir Martin Frobisher with one ship and coming back a year later with three more ships in such a good detail, it is as if they had read it in one of the journals of Martin Frobisher himself.

When I hear about what happened to us 40 years ago, it was so long ago that I sometimes think we have no capability of memory by the government. They think that we can't remember things when in fact it is on the record that Inuit are one of the few people in the world among other Aborigines who can recollect things in exact detail centuries later from passing stories on to their children.

When I met Mr. Alex Stevenson in the mid seventies, 1973 to be exact, when he came to Grise Fiord, because I had started doing my own research about why we were in Grise Fiord. I thought at last now I can talk to some former government official who was involved in the relocation, Mr. Stevenson said to me: "I am sorry, Larry. The relocation was done such a long time ago. I cannot recall most of it. I am sorry. I can't tell you anything."

I was very disappointed, so please give us credit. We know what we are talking about from our own experiences and these living witnesses. We are equal Canadians like anyone else, so please treat us fairly. Thank you.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Thank you, Larry. There were four other speakers. If we don't get through all of them today, I would like to ask Anna to be the last speaker. The Royal Commission has another meeting and I would like to get through the day before it gets too far beyond five. Perhaps the Pond Inlet people can be aware that they will be starting tomorrow morning. Anna.

**ANNA NUNGAQ:** [Translation] When we were relocated to the High Arctic, when we were on the ship *C.D. Howe*, I used to dread having to eat the same old stuff again. I used to even try to be outside. I wanted just to be outside on the deck out in the open air and I was called in often when we had to eat because I was so sick and tired of having to eat the same old food. We did not eat very much store-bought or non-native food in those days and on the *C.D. Howe* we had to eat or we were forced to eat the same old thing every day. I tried to appreciate that we were actually being fed, that we were prevented from starving, but I had such a longing for the Inuit food.

I would like to go back a little bit. When we left our relatives in our preparation to get on the *C.D. Howe* and when the *C.D. Howe* itself came, we made preparations to get on board. We did so. Our relatives were down to see us off and the people of Inukjuak were seeing us off. We were all weeping. They were crying. We were crying. We were about to part. I saw the disappearance of our homeland behind the horizon and I already had ill-forebodings, even then. It was the first time I had ever been outside of my

original surroundings and I was leaving behind my grandparents who had brought me up.

When the *C.D. Howe* came to pick us up, I had recurring memories of that particular scene playing back again and again in my mind. I could just see my uncles and aunts and nephews and I do not quite remember if my grandfather was one of the ones seeing us off because we used to live in another camp in between Povungnituk and Inukjuak, so I do not quite remember if my grandfather was amongst the people who was part of that crowd, so I had a big fear when our homeland disappeared over the horizon.

When we arrived in Churchill, we were landed there, we noticed right away that the tides were big and that was right away a strange sensation to see the difference in the behaviour of the sea. As people said, we spent ten days there in Churchill and there was a lot of *Qallunaat* or white people and I thought, gee, we probably are moving to a land where plenty of *Qallunaat* or white people were living, but eventually we were landed in a place that had only two white policemen. That was the only population when we landed.

We were landed in a very empty desolate place. We were not properly informed at all about the reality. There was no shelter. There was no priest or spiritual support. When the *C.D. Howe* came in our new location, because there was no church, Akpaliapik probably remembers that the two of us – there were two couples that were married on the deck out in the open on the *C.D. Howe* – we were probably the only ones who have ever been married on the deck of the *C.D. Howe* because there was no place else to do it and that is how I gained a husband and I had one or two children after that.

We were inserted into a place that was bare, desolate rock. When we keep describing it as bare, desolate rock, you probably we are over-describing it, but you have to see the place yourself to actually get a sense of the desolation there, the emptiness, the barren wasteness of the place.

The Inukjuak relocatees would very well have died, frozen to death, if they did not somehow get assistance in how to live in that harsh, harsh environment.

I do not want anybody to think I am lying because right now I am simply recounting my own personal experience and I do not want to make a mistake out of telling my story.

I thought that if I was given the opportunity to speak, I thought I was not going to be able to do it because I would get so choked up and emotional and just cry and not speak, but fortunately, we have the help of God and through his grace I am able to recount all that has happened to us.

I was a polio victim. I did not have any strength in my body and I was sent to a desolate place with no medical facilities, no medical help. They should have been decent enough to tell me because I was a cripple, to tell me that: "Look, you are going to be going to a land where there is no medical help available" and if people were decent enough to have told me that, I would not have approved and, besides, we left the security and comfort of all of our large number of extended family members. The only one that I have been ever able to see again was my uncle. Every other person in my family of that generation had died off by the time I returned.

I am truly very thankful for the opportunity to be able to speak in front of you.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Thank you, Anna.

[English] We have three more witnesses, but I think we will hear them

tomorrow. These three gentlemen are from Pond Inlet and these are the three gentlemen who were asked to move and help the people that were relocated to the High Arctic, so I am sure we will be interested in hearing from them. We will put them on first thing tomorrow morning.

Also, I have some additional questions that I would like to ask the people who spoke this afternoon and I will raise those questions tomorrow morning as well. So, I think we will conclude the session for today. Thank you very much.

Would any of the Co-Chairs like to speak? I am sorry.

**CO-CHAIR RENE DUSSAULT:** [English] Just before calling for the prayer, I would like on behalf of all Commissioners to thank all the witnesses and also the interpreters who have been doing a tremendous job helping us through this day. Thank you. Merci.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] We still have to have a closing prayer.

[English] We will have the closing prayer. Samwillie will do it.

— **Closing Prayer**

— Whereupon the hearing adjourned to resume on Tuesday, April 6, 1993 at 9:00 a.m.

# **Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples Testimony: April 6, 1993**

ROYAL COMMISSION ON ABORIGINAL PEOPLES  
 LOCATION: OTTAWA, ONTARIO  
 DATE: TUESDAY, April 6, 1993  
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(Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, "Testimony," April 6, 1993, *The High Arctic Relocation Special Hearings*, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada))

Ottawa, Ontario

— Upon commencing at 9:00 a.m. on Tuesday, April 6, 1993

**COMMISSIONER DUSSAULT:** I would like to welcome everybody back to this second day of hearings. First of all, I would like to ask Lizzie Amagoalik to say the opening prayer.

(Opening prayer)

**THE FACILITATOR:** Welcome everybody. I would just like to review the schedule, briefly, for the morning session. We are going to be starting off with Samuel Arnakallak, who is from Pond Inlet. After he speaks we will have two other speakers from Pond Inlet as well: Jaypettie Amarualik and Simon Akpaliapik.

We will be reviewing the relocation from the perspective of the Inuit from Pond Inlet and then, according to the schedule here, we will also go into the whole area of the relocation itself in 1953 in Craig Harbour and Resolute Bay.

[Translation] They will be the first speakers this morning. When the Pond Inlet people are finished we will have the other witnesses. When you speak, please make sure that you speak more slowly, for the sake of the interpreters. The interpreters had a hard time – or a difficult time keeping up with the speed of the presentations, so please keep this in mind so that the Royal Commissioners can get a full and complete account of what exactly is being said by the witnesses. Please, keep in mind to try to include all the facts – the whole facts – of your story. Don't assume too much that everybody knows all the details and please be sure to try to tell all the story when you speak.

For those who have not been witnesses at the table, please be aware that there will be a time slot for you. Anybody who wishes to speak will be given the opportunity to do so. The 1955 group will be able to have their time and space tomorrow, so they should be aware of that.

When the people at the witness table are speaking, and anybody who wants to add something to what the specific witness is saying, it is possible for anybody from the back to go and come to the table and have your say, if you want to clarify something that is being said by any of the particular witnesses.

We can now start. Samuel Arnakallak will be the first speaker.

**SAMUEL ARNAKALLAK:** [Translation] I am designated to be first. I would like to speak well, but I am not accustomed to speaking. We are from the Pond Inlet area. There were three men who were recruited from that area and I am one of them.

Samuel Arnakallak was born in Pond Inlet and relocated to Grise Fiord in 1953 at age 28

In 1953 I was 28 years old. My wife and I had four children; small at the time. I would like to, first of all, explain where we were living before, in a place called Nadluat, in English, "Low Point". It's called "Low Point" in English. His son will point to it on the map. It is 85 miles away from Pond Inlet.

There we were encamped for many, many years. There was plentiful seals. We did not have a very good boat. That particular inlet was very plentiful for marine wildlife. We did not really have a good-quality boat, and that was



really our only need at the time, although we had a poor-quality boat. We lived by selling fox pelts, but we were not very wealthy at this activity and we lived mostly by selling ivory tusks, which one pound was selling for 50 cents in those years.

When government starting recruiting people for relocation, they had the police spread the word and the message that they were looking for people. Although they did not come to us directly, they spread the word and Joseph Idlout was the interpreter, or he was sort of the messenger. I received a letter, not from him, but when I actually saw him – and this was the first time I ever heard in my life about the existence of government and the fact that they were going to recruit three men who had adequate dogs, who had children and who were able to produce children, who were not too old. When I heard about this I approved right away, because what came into my mind was, this is a good opportunity for myself to get a boat.

But I had to consult with my mother and my parents. When I talked it over we came to the conclusion that, perhaps, because the RCMP was accustomed to paying their special constables and people who worked for them, perhaps, that was how we were going to be treated. So, we basically approved to go along.

So, we went to the community with all of our equipment: our dogs, our sleds, and all the equipment we had. The only thing we didn't bring was our shelter, which was a *qarmaq*, a sodden-earth shelter, because we were told we would be properly housed. All we had for shelter then, when we left, was a summer tent – a canvas tent – something that we never, ever used in winter.

So, I drove by dog-team to Pond Inlet to prepare for departure. We waited there in July and August, and then the ship finally came in August, because we were expecting it. We were made to expect that – we were told that the people in Quebec were very badly off; they were in need. Nobody specifically mentioned that they were hungry or starving, but it was made clear that they were living off government welfare and living off the hand-outs from government. At that time, in our area, there was no such thing as government hand-outs being given out, although nowadays there are.

So, when the ship came, part of the crowd of relocatees went onshore and they were fed Inuit food, or traditional food. Our first conversations did not get off very well because we couldn't understand each other very well. So, even if they were expressing anger, or frustration, I wouldn't have known what they were talking about, because that is how different our dialects were. We did not know who they were.

When I was a boy there was a particular *Qallunaaq*, white man, who had become an important government official. His name in English is Alex Stevenson. He was now an important government official who conducted a meeting of the relocatees. We were told that these people, the Inukjuak people, had never been in the dark or in the High Arctic darkness, and we were charged with teaching them the particularities of the climate. We were, at that time, able to get around in the dark – in the High Arctic dark – through dog-team travel.

We lived in sodden-earth shelters, called *qarmaq*. We knew how to build them, but we needed certain pieces of wood to make those shelters. Because there was no wood in any of the areas we were newly settled, we were not able to make these earthen shelters.

On the ship they were told not to attend the meeting in which we were

It is not clear when Stevenson visited Mittimatalik, though he was the officer-in-charge for several Eastern Arctic Patrols in the late 1940s and early 1950s and was conducting an inspection trip in June/July 1953 by airplane. It is well-documented that Stevenson had concerns about the dark period and, as early as December 1952, suggested that Inuit from Mittimatalik accompany those from Inukjuak to help them with the transition.

told what was going to be our circumstances. I, myself, was recruited for the farthest location, which is called Alexandra Fiord in English, Sanannguavik in Inuktitut. So, I was recruited to go there.

Now, we had two ships, side by side, and we had to transfer our equipment to the ice-breaker. We had to transfer all of our equipment and supplies on a plank, actually; no pulleys. So, when we had all our equipment transferred to the other boat I was told, "No, get your equipment back on the *C.D. Howe* because there's going to be another ship going." Akpaliapik and Thomassie's families were then put, instead, on the ice-breaker, and so they were sent to Alexandra Fiord. But they never made it there because the ice conditions were too bad that year and they returned to where we were landed. We lived with them in the new location where we were landed.

The remainder of the relocatees were sent to Resolute Bay. For those of us who were landed in Craig Harbour, at that time, there were 31 souls. There were about 19 from northern Quebec and the remainder of us – there was 12 of us. But there were 31. There were 12 adults from the Inukjuak area, without counting their children, and there were six adults from the Pond Inlet area. With the children, the whole group consisted of 31 people.

We were all used to being supplied with the white man's trade goods, and we never really even brought much from our original home in Pond Inlet because we were under the impression that we were going to a land of plenty where everything was going to be provided. If, at least, we could have been given some fuel, at least, to bide us, or if we were told, "You are going to have to bring your own supplies", we would have done so. But, as it was, we were very poorly supplied, because nobody told us that we were going to have to fend for ourselves.

When we were first landed in Craig Harbour we spent ten days there. Yes, that's what I remember. We spent ten days at that particular location.

We have also said that when we first pitched our tents it was very dark. We did not have any light. We had a *qulliq*, a stone stove. We didn't have any light to eat by. Akpaliapik had a flashlight and, so, he put on his flashlight while we were having our meal. When that particular group finished eating they sent the flashlight to another shelter so that those people could eat. So we had to share a flashlight as light to eat by.

The next day we had a small dory; a very small boat. It was one foot high, four-foot beam, and we were using this boat with one of the boys of the Akpaliapik, who was 15 years old, and we caught a harp seal. That harp seal was what we used as fuel and light. We were able to cook by the fat of that seal. We were able to catch seals later on, which we used as fuel, and we were also supplied with caribou skins that we could make into clothing.

There was another clarification I wanted to make. The police and their employees – their special constables – were the only ones allowed to do the actual killing of the caribou. The police had this attitude that we didn't know the difference between female caribou and male caribou, so they were the only ones allowed to shoot the caribou. I guess they thought we were ignorant of such things. We were told, in no uncertain terms, that we were not allowed to catch or kill any caribou from that area.

All this has been related previously and I don't want to cover exactly what has been covered before, but I want to say that we started being in want very soon.

Then, on August 29th of that same year, we were transferred to another

location, which was about 40 miles away from Craig Harbour; 40 or 50 miles. There are two large inlets between Craig Harbour and this particular location. (Speaking native language.) There are two inlets between where they were landed at Craig Harbour and where they were transferred ten days later. These two inlets have very high winds. Craig Harbour first, there. Left. There's Grise Fiord. There are two inlets there that are very windy places, especially there.

On August 29th of that year we were landed in the new place; in the new location. Then we spent September and October there. I was trying to explain that the Inukjuak people went to leave that place. The Inukjuak people's dog-teams have very, very long traces. I had never seen that before. They were not very suitable for use in a place that was almost bare of snow. So, the next day, my grandmother started getting worried about the Inukjuak people who were going to the post by dog-teams, so Akpaliapik and I were sent to help out.

I did not mention earlier my grandmother's particular situation. When I was first recruited to the relocation I had a concern about my grandmother. My grandmother was about 80 years old at the time and I was told that because she was no longer of child-bearing age she was not allowed to go along on the relocation. I became very angry at this and I said, "If she's not allowed to come along, I will not agree to go to the relocation." So, the police, when they saw my determination, allowed me to take my grandmother along. I was 28 years old at the time, but I still had to depend on her entirely for my life.

Now, I am going to go back to the trip to the post. We came in from behind of the first group that was going to the post, and we had not caught up to them yet. We had not come up to them yet by the end of the first evening and we had to make camp.

Now, I have to remind you that all of us were under the sponsorship and care of the government, technically speaking. Now, in the morning we had to get some sort of tea brewed, and there was still a bit of fuel left in Akpaliapik's Primus stove. So we brewed our tea that way. But we did not have any more matches, so what we did was remove the glass out of one of the telescopes, face it to the sun, put some gun powder in its beam, and started a fire that way. And here we were, technically, under the care of the government. How pitiful.

So, when we met up with them the next morning, we got to the camp and I was very anxious to find out if we had any money in our account at the trading post. I was not a carver at the time, but I was told I did not have any credit. So I had absolutely nothing in the accounts, and I was not allowed to get anything on credit that I could pay for later. But the others, the Inukjuak people, had produced some carvings; not many, but they had enough to earn a bit of money by carving. These people were able to buy a bit of the trade goods. I, myself, treated them like *Qallunaat*, because they were the only ones able to get any trade goods from that particular trip.

On our return journey from that particular trip, those two inlets that I had pointed out earlier, that I said were very windy, were, of course, very windy, and on our way back the ice – the shore-fast ice – had been blown out by the wind, so there was no more ice in those particular areas. So we had to make camp.

Now, when we made camp that evening, I had to mention that, "Look,

how are we being treated here?" I had to ask this question. "Why are we being treated like this? Is this any way to treat people that you have under your responsibility?" So, I was beginning to wonder, even then, how we were being treated.

The next morning, when we set out again, we had to travel straight down offshore, towards the offshore, because there was no other way for us to get around. We had to sleep that night out in the open, because there was no possibility of shelter where we were. So, we had to lay beside our sledges.

We lived nearby Grise Fiord in our early years. As I said earlier, the shore-fast ice got blown away offshore by the large winds. Finally, we got around to the general vicinity of our new camp, but we were not able to get onshore. They had to come to us by the little dory, which they got around by rowing it. Then, finally, we were able to land on shore, by that little dory.

When we finally met up with our wives and our family members, they had been worried sick. They were greatly relieved to have us back alive. We were not really in hunger, because we were able to catch seals. We were able to try to catch foxes in November.

So when we had a few fox pelts to trade we were able to go back to the trading post. It was as if those same people had transformed into entirely new people. They were very receptive this time, because we had something to trade.

We, eventually, became more able to provide for ourselves. But our elders, like my grandmother, always hungered for fish and other wild game, other than seal and marine mammals, because that's all we had to eat and people got sick and tired of eating the same food.

That's it for now.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Do you want to be the next speaker, Jaypettie Amarualik?

**JAYPETTIE AMARUALIK:** [Translation] I am going to now speak on our relocation.

When we were first made aware that they wanted to have us be part of the relocation, I was never told directly, myself. The police never directly told me anything, but they had their Inuit employee, whom I believe they used because he would get our agreement more readily than the *Qallunaaq*, or white policemen. He was the only one who dealt with us.

So, when I heard about this, because, as a boy, before Resolute was a community, I had lived in the area with my parents – around the years 1927, '28, '29, '30, I had lived in that area; in the area of Somerset Island – I knew there was wildlife there. So I knew the area previously. My father came from a family of four brothers, but they had long been dead. At that time I was able to support myself. So I figured that if I moved there I could live off fox pelts and polar bear pelts. So I readily agreed, when they told me that I was one of the chosen ones. But my wife, who was the daughter of Arnakallak's grandmother – well, I figured that even if we did not live in exactly the same location I could have gone back to visit, back and forth. So I readily agreed to the relocation. I thought it was possible for me to visit back and forth.

When everybody else was landed at Craig Harbour, I was the only one left with the crowd from Inukjuak. When I counted the ones of us who were left, there were 12 adults and nine children. So this was the group that was landed in Resolute.

Jaypettie Amarualik was born in Pond Inlet and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1953 at age 38

The northern coast of Somerset Island is less than 100kms south of the modern community of Resolute.

I did not speak any English at the time and there happened to be a Roman Catholic priest who was travelling on the ship. I tried to get any information I could out of that particular priest. He said, perhaps, there were empty buildings on the island somewhere that could be occupied.

When we landed there were high winds and there was snow falling. Our children were crying because there was no shelter to enter to speak of. We had to try to keep them amongst our belongings to keep them warm while we were pitching up our tents. So we finally pitched up our tents. We, ourselves, were not accustomed to having any wooden stoves, or wood-burning stoves, or any kind of stoves in our tents. When the Inukjuak people pitched their tents up they also set up their wooden stoves, or wood stoves, and they were able to get warm in their tents. My wife and I had to go to our neighbours to stay in a warm place.

I was under the impression that we could not live in tents the whole winter. We thought we could make snow houses; igloos. So I was able to build a small igloo, and I was able to insulate it with some cloth, and we were able to stay warm that way.

When we were landed we had nothing. We had no boats. The Inukjuak people had kayaks, but that was all. So, when Salluviniq and I were taken around by boat, we were able to catch enough seals to live off of.

When the ice finally formed we were able to go out on the land by dog-team. We were able to go to different locations. If we didn't catch anything ourselves, the others would, for example, catch a polar bear, and so we were able to support each other from what we caught. When there was no more floe edge we were able to catch seals through their breathing holes. So we were able to have fuel and light from these efforts. I also had a seal net, and we were able to feed our dogs from what we caught with the seal net.

After the first winter it started getting into spring. I was recruited to be relocated further away from Resolute Bay. The police, who was really our boss, who always seemed to be angry with other people, he was a bit better with me, but he was not of very nice – he did not have a very nice disposition towards people, in general. In April of that first winter we were moved to Mould Bay, there on the map; my wife and children. We were sent there in April and I was recruited as a dog-team driver in that area. In the Mould Bay area, there, to your left a little – yes, there. There was an outpost there, with an airstrip. I had to go there by dog-team. My wife and I were moved to that particular location. My daughter was sick at that time.

I did not have very much dog food. (Speaking native language.) I was a dog-team driver for a geologist, so I was taking around a geologist who was examining and exploring the area for minerals. We had run out of dog food, so we had to go back home. My children were sick. I did not want to leave my family behind for any reason because my children were sick, so my wife and I were very concerned. They called in a plane to medically evacuate my daughter, but there was a very thick fog around at the time and aircraft was not able to land, and so my daughter died.

They were all *Qallunaat*, white people, there. She was brought home, by the time she had died, and all the *Qalunaat* there tried their best to revive her. They did their best to try to revive my daughter. They had contact with some medical people on the radio and they were able to get instructions as to what to do to try to revive her, but they did not.

So, I had to take around two geologists; two white people. I held noth-

ing against them, but I, myself, became very sad because I had lost one of my children. Now, she was buried in a very desolate, even – no people – unoccupied place. Because there was no Christian ministers around, I was very concerned that she would not get a decent burial, but she was given a Christian burial. But, because there was no way for us to make a hollow in the ground, we had to cover her coffin with rocks scraped from the top of the ground. This was done by people who had no training in how to do this sort of thing, so I was thankful that, even though they were not a religious type of people, they gave my daughter a decent burial. I was thankful that, at least, she was given that.

Now, at the beginning of September we were sent back to Resolute from Mould Bay; back to where Simeonie and the other people – relocatees – were. When we returned, it was not long after that that my wife was sent outside to a hospital. I had two very small children to look after and I could no longer do any more hunting, or serious hunting, at least. I had to stay nearby to look after my children. I set a seal net and we were able to catch seals by that method, so our dogs were fed that way. I was able to provide my neighbours with the seals that I caught that way. This was, basically, the only way that I helped out, in any measure, the Inukjuak people that I was settling in with. I thought I was going to be able to catch, or pursue fox pelts and polar bear pelts. I could not even do this, because now I had to stay at home, looking after my children.

When I was told to go to Mould Bay, I was told I would be paid \$10 a day. Perhaps that's what happened. But when I returned I was never informed, "This is how much money you have in your account." What we did was, take what we needed from the little trading post, but we were never informed, like, if we were overdrawn or how much we had left, so we were kept completely in the dark as to what was in our accounts.

Now, the services of dog-team drivers. There was a lot of activity. There was a lot of exploration of those Arctic Islands going on. They required three dog-team drivers. But I could not do that because I was looking after my sick children. So, my own particular dog-team was split between two men who were going to go to two different locations to take explorers out. When my dog-team, which was split in two, was finished, they finished using them and they returned them to me. I was never informed if I was going to be paid, or if I was paid for the services of lending my dogs.

Simeonie and I, in the first trip, were left behind at home while our dogs were used. Then there was a second trip, later on, where he and I were recruited to go to drive dog sledges on Somerset Island. I had two white men with me, and when we went on the other side of Resolute Bay from south, there was a helicopter who brought us home.

Nobody told us that we had earned a certain amount of money, so each time I had no idea how much I had earned or not. This is where I'll stop for now.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Simon, if you would like to say something, take the microphone and put it on. Indicate who you are.

**SIMON AKPALIPIK:** [Translation] Simon Akpaliapik from Pond Inlet.

Arnakallak said earlier about our journey. I just want to add something to help him. I just want to mention what he had not said earlier.

We were told to indicate what it was like before our relocation in Pond

Simon Akpaliapik was born in Pond Inlet and relocated to Grise Fiord in 1953 at age 32

Inlet. Life was fine. We were not hungry. There we were doing well. I was more and more becoming a man at the time; at the time we were relocated.

The first time I did not agree to leave my land, because it's the only land I knew. But we had an interpreter who worked at the Hudson Bay, and we had the RCMP. The only reason why I agreed to go was, we were told we would earn some money and there were plenty – the game was plentiful. There was caribou. Because where we were now, the caribou was – there was not much caribou any more. So, there, we were told there was plenty of caribou and lots of game, and help out the ones that had never lived up in the dark, in the High Arctic. There was musk ox; caribou. We were told that each month you would be allowed to have caribou; seven or eight caribou each month. That was good news. That's one of the reasons why I agreed to go.

So, we would wait. What Arnakallak said earlier – the dates. He had mentioned dates. I'm just talking about the time I agreed to go.

As we were travelling and waiting in Mittimatalik, in Pond Inlet, in the spring and summer we waited, and so they finally arrived. Where we would go, there would be government help. We would get government help and they would help us out. We even left behind some of our equipment that we would use. We just brought a few – perhaps, we were even thinking that we would have shelter and we would be well housed.

The relocation to Craig Harbour. Once we arrived there, our relocation, we never liked – I mean, it was too hard. On our way we had a meeting, just us Pond Inlet people. We had a little meeting, aside. They divided Inukjuak people, for us to train them. Arnakallak said earlier where we would go was Sanannguavik. That is correct.

We had a meeting on the boat, just us people from Pond Inlet. The people from Inukjuak were not allowed to hear what was said in the meeting. What was bad about it, too, was on the boat we took our equipment by hand, because there was nothing to take it – no equipment to take our equipment to get off the boat.

His grandmother – I only had – we had to unload our own belongings and that was really bad for us. While we were trying to land there was too much ice for us to continue to Craig Harbour, so some of us had to get off. There were some people that were supposed to be moved to Resolute Bay. When we returned, when we got back to Craig Harbour, we spent one night. We continued to Grise Fiord, as Arnakallak was indicating earlier. We had nothing. We were poor at the time.

Later on, we were told that we were going to a place where there's plenty, but later on we found out that it was not the case. At least, we had a tent. It was an eight-by-twelve tent. We had to use that in the winter. We were told that we were going to a place with plenty, but we found out that it was exactly the other way around. The government should have told us the truth. If they had told us that we were going to be living with these people from Inukjuak and we would have to provide for ourselves, that would have been the truth, but they told us all these lies.

I will stop here for now. Thank you.

**THE FACILITATOR:** I think we will hear from the other witnesses from Inukjuak, who will be talking about the period in 1953, when this relocation took place, which will be after what these three gentlemen have talked about. So, we will take a 15-minute break.

- Short recess
- Upon resuming

**THE FACILITATOR:** The witnesses are here. We are going to be going through the period when the relocation – just before the relocation took place, and at the time of relocation, in 1953. (Repeats in native language.)

**SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** [Translation] I am glad to be given the chance to speak on what hurts in my heart. I think I am going to get emotional, and this is not intentional.

In 1953, when we left, I can still see and imagine my mother and my father and the people who were on the way to being relocated. In 1953. I can remember what they said, and what was said. The people of Inukjuak – and there were many of them – were told, “Cousin, we’re going to see each other again in two years. We are going to be away only for two years. We are going to see you again, for sure.” That’s what I remember being said. But they were never going to see each other again.

Remembering this is so – what I remember hurts me very much. If I was to go and leave today, knowing that I would never see these people again –

**THE FACILITATOR:** We will have Samwillie stop for now. Can you speak, Simeonie?

**SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] Thank you, Mary Simon.

I would like to speak on what Amarualik from Pond Inlet said earlier about his landing in Resolute Bay. I would like to add something to what he said. He said that he took around geologists by dog-team to different areas. The people who called themselves geologists were not geologists, actually. We found out they were exploring for oil. When the government recruited us to go to the High Arctic they were actually recruiting us to take geologists and explorers around the islands.

Those areas that we took people out to examine or explore are now having oil extracted. Oil is being taken out now by companies – different companies – and the federal government is extracting a lot of revenues out of those activities from the areas that we used to take people out to, whereas we are being totally ignored in this activity. Not even a penny has been extended to us by the federal government in appreciation of our efforts and work in opening up those areas.

Those of us relocated were sent to be in want. Even our elders, who were getting old age allowance – old age pension – were cut off. We were sent to fend for ourselves. Amarualik did not emphasize enough that we were sent there to fend for ourselves.

He mentioned earlier that one of the policemen was angry at people all the time. The police that was originally with us in Inukjuak was our officer there and he could only speak three words in Inuktitut: (Native words), which means, literally, “eskimo” and “dog”. Basically calling Inuit dogs. And Piujuq Auka, which means, “no good”. So we were not treated very well, right around – even at the time of the relocation.

Perhaps somebody else should carry on from where I have left off.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Thank you, Simeonie. Jaybeddie, do you want to be next? Please say your names clearly before you speak.

**JAYBEDDIE AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] I would like to talk about the

It is likely that this is a reference to Ross Gibson, who was the officer stationed at Resolute in 1953 and who had accompanied Inuit from Inukjuak.



landing itself; the landing in Resolute, which is on the agenda, or on our outline.

When we were landed from the ice-breaker, here was the situation. When we were trying to pitch our tents up, because there were no rocks around, because it's all gravel, we took quite a bit of time to pitch up our tents. We were trying to do it as fast as possible, but we were not able to do it very quickly.

When we were landed in the morning, perhaps around – we were only able to get our tents up only in the afternoon. Our children were crying of cold. That's true. There was a big boulder there, which was nearby where we were pitching our tents. I remember, because I was 18 years old at the time. Our children were on the lee of the big boulder, trying to get protection from the wind.

Amarualik's dogs were not violent or feared by people, so Amarualik's children were recognized and cuddled by Amarualik's dogs. So, Amarualik's children were warmed by the dogs. Because our dogs were of a different temper – a different temperament – those of us from Inukjuak, they were not in any way able to have children amongst them. So, our own children were not able to get protected by our dogs.

So, we were landed on a place that had absolutely nothing. The day after the landing, if I was to tell all that happened about the following day, also, I would have to take quite some time, so I will stop for now.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Thank you, Jaybeddie. Samwillie, do you think you can carry on?

**SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** [Translation] I'm sorry. I apologize for bursting out in emotion, but I have to explain. When we got on the ship to depart from our original homeland, I want to say what exactly happened, as a family, and as friends. My mother still had a father. My grandfather was still alive. All her younger sisters and brothers were still alive. Larry's father, he had a full range of brothers and sisters, Philipoosie among them. At the moment of departure, I remember Thomassie and Philipoosie, people who are no longer living now, who were never going to see their family members again. They died in the High Arctic.

We were told of the promise of two years; that we were going to be there two years only. I remember, there were waves – they were waving each other goodbye, with tears streaming down their faces. "Cousin, I am going to see you again. I will return." And there were many people saying that as the ship was departing. They never saw their family again. Not only did they not see them ever again, they never heard from them again.

This is why I was so emotional when I was trying to describe this. People should not be treated like this. A person who is departing from his land involuntarily should not be treated like this.

I said yesterday that we did not know of the conditions of any other land, and so we were perfectly happy in our original homeland. We did not have any thoughts, such as, "Let's move away from here." We were not in any want. It is frustrating and sad that we were handled like this. We were greatly deceived. We were lied to. The government's statement – (native language) – the government's two years are still not up, even today. The two years that were originally mentioned are not up yet, according to the government.

When our step-father was dead, after eight months, we wanted to return right away. That's my family. But we were told by the police, who was the boss, with no appeal beyond his particular authority, that the ship could no longer go back to our original community, "Therefore, you cannot return. If you ever return, you're going to have to find other people to take your place, because we have to keep this occupied. You are merely Inuit and the ship cannot take you back to your community. You would have to spend a lot of time in the south, in transient, and that's not possible." So we were pleading our case to return, but it was never transmitted, or given as a message to any other authority, and we're able to tell it only now. I am glad to have the opportunity to say this.

This is not the only problem. In 1962 I recall – and I related it yesterday, but I want to clarify. Rynie Flaherty's husband, Josephie Flaherty, my step-father sent for him, but he never even got to see him. My step-father asked for him and he never even saw him alive. So, in 1962, Josephie asked to be returned to his original home, back to our land, but he was told – and he related to me what he was told, so I know this firsthand, because he came to me and said – Josephie, first of all, said, "I want to return to my home." That's what he said to the police. But he was answered – and he complained to me about the answer he was given. "They are going to set up a school now and I have a lot of children and I am not allowed to go back to my homeland." Tears were streaming down his face when he said this. Josephie was a young man at the time. He was a happy man. He was easy to laugh. He was living life to the fullest. But, after he was refused his request to return home, his whole life took on a very different disposition and he was no longer himself afterwards. Not only him, but there were many others who turned very sad. His life was, basically, down. His mind was down. He became weak physically, and people began to think that he was suffering some sort of a mental problem, or mental depression.

Then, in 1979, I, myself, returned. When he recalled, after his own request, he was utterly turned down. He never brought up the subject again, but he cried when I, myself, was returning. I can still see him crying. "Why is the government treating people like this? Why is the government letting us Inuit suffer like this, removing them from their original homeland and lying to them? Why are they lying to them, telling them they can return?" They were waving their relatives goodbye, and I can still see them, even today: our relatives, our mothers, who never saw their sisters again. We had many relatives; our extended family in our original homeland. They never saw their mothers, their sisters, their friends. Never to see them again.

I have pain in my heart because of this, even today, and I am not happy today because I can still imagine as I describe it. I am trying not to be saddened by all of it, but if I had to go through the same experience today, if I was going to be treated like this, I would not accept it. It has touched our lives, not only myself. We were not entirely voluntarily leaving.

Who was responsible for this? Is it me? No. It's the government who was responsible for this. The government still has not acknowledged that they did this. They ruined our lives. It has even touched my own children; all the children of these people who were relocated. My sister's children are in the High Arctic. She's back in her original homeland. This has caused many problems.

Why did the government do this? Should they be allowed to ruin people's

lives and have people suffer depression? Should they be allowed to do this to aboriginal people in Canada? No, they should not do this.

I have also heard that Canada is the best country in the world. Should they be burdening Inuit with such things? No, I don't think so.

I am going to say more about this later on, but I would like to take some time now to describe the actual relocation and the landing. My sister is going to have to help me describe the landing itself.

When we started arriving, we were asked on the ship, on the *C.D. Howe* – I am going to return to that a bit, to put all of this in context. As you heard about my mother, I was the only one who was actually with my mother at the time of the relocation. When they started dividing us on the ship, all of my mother's children, whom she gathered from the different scattered camps, were all designated to go to Alexandra Fiord. That can be pointed out on the map. My mother was told, "Your children are going to be designated to go where we tell them to go." She was not very happy about being told that. Those of us who have children today can just imagine suffering this kind of treatment. Now, if I, myself, was told that my children, my own children, are going to be scattered about in all sorts of different locations, I would not be very happy. I am sure that none of you would. I would cry. I would weep if my children were going to be scattered to many different locations. That's what my mother did. She cried when people were separated on the *C.D. Howe*. Even the dogs were howling, and the people were crying, because they were being separated.

This was the first trauma that we suffered. This was the first brutally emotional event that we had to live through, that the government put us through, which has an effect on us and our children, even today.

When we arrived, finally, in the High Arctic, I said yesterday that we were sent, but they didn't want us around the post. We were going to interfere with the lives of the two lone *Qallunaat* that were there, so they sent us to an even more desolate place. We were, literally, set up on rock. There was no shelter. There was not even one two-by-four that we were given for sustenance. The few pieces of wood that we used as accessories to pitch up our tents were the only things that we had. Here we were, having been told that we were going to a land of plenty. This was totally false. It was not a land of plenty. When we were landed, we were moved a further 40 miles away from where we were landed. We were landed to this other location, Lindstrom Peninsula, on a ledge that had – we could not walk beyond two miles. Three thousand feet is the elevation of the mountain. We had never been in any such place. For us it seemed like a prison, where we could not go anywhere where we pleased. It seemed like we were fenced in. We were put in a prison.

I am not trying to disparage the geographical location itself, but it seemed like we were being put in a prison. There was no place for us to walk beyond the two-mile ledge we were put on. It seemed like we were put in a prison, considering that the land – our original homeland, we could go anywhere where we pleased, without restriction. Once the ice set in, or even in summer, we could walk all over, wherever we pleased. So, we were very saddened and disappointed, especially Larry's father.

So, we have suffered all these things and it's only now I've been able to tell you all this. I am telling you the truth. I am not telling you lies. I want to tell you, further, that those of us who have told about the trips to the out-

posts – and when we ran out of tea and flour. Were we sent there to be well fed? No. I say not. We were sent there for sovereignty reasons. We were sent there to hold the land.

We used to be told to make the Greenland Inuit feel unwelcome. Should we tell any other people to not come here? Should we be told to tell others not to come there? I say not. We should make any other human beings, other than others, feel welcome.

Is it true that we were sent there to be fed better than we were before? I say no. I said, also, that they want people from a far-away place; people that could not return to their original home. We have been deceived. We have lived a great deception. We have been deceived by the government. I am glad I am able to tell you this now. We were sent there for no other reason than to occupy geography that was not previously occupied and to call it Canada, therefore. We were sent there to hold the land. We were sent to assert Canada's sovereignty. We were lied to. We were lied to when we were told we could return to our original surroundings, but this was not true. So, now we know that the government was not going to send us there for nothing. They sent us there for something, for sure.

I will stop for now.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Sometimes the interpreters have a hard time keeping up. Please try and talk slowly, as much as possible. Please try to keep this in mind, for the benefit of the interpreters.

John Amagoalik will be the next speaker. Then the other delegates will have a chance. John.

**JOHN AMAGOALIK:** [English] Thank you, Mary. I am going to speak in English.

My name is John Amagoalik. Because of my work, I am living here in Orleans.

If I may, I would like to go back before the actual journey, to the spring before the relocation, when the RCMP constable, with his interpreter, first arrived in our little hunting camp, just north of Inukjuak, to ask us if we were interested in this relocation project.

Now, you have heard in earlier testimony that most people – most Inuit – were afraid of the white man; that they found it difficult to contradict what the white man was saying. There were, of course, exceptions. My father was one of those exceptions. He was one of those few that could say no, if he felt it had to be said. He did say no the first three or four times. The RCMP didn't come to our camp just once, they came back three or four times. Each time my father said no.

It was through his stubbornness that he managed to extract two promises from the RCMP, and those promises were that we could return and that we would not be separated. We, of course, know now that the government never had any intention of honouring those promises.

It has also been mentioned that the RCMP didn't meet with us collectively, together in a group. They interviewed each family separately, always separately, and this was very intentional.

I remember the RCMP telling my parents that their other relatives had already agreed to the relocation and that my parents should agree too. We later found that this was not the case. That was the reason why they were interviewing each family separately.

I, of course, remember the RCMP painted a very rosy picture of this new location. They made it sound as if it was the promised land.

I remember the journey, which has been described. I remember the news about our separation, when we were on the ship. I remember the women crying. And I remember landing in Resolute; late August, early September. And, of course, the conditions have been described.

I want to return a bit back to the spring of 1953. I was just a young kid, but I remember things very well. I remember my mother telling me that my older brother was very sick. He had no energy. He was lethargic. He was spitting blood. We knew he had TB. We knew he was sick. My mother was preparing us mentally for his departure to a southern hospital. I will finish in a few minutes.

**THE FACILITATOR:** John will stop for awhile. If any of you would like to continue – Larry.

**LARRY AUDLALUK:** [English] I won't be speaking Inuktitut.

It is very sad to think that the government would not give us credit for being capable of understanding what's going on. It is very obvious that the government thought that we only knew about hunting and a very simple life. This is a good case, or a good example, of the government's ignorance of the Inuit.

Let me remind everyone, during the fifties were the times in the eyes of the world, especially in the western culture – one of the most prosperous times. Our country was not poor. We had just come out of the big wars. The country wasn't poor.

I will say, again, that Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay today are very good communities to live in. We are very well off. I live up there. We have very scenic communities today. But the price was very high to get to where we are today. That's a very big price to pay for getting to the stage we live in today, up in the High Arctic. You are just seeing part of the price that was paid.

If the government had been more honest – let me go back to the times of exploration, in the old days, during the time of Franklin. When explorers were looking for people to come with them to the unknown, they used to publish their intentions and look for recruitment. They said, "Looking for hardy people, willing to risk their lives, for no pay. You will be given, at least, food and shelter, but, otherwise, we won't be responsible for anything else." Why didn't the government use that approach?

The Inuit have always been, because of our – up to now, too, we have always been very tough. Risk-takers. We live in one of the harshest climates in the world. Because of our ability to survive, we are here today. If the government had said, "People needed to go to the High Arctic. Completely different environment. Different wildlife. You will have to adjust to a different diet from where you come from. Expect not much", I'm sure they would have had a response from some part of the Arctic, instead of trying to sell a product, using a sales pitch, "Almost too good to be true." They didn't give us the benefit of the doubt. It's really sad.

For too long the aboriginals of this country have been treated like second-hand citizens, or second-hand product. We have our own culture with much knowledge. We have as much intellect as anybody else in the world, if not more in some areas. This is an example of ignorance of our civil servants of this country, and the price we had to pay to get to where we are today no

longer should be ignored.

I will stop here for now. Thank you.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Thank you, Larry. John, are you ready?

**JOHN AMAGOALIK:** [English] Thank you. As I was saying, my mother was preparing us mentally for my brother's departure that next summer, when the ship arrived. The ship arrived and we had our examinations, and we were very surprised that the doctors gave my brother a clean bill of health. We were prepared for his departure, but the doctors said he was healthy. He nearly died that first winter, and he ended up infecting the whole community.

The first ten years in Resolute were the most terrible years of our lives. We spent years without mothers, without fathers, without brothers, without sisters, who were all sick in the hospital; in southern hospitals. Our families were never complete in those years. There was always somebody – one or two or three members of the family – in the hospital at the same time.

I remember my father sending letters to my older brother, who was in hospital then. He used to try and include a little bit of cash – spare cash – that he had so that my brother could have some spending money in the hospital. When my brother got back to Resolute, we were surprised when he told us that he had never received any money. He got some letters, a few letters, but there was never any cash.

I remember scrounging, for food in the dump, for clothing, for shelter. Whenever a plane arrived in Resolute, we all used to rush to the dump, because we knew that some left-over sandwiches from the flight would be thrown away in the dump. That became an important part of our food supply. My cousin Sarah nearly died that first winter from lack of nutrition. Her baby, Paul, who is sitting back there, nearly died.

It was that first spring that my father went to the RCMP to request that we be returned home. He got a flat "no", right on the spot. The RCMP constable didn't even bother passing on this request to his superiors. He made the decision on the spot and said no. That was it. Case closed.

I do remember this particular constable. He was extremely short-tempered. Whenever anybody ever disagreed with him he flew into a rage. His face turned all red. It was his way or no way.

There is one particular incident that I would like to tell. I was a young kid, about nine or ten years old. I was visiting my friends. We were playing in their house. One of the younger kids had these sores on his back. He kept scratching them. He couldn't stop scratching them. This constable tried to put some medication on, but it didn't work, the little boy kept scratching his back. The RCMP constable lost his temper. He took out a piece of rope. He tied it around one of his elbows, around his neck, and to the other elbow. The kid was squatting on the floor, tied up like this, and the cop left. He just left. It was about five minutes later that his father got enough courage to untie him.

We came from Port Harrison, which at the time was developing. There was a school established. There was a nursing station. There were government services, although limited. But, up in Resolute, there was absolutely nothing: no medical facilities, no schools; nothing.

We finally got a school, back around 1958. By that time I was 11 years old; one of the reasons why I didn't get a higher education; one of the reasons

why many of the young people my age never did get an education. We feel very much cheated by this.

Our first school was two miles away, in what they called South Camp. We had to walk to school every morning, two miles, in the middle of winter. In blizzards. In minus 40, minus 50 degree temperatures. The polar bear were roaming all over the place. Amarualik's daughter did get lost in the storm one day, coming back from school, and the whole community had to go out and search for her.

I remember the men being out for months – months upon months – and the women and children were left alone in the community to fend for themselves.

I remember my parents always yearning for food. They were crying for fish, berries, game birds, and things that were just not available up there.

I think it is also very important for people to understand the complete and utter isolation that we experienced. We were completely cut off from the world for the first three or four years; no way of communicating with our families and friends back home.

The past 40 years we have been trying to get at the government to make them understand just exactly what happened. I just can't understand why they will not admit to their criminal negligence, their abandonment, and the violation of our human rights.

Thank you, Mary.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Thank you, John. Would any one of you like to add to what has been said? Simeonie.

**SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] Thank you, Mary and Commissioners.

The fact that the government had really paid it and the fact that the government refuses to recognize us, we don't understand why they don't want to recognize this.

Looking at the map, Grise Fiord had four police constables in 1953, and Alexandra Fiord had four police constables. Now there is only one police officer there, since we've been moved there. The police that were sent there by the federal government to prevent the Greenlanders from harvesting musk ox, now we are there basically to prevent the Greenlanders from harvesting wildlife up there.

We are telling the government: "Admit that you had sent us there to assert Canada's sovereignty up in that territory." We don't have an awful lot against the government, we are just simply asking them to acknowledge what the actual truth and their purpose was for sending us there. Anybody can make a mistake, even the government can, and the government should just admit their mistake and thank us – recognize that we deserve thanks for our role and compensate us for the damages that we have suffered in our lives. The damage is tremendous, but we are asking for very little money. For the government, the amount of money we are asking for is very small, actually.

We are relating to you what has happened. To us, the government should simply say yes to what we are asking, considering all that has happened. The government has treated – and believe their aboriginal people. If we tell them the truth, for sure, they should know that we're telling the truth. The Government of Canada is elected by all Canadians and, if we think of it, he's

sort of the bishop. We can think of him as a bishop towards his people.

When the government came on the scene, in the Arctic, they sort of set out to destroy the lives and the traditions and the culture and the language of the people there. It is only in recent years, when we had set up our own organizations – our associations – to counter this wholesale destruction and disruption of our lives and our language and our culture that government is starting to realize that, yes, there is something worth preserving here. The Minister of Indian Affairs, who is acting on behalf of the government to deal with the aboriginal people, is in no way fulfilling his responsibility.

The RCMP, which is responsible for representing the Queen in our homeland, has the power and authority to call for our destruction, basically.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Thank you. Minnie, which one of you? Would Anna go first? Anna wanted to speak.

**ANNA NUNGAQ:** [Translation] I am Anna Nungaq.

**THE FACILITATOR:** I would like to say, first, when you are speaking, can you please try to make clear who you are speaking about; who exactly it was that you are speaking about? People, if you can make clear who it was that said these things to you – if you can't name them, that's not possible, but if you can make clear who exactly you are talking about when you are speaking.

Can you understand if it's possible for you to do this?

**ANNA NUNGAQ:** [Translation] I am not aware of the names, or I don't know the names of the *Qallunaat*. I can talk about them and relate to them.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Perhaps, if you can just name them, or what the Inuit call them, it would be sufficient.

**ANNA NUNGAQ:** [Translation] I would like to add to what Samwillie said. When we were divided into different groups on the *C.D. Howe*, we thought that we were going to stay with Simeonie and his group. I've said that earlier.

Now, when we were in the High Arctic, I had many worries and burdens on my mind. I said earlier – I described the departing of my grandfather and the fact that he travelled a long distance by kayak to visit us for our departure. My mother came to get me and we respected and abided by the wishes of our mothers and our Elders. When we were getting onto the ship, all of our relatives who were coming to see us off, all wept and cried as we shook hands.

Now, we understood at the time that we were only going away for two years, but we all were aware, and we were finally prepared to get onto the ship. People who saw us off wept. No wonder they cried.

For me, I was not aware of the sheer distance of where we were going. On the trip, itself, at times, when the water and sea was very rough, plates and bowls could not even stay still on the table. I, myself, was already longing to go back home, during the trip itself.

Now, when we had landed in the High Arctic it was very cold. It was cold and it was not dark. It was already snowing. It was already not a happy time when we landed. We were not happy. When we were landed by the *C.D. Howe*, we parted company with the people that we thought were going to stay with us in our exile. John Amagoalik has described the time when his parents were alive, when Salluviniq was alive; these people that we had

This reference to Salluviniq's death likely refers to Salluviniq Amagoalik who was relocated as a child to Grise Fiord. Salluviniq and his older brother Allie had gone fishing and did not return. Salluviniq's body was found but Allie's was not. This tragic death is detailed in Larry Audlaluk's biography *What I Remember, What I Know*.



grown attached to and had bonded with. Sarah and Simeonie and their families, we departed with them and we pitched our tents in a very cold place. It was not a happy time for us.

So, when we were established in the High Arctic, where there was no shelter, no church, no hospital, nothing, all we had was a tent. We landed and that's all we had to live in, a tent. The police had houses, and the people that – there were two families that worked for the police – (native name) – Kyak – a special constable, Kyak, and his wife, Leetia. They told us that the previous description of the Quebec Inuit was that we were all a bunch of thieves, so coffee containers and other things which were stored outside normally were taken inside for safer storage. I, myself, have never known thievery or thieves, or people who stole back in Inukjuak. They were preparing to be landed by a bunch of thieves. This was a very disparaging description of us.

When the *C.D. Howe* was coming later on, when we were living there, our parents and all of us used to dress up in new clothing. We always tried to be in a new set of clothing before the *C.D. Howe* came. I guess it was to describe us as well-dressed, that we were dressed in new clothing. And I guess it was to describe us as well-dressed people, so that the police could see that we were well-dressed when the police came and the other authorities came. We were dressed out in our very best clothing before we went onto the ship to go and get our x-rays. We were all dressed in our very best clothing, and so we were when we went to get our x-rays. This was not described. Perhaps people have forgotten it. But I always remember it. Why was it that we were all dressed in our very best clothing around ship-time?

Thomassie and his family, whom we lived with, who landed with us, who are no longer living – Thomassie and Mary, they are no longer living, but they were with us when we were landed. They lived through the burdens and fears that we experienced when we landed and when we were trying to settle there. They, themselves, were very homesick. They are no longer living, so people don't speak about them, but they were very homesick, along with all the rest of us.

Until the Greenlanders came, those people from Greenland, who eventually came to visit us, we never experienced eating any fish before they came, and here we were sent there to protect that part of the country from Greenlanders harvesting. But they were the ones who told us where to find fish. I can't really say how many years we spent without eating any fish of any kind, but it was not until the Greenlanders, many years later, told us where to find fish.

We were always uncertain if there was going to be another sunrise, or a sunset. We did not know, in the early years, the conditions, but we were told by our instructors, the High Arctic people who came with us, what sort of climate conditions existed. Larry's father, who was our catechist, or leader in prayer, died very early in our exile. I do not live with them now, but I remember all of this.

I would like to stop for now.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Thank you, Anna. Minnie? Yes, Sarah.

**SARAH AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] My name is Sarah Amagoalik.

I want to describe the splitting of families when we arrived in Craig Harbour. We had all been together on the *C.D. Howe* for the whole trip and

we were under the impression that we would all be together in one location. Then we were split into different groups and we were transferred onto the *d'Iberville*, which was an ice-breaker.

By that time we had grown so used to and accustomed to conditions on *C.D. Howe*. It was sort of a home for us by that time. But we were transferred onto another ship, and the others were landed there, and we lived in the foresection of the ship. They were on two levels. There was an upper level and a lower level. I lived in the lower level, while some of them were quartered on the upper level of the foredeck.

Now, when we were transferred onto the *d'Iberville*, the ice-breaker, we were put inside the stern section, immediately below the helicopter landing pad. We were living right below the actual landing pad of the helicopter. We could not sleep, because a helicopter used to land right above us, and there were all sorts of drums – oil drums – in the stern section. The helicopter landing pad was there. All they did was cover us with a bit of canvas. There used to be a very, very noisy engine that was turned on to heat the place where we were staying. So, there was a lot of noise pollution where we were. It was below the helicopter landing pad. So, all our trip to *Resolute* was lived under those conditions. They were not ideal conditions, I can say.

When we landed in *Resolute* we thought we were going to land in a place with *Qallunaag*, white people. We were told of the possibility that we would be occupying some empty buildings, but we were landed onto a stretch of shore that was absolutely desolate.

We were able to get warm when we pitched up our tents. Actually, there was wood on the shore and we were able to use our wood-burning stoves. We were able to use those stoves.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Where? Is that in Inukjuak?

**SARAH AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] No, after we landed in *Resolute*. We were able to use wooden crates in *Resolute*. There was a lot of nails on those crates. I used to spend – I used to step on a lot of nails on those crates, because that's all the wood we had.

I described yesterday the conditions I had with my small baby, so I will stop for now.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Minnie, do you want to speak next? Take the microphone beside Anna and use it. Turn it on.

**MINNIE KILLIKTEE:** [Translation] I am Minnie Killiktee.

I was part of the relocatees that travelled in 1953 up to the High Arctic. I am not accustomed to speaking at such a large gathering, so I am sort of shaking nervously.

I was 13 years old. I remember only part of the events. I remember the relocation, or parts of it. I remember my mother's recounting what they were told. I was, myself, quite happy, because I was 13 years old, because I was expecting to go to a much more pleasant place, and I don't think I really cried, even though my mother was weeping and crying at our departure.

Here we were, travelling on the ship. I was actually looking forward to being on the ship; spending time on the ship. I don't think I cried, even though my mother and them were crying.

When we spent so much time on the ship, it was no longer pleasant after awhile. I only remember part of it. I don't remember all of it. But, what I do remember, when we arrived at the High Arctic, the place that was going

Minnie Killiktee was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Grise Fiord in 1953 at age 13

to be our home, it was getting cold, it was getting more desolate; getting more barren. I did not know that it was dark in the winter and light in the summer. When I first became aware that it was all dark all winter, I thought I was going to sleep all winter and get up only in the summer. That was the mental image I had upon hearing that those were the conditions.

I said earlier that the more we got nearer our new home it was getting more barren and getting less pleasant.

In 1953 when we landed there were only two police officers and two Inuit families who were servants of the police. They had wives and children.

From Inukjuak to Grise Fiord, I remember these are the people who landed, including their children and their adults. There were, perhaps, 18. Aqiattusuk had a wife. Joadamee had a wife. Philipoosi had a wife. Thomassie had a wife. These were the men with families that went from Inukjuak.

Yesterday, somebody said that there were teachers in Inukjuak at the time. I was in school before our relocation in Inukjuak. We were relocated to the High Arctic when our original homeland was being established with a school. I lament for this, that we were sent out just as one school was starting. I was one of the pupils in school in Inukjuak, but this was cut right off beyond Inukjuak, because we were landed on rock with absolutely nothing, and, therefore, our education could not continue.

I want you to know that I was one of the first relocatees in 1953. Thank you for allowing me to speak.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Thank you, Minnie. Just for the information of the Commissioners, we have five brothers and sisters in a row here, starting from Larry Audlaluk on to Minnie, who was just speaking.

Samwillie wanted to add something.

Larry Audlaluk, Samwillie Elijasialuk, Anna Nungak, Minnie Killiktee, and Elijah Nutaraq

**SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** [Translation] Thank you for the opportunity to speak further to what is being spoken. I want to add to what Anna said earlier about being dressed in our best, which she said earlier. She didn't quite complete the story, so I wanted to complete it.

The police used to come when they were expecting the ship to arrive, getting around to checking what sort of clothing they would wear at ship-time. Boots and other articles of clothing were inspected by the police, with the intention of equipping them with new sets of clothing and telling us, "You are going to have to wear your best clothing when the ship comes. Are you sure now which ones you are going to wear?" That's what the police used to tell us, or ask us. They used to inspect the clothing that we were wearing. Did we have good boots? Did we have good boots to wear at ship-time? If he did not have good boots to wear, they would tell the women to sew new boots. And they used to ask women, "Where are the clothing that your children are going to wear at ship-time?" When the ship arrived everything was to be as pleasant as could be.

We know this, so we can tell it today. But I also remember my mother saying that Thomassie's children – and I am going to use them as an example. Or, she used them as an example in telling this story. My mother used to try to help everybody out. Mothers giving birth, people who were sick, she used to try to help them all.

Now, in the summer, Thomassie lost two children. They used to wear torn clothing because there was no store.<sup>9</sup> There was no post where cloth-

9. Allie and Salluviniq.

ing could be had. Then my mother said, "I have just told one of the police officers two boys are no longer living. The one who was very insistent. The one who could take 30." My mother used to supervise giving birth and other events.

My mother was a very well-respected woman. She said, "I have just burnt the clothing of the two boys that lost their lives." They used to be very poorly clothed, those boys who lost their lives, but their parents were saving very good clothing for ship-time. But they had died very poor, actually, wearing rags the police were feared. If they were not wearing new clothing, if they were not wearing good boots at ship-time, the white people who were on the ship that arrived would describe it. They wanted to be able to say about us that we were well clothed. They even inspected our clothing, making sure that we were wearing good clothing at ship-time. This is how – even our clothing was supervised. We were required to wear our best clothes at ship-time and be in our best boots. So, because we feared the police, we used to try to dress up in our best clothing. We were wearing our very best clothing only during the ship-time; only during the time when the ship was in our community.

I wanted to clarify that, because Anna mentioned it earlier.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Larry, would like to add to what has been said? After that we will break for lunch. At 1:30 I'm going to have a few questions to ask of what you said earlier, to clarify certain things that you said. Perhaps the Royal Commissioners will have some questions of you also.

Larry, you will be the last speaker for now.

**LARRY AUDLALUK:** [English] I am going to speak English. I would like to clarify a little bit further about adjusting to the new country, for my parents and brothers and sisters. My brothers and sisters are sitting next to me, all the way to Elijah Nutaraq. From me, Samwillie, Anna, Minnie and Elijah – my brothers and sisters. I am the youngest.

They had to adjust to a new way of hunting, and adjusting to different diets; adjusting to eating marine mammals more than water fowl. One of the things they had to really get used to not having was fish. But, in the summertime, in spring and summertime, much of their time was spent trying to catch sculpin; what we call in Inuktitut "kanayuq", because they didn't know where the lakes were.

As my sister told earlier, we were not aware of where to go for fishing until the Greenlanders told us, the very people we had been asked to kick out of the area; keep away from the area.

The boys – Thomassie Amarualik's boys – the two boys who died, who drowned, whose clothing my mother had to burn, I will talk about a little bit further. They spent a lot of their time trying to catch sculpin for the meals for the whole family, because their father was too busy trying to go hunting other game, keep the dogs fed; bigger game. The boys and us, with our older brothers, some of them, like Samwillie or my brother's wife, or my sister, we would go out often fishing for those sculpin, because the old folks really missed having fish. Sculpin was, at least, edible and it reminded them a bit of a fish they used to have back home, before they discovered the Arctic char lakes.

All summer we would do that, and spring. One day, one morning, Elisapee Nutaraq – my brother's wife now, who is sitting in the back – because

As Larry Audlaluk explains in *What I Remember, What I Know*, Inuit custom in Nunavik was to discard the personal possessions of the deceased, including burning the clothes. Here, Samwillie is explaining that Allie and Salluviniq had new clothes that were being saved for ship time, but which were burned per the custom, despite the scarcity of clothing.

he was much older than us, decided to go sculpin fishing with me. We were just going to go for a quick trip, but Thomassie's children – the two boys who were to drown later in the day – saw us going and wanted to follow us. But we were a little bit reluctant, Elisapee and I, because we were in a hurry, for them to come with us. But, being respectful of the parents, we said, "Okay, we will wait for them while they get dressed." This was about eight in the morning; very early in the morning.

Because the two boys, who were a year older than me, one of them, and the other one was about three years older than I, had been hunting with their parents now and then, more often than I was, they really liked it, so the mothers decided that they should go with us fishing so they won't bother their father while he went out hunting big game. Because we didn't have a very big boat in those days, I guess she was worried about them taking up space in the boat, so she sent them with us.

We went fishing most of the morning, and we didn't catch very many. But, Elisapee Nutaraq said, "Well, time to go home." And the two older boys, the only two companions I had when I was young, never came back. I never saw them again because one of them drowned, but, the other one, we never found his body. These are Simeonie Amarualik's nephews that went to Grise Fiord, instead of going to Resolute with Simeonie. Because he was his half-brother, he ended up going with us, so the whole family just deteriorated later in life, after the two boys drowned. My only companion when I was growing up – and I was alone for a long time, because their youngest brother was too young to play with me. By then I was already eight years old.

Do you know what it's like to be lonely and not have anyone to play with? Not knowing that I had left behind so many cousins in Inukjuak – my parents, relatives – never knowing that I could have had so many friends in Inukjuak while I was growing up. I never started school until I was 12. Imagine how much education I could have had if I had started early in life in school? I didn't start school until I was 12. And to lose my two friends – it was very hard in those days to have any companions.

So, when Samwillie talks about my mother burning the two boys' clothing that were saved for the ship-time, to make us look good, she was very, you know – saying "disappointed". What a waste of such fine clothing; the clothing that they had bought during the ship-time, last September, and they were saving them for this coming September, because the boys drowned during July or early August. I don't know the exact date. All summer long they were raggedly dressed in very poor clothing and boots, and my mother seeing all that go to waste. It was a very, very shameful waste, she said, as Samwillie related. I remember her saying that exact thing, too, saying, "I just burned the boys' clothing."

That's all I wanted to say for now. Thank you.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Thank you, Larry. We are off for lunch. When we come back after lunch Markoosie Patsauq will be the first speaker at the beginning of the afternoon session.

— Luncheon recess at 12:10 p.m.

— Upon resuming at 1:30 p.m.

**THE FACILITATOR:** We decided that Markoosie Patsauq would start off, but before he starts we have a few questions in regards to what you were

talking about earlier, so we can clarify some of the points that you made. Although you were very understandable, there were some spaces that we want clarified, in order to make everything full in detail. The Royal Commissioners may also have questions.

First of all, the people from Pond Inlet, you stated that you have had meetings where the Inuit of Inukjuak were not allowed to take part in the meetings that you had held. Would one of you clarify that further?

During those meetings, the *Qallunaaq* that had met you, what were they saying? What did they say to you? Could one of you – could Jaybeddie or you, yourself –

**SAMUEL ARNAKALLAK:** [Translation] When we talk about the meetings that were held between us before we arrived into Craig Harbour, a few Elders from Pond Inlet and the people that were representing the government, they told us that the people from Inukjuak had never been in the same climate as we were, so we were told to assist them. The meetings that were held between the Inuit from Pond Inlet and – they were indicating to us the names of the people from Inukjuak. Am I clear enough?

**THE FACILITATOR:** Why did they say that the Inukjuak people were not supposed to be involved in those meetings?

**SAMUEL ARNAKALLAK:** [Translation] They didn't explain that, but what I thought, maybe they didn't want them to hear because they didn't want them to know that they were going to be separated, because their plans were already that they would be separated and they didn't want them to hear that. When they did that we went out. They indicated to us that these five people will be under your guidance.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Jaypettie, can you state further?

**JAYPETTIE AMARUALIK:** [Translation] That was the case. I am Jaypettie Amarualik of Pond Inlet.

We were told that we would be making money, and we were told not to fear anything, that we would be provided for all our needs, and we were happy to hear that. Later on they said that supplies would be provided by the government, so they would be less expensive. That's the information that was given to us.

Those of us who were originally from the High Arctic –

Three of us were convened. The three of us from Pond Inlet, we were convened. We were told that we would be sort of the supervisors of the other groups, because they were not familiar with the terrain and the climate of the region. So, in Resolute, I used to do that sort of job. There were only four of us grown men. When we did any hunting we were able to get seals.

We did not have that great a hardship afterwards, but my pain I still feel for the daughter that I lost. I was crying inside.

The ice conditions were very different and the snow was very soft. In June, when the snow became soft, it was very, very deep.

There was a guy who was his white man. He was a geologist, named Tim, from Ottawa.

Tim was just a geologist, and there was Andrew, who was another white man. I am told that he's in Edmonton these days, but he was going after small birds. He was a naturalist. So, I wanted to go home, but both of these people did not want to return.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Somebody mentioned earlier the Greenlanders. Can we get a clarification as to what exactly was told to the Greenlanders, and by whom, and how they travelled there? Can somebody speak on that? What were your instructions as to how to treat the Greenlanders? Somebody mentioned this. Was it you?

**ELIJAH NUTARAQ:** [Translation] I am Elijah Nutaraq.

Up there, when we were in Grise Fiord, we had a bunch of Greenlanders arrive by dog-team, but the first ones were not given any problems, but the ones that consequently came, later on, the police, who were acting on behalf of the government, arrived by airplane. They started arriving by airplane, the police officers did. They didn't come very often. The RCMP came by aircraft. I am not quite certain exactly who came, but they were from the RCMP. I can't really name or recall the names of the many various police officers that were stationed there.

When the police came the Greenlanders came also, when we only had two police officers. We generally only had two police officers.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Were they given any calling in Inuktitut?

**ELIJAH NUTARAQ:** [Translation] One of them was called Qiyuk, which means, literally, "wood". We were not familiar with white people's names. I can never keep them in my head. So, one was called "Wood".

So, the Greenlanders arrived. Toomaqsie. That was his name. Then I was told to tell them not to harvest any more polar bear, although there was nothing said about seals. We were instructed to tell them not to harvest any more polar bear. I attempted to transmit that message in my own dialect, in my own language, to them, because that's all I knew. What I told them was, "The Canadian authorities do not want you to harvest any more polar bear." But, because they were Inuit – but continued to arrive, although dog food is scarce around here.

So, they got my message and they understood, although we had great difficulty in the differences of our dialects understanding each other. But they told me, "God made them. These animals are not the property of government, and so we will disregard the government's instructions." That's what the Greenlanders told us. They told us that God made the animals; He created the animals. They were not created by government. So, they didn't have much regard for the government's word. I told them, "Because they never directly gave you this message, you probably do not have to abide by what they are trying to get me to tell you." So, they agreed to that. So, they continued to kill polar bear.

They were traced – the RCMP plane tracked them down by air – by aircraft that was equipped with skis. They swooped down and landed in their encampments, and if they had harvested any polar bear or any evidence of polar bear skins they would get confiscated by the police.

I think this is the answer to your question.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Thank you. I would like to return a bit to the Pond Inlet people. When you were being met, when a meeting was being conducted with you in explaining your relocation to the High Arctic, was there any indication as to what you would find, or what conditions existed in the new land that you were going to be relocated to?

**SAMUEL ARNAKALLAK:** [Translation] We, ourselves, had never been there

previously, although my mother had been in that area previously. So, we knew only that that area was plentiful in seals; that marine mammals were plentiful.

When we landed in Craig Harbour we caught some walrus that were for the use of the police post at Craig Harbour. When we were going to be relocated to a new location, after the tenth day, we were landed to this new location and the police, whose name was Sergeant, and Kyak, the special constable, had found this new place. When I went to examine it myself, to see if there was any water source, there was no river, there was a very tiny brook. I thought, "Yes, that's okay." I thought, "We can examine it more upon our arrival – after our arrival."

So, this place was already chosen for us as a site, even before our arrival.

We were told that there was plentiful wildlife: polar bear, walrus, musk ox and plentiful caribou. My mother told me that, previously, no caribou had existed there. There was lots of foxes. So, we were told all this. It was not a place where people would have to depend on welfare or government hand-outs.

The Resolute people would know how to identify this other one, who is called Umilik (ph), or "Bearded One"

What I observed, though, is that the sea mammals were more plentiful from our original homeland, but land animals and other game were not more plentiful.

**THE FACILITATOR:** I would like to ask the same question of the Inukjuak relocatees. When you were being prepared for the relocation, what exactly were you told? What sort of description of a new land were you given, and by whom were you given these explanations of the conditions in the new land?

There was a former teacher, whose name was Marjorie Hinds, whom we have read about, who was part of the people who explained the conditions in the new land. Can any of you elaborate on what exactly you were told; Lazarusie or John Amagoalik, or the others present here?

**SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] At the time, when we were being prepared to relocate, the teacher, whom you just mentioned, was hired by the police to take part in the explanations, but there was one who arrived by aircraft into Inukjuak, whose name was Alex Stevenson. He arrived in 1953 by aircraft, in June. He was the one who told their older brother, Joadamee, that they should now be prepared to relocate, or they should relocate. So, it was him.

He told Joadamee that he would be waiting for them in Churchill, once they arrived in Churchill by boat. But, because we lived in a farther camp, and they lived in a nearer camp, we were told by the policeman, Ross Gibson, and he explained to us the details concerning relocation, although the others, the ones we were going to follow, were explained this whole business by Alex Stevenson.

I said yesterday that we were given one month's notice before the departure time. We were never informed more than one month.

**THE FACILITATOR:** What were you told at the time? What exactly were you told?

**SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] Well, the one who came to inform us, informed us that, "You are going to go. You are going to leave. You

Margery Hinds was a well-respected school teacher who worked throughout the Arctic, and was the local teacher in Inukjuak in the early 1950s

Alexander Stevenson visited Inukjuak in early July 1953 on an inspection trip, along with Henry Larsen where he was able to discuss the relocation with Rheub Ploughman (HBC), Margery Hinds (the local welfare teacher), and A.A. Webster (RCMP). Stevenson was also able to discuss the relocation with two Inuit who happened to be at the trading post.

Joadamee Aqiatasuk, who was relocated to Grise Fiord in 1953.

Ross Gibson was a member of the RCMP "G" Division, stationed at Inukjuak beginning July 1, 1952. The following summer he was transferred, alongside Inuit, to Resolute Bay where he served until 1958 when he was posted to Nova Scotia. Gibson helped identify Inuit to move from Inukjuak to the High Arctic during the Spring of 1953



are going to depart, perhaps to Fort Ross, on Somerset Island, or to Craig Harbour on Ellesmere Island." Fort Ross is much nearer than Craig Harbour from our original homeland of northern Quebec. He told us we were going to meet them, "That you are going to meet with Larry's father, and us, and the people from Fort Chimo", that we were going to meet and we were going to be together, and that, "You are going to be there for two years, and when you want to return after two years you can do so. If you want to contact by radio, you can do so by RCMP radio to your relatives." That's what we were told.

I asked for what reasons why we were being relocated, and the police said to me that, perhaps, living conditions would be better over there because wild game and resources were becoming scarce. "That's why we want to send you there. If you don't like it after two years you can always return. You are going to be helped. You are going to be given assistance."

Then I asked, "What about our boat? What is going to happen to our boat?" He told me, "No, don't bring your boat. We are going to give you all the equipment you need, including boats." So, that's what we were told, but there was nothing. There was nothing when we landed of any such assistance.

**JAYBEDDIE AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] Jaybeddie Amagoalik from Inukjuak. About the teacher, Marjorie Hinds, and her involvement, perhaps people don't have much memory of her. She attempted to speak Inuktitut, I recall, once, just prior to the arrival of the ship, when we were at the post, when we had moved already from our original camp, from near Inukjuak to the community itself.

**THE FACILITATOR:** She spoke in Inuktitut. Was she able to speak?

**JAYBEDDIE AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] Well, a word here and there. That's what she said – (speaking native language) – which means, "fox come". We could understand – (native word) – and we could understand "come". Perhaps that was the – well, to my memory, that was the extent of Marjorie Hinds' involvement.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Was she there to explain the conditions of the High Arctic to you?

**JAYBEDDIE AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] Perhaps she was going to come to our camp, but we arrived in Inukjuak before she departed.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Lazarusie?

**LAZARUSIE EPOO:** [Translation] Lazarusie from Inukjuak.

I don't have any comment to make about the relocation itself, but I was also being prepared for relocation, although I never did. I was never – I never had any contact with that particular teacher. But, I had conversations with the police officer, who was named "Big Red" – (Kayualuk) – and he gave me a description of – he didn't give me any description of the disadvantages of the physical terrain of the High Arctic, he only talked about the plentiful foxes, polar bear, seals. So that's what enticed me, because I was after those exact species at the time. He did not give any indication whatsoever about the physical and geographical aspects of the land. All he said was about the animals. He did not even mention that there were long periods of darkness up there. So, the only description he gave was of the plentiful wildlife, nothing else.

As the welfare teacher in Inukjuak in the early 1950s, Margery Hinds seems to have helped explain the relocation project to Inuit. She was critical of the government's approach to the relocation, noting specifically that there were insufficient supplies and worried about services, particularly schools, for Inuit children relocated to the High Arctic.

**THE FACILITATOR:** I have other questions.

Larry.

**LARRY AUDLALUK:** [English] Larry Audlaluk. I grew up in Grise Fiord, because I was three when we were moved. What the people are saying is true, because I used to listen to my mother in times of despair asking questions to no one in particular: "Where are all the animals that they were promised? Where are the animals? Where are the fish?" In fact, one time she even said, "We were going to be told there may even be some trees, or some high willows." So, plenty of animals seems to have been the only theme that they worked on to entice us to go up there. So, when my mother was very upset and despairing she used to talk about all the plentiful animals that they were going to be hunting. So, it was very upsetting to hear her talking about it.

She got so tired of eating seal meat. I remember her cooking dead dog, and another time I remember her cooking – we don't usually eat wolf, but I remember her having wolf and saying that it almost tastes like caribou, because it probably had eaten some caribou, the dead wolf that she was cooking.

So, in times like these she used to talk to no one in particular, saying, "I expected – we expected these animals. Where are they?", looking into space. "Where are those animals?"

Thank you.

**THE FACILITATOR:** – something that happened while you were in Inukjuak, when you were told that you were going to be moved to a place with more plentiful wildlife, when you were still in Inukjuak. It was mentioned here and there yesterday. I would like to have it clarified further, because you seem to have been told you were going to be moved to a place that was much, much better than what you were actually living. You described yesterday that you were living, and you were quite contented and happy where you were because it was the land of plenty and there was nothing wrong with where you were living. So, you have been saying this. Can you clarify it further, either of you? Simeonie?

**SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] Well, if they were saying that northern Quebec was having a scarcity of animals and wildlife, perhaps it wasn't true in many ways, because we cannot say that Inukjuak has an absolutely full range of species of all wildlife. In the 1940s, during World War II, in many areas of Canada wildlife became scarce. It is only now that they have recently become more plentiful. Perhaps it had something to do with the effects of the war and the effects of the weather, and so there is a fluctuation and different levels of plentifulness of wildlife in different years.

Although we were told there was going to be more plentiful wildlife up in the High Arctic, all we have been able to ascertain is that marine mammals, polar bear, seals, and walrus are more plentiful. That is true. But, even today, I cannot shoot any polar bear.

We were told at the time there were lots of musk ox, but then when we got there we were told – my brother-in-law, John Amagoalik's father, said, "If you shoot one you are going to be fined \$2,000, or you are going to be arrested."

Now there are no caribou there. The only thing resembling caribou was the musk ox, although we were told there were lots of caribou. My younger

Expectations around the types of wildlife available in the High Arctic were inaccurate. Government officials did not have robust information on the types of animals available or the numbers. They also mischaracterized the types of animals Inukjuammiut ate, contributing to changes in diet. This is particularly pronounced in the shift away from birds, berries, Arctic char, and caribou to a predominantly marine-based diet. Furthermore, hunting restrictions in the High Arctic (a consequence of the wildlife protection laws that functioned as a sign of Canadian legal jurisdiction in the area) meant that polar bear and caribou were subject to specific regulations, and hunting muskox was prohibited.

brother, Jaybeddie, we spent all winter, in two-week stretches, looking for a place there was caribou, and we got a cow and her calf; only two caribou. That was all we found.

After four years, when Jackoosie and his brother came, we were able to wander and explore farther and farther. So, only after four years we were able to find more caribou.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Andrew.

**ANDREW IQALUK:** [Translation] I was a hunter at the time, and I enjoyed being a hunter. I was competent at it. I learned the skills, so that's what I was at that time.

When we settled there, in the High Arctic, I was one of the ones who searched out the location of the animals. I was never given any information as to where they were, or what I could find in any special areas, so I had to go in all different directions to find out what was available in each location.

So, here I was, having been delivered to a land of plenty, having to figure out for myself what existed. Because my mother was an old woman and we had no father and I had to look after her, and her eye-sight was failing her, she was going blind, I could see the strain that she was going through. It made me worker harder to try to find wildlife that she could relate to from her earlier days. But I was only able to catch polar bear, walrus and white whale. Those were the only species we could find in those days. Thank goodness I was a young man at the time and very able. We were competent hunters. That's all we did for a living. That's how I remember it.

Perhaps somebody else can add.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Lazarusie?

**LAZARUSIE EPOO:** [Translation] I am Lazarusie. I have always lived in Inukjuak, and in the area. I went to settle in the post of Inukjuak at the time they were relocated, so I can give a sort of firsthand description of the difference in wildlife resources.

We were able to harvest all sorts of wildlife – the only thing that was not really readily available in the area was walrus – which we could live off of. We did. We did so. But our equipment was slower, because we were using dog-teams in those days.

I cannot say that it is the most abundant place for wildlife. Neither can I say that there is no wildlife there. But, now, we have very large amounts of caribou, large herds, that are right up to the town itself. Perhaps they will all move farther away sometime in the future, but we have very plentiful caribou. We also have plenty of polar bear, and we can harvest quite a few every year, although they were not really plentiful in the years when these people were being relocated. So, the only ones that we can say that are more plentiful are the caribou and the polar bear, since these people's departure.

The method of hunting has changed, also, but we are now able to use motorized means to get to the game areas.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Samwillie, first.

**SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** [Translation] Samwillie Eliasialuk. I moved to Grise Fiord in 1953.

In regard to wildlife, I would like to say that I was relocated to a land of more plentiful wildlife, but I want to demonstrate, or illustrate, what we had to go through to get at the animals.

In some years the fox are very scarce. This is true in all locations. Sometimes they are very plentiful. When foxes were scarce and the Hudson Bay Company was not able to attain a large harvest of fox pelts, they said that foxes were gone.

I am going to show you how far I had to travel in the new land. I am going to show you. This is where I used to have to go to, trying to look for foxes. This is where we were delivered. This is where we lived. I went through here, and this is my farthest. Sometimes I travelled there two weeks at a time, hunting for foxes, because there was nothing in some years. I went right up, almost to the open water. And we went to hunt for caribou in these areas.

I used to travel quite a bit, before I got a job. There were no trade goods, and I used to camp outside, in the open weather, because there was no shelter. There was no way for me to buy anything. I used to hunt foxes in those areas, to quite a distance, even though I had been delivered there to, what was called, the land of plenty.

Thank you.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Jaybeddie.

**JAYBEDDIE AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] Jaybeddie Amagoalik from Inukjuak. I returned to Inukjuak in 1979. When I saw the wildlife of Inukjuak, I saw much different species. There was plenty of fish. All the lakes were stocked with fish. There were many river systems. It was a place where somebody could get plenty to eat. And there was a certain river that my grandfather used to live in, where my brother and I used to live; where my family lived, previously. I wanted to see that particular river, so people in Inukjuak, there were many canoes, so I went – I was taken over there. We used to take fish right out of the river and cache them in rocks. The fish were still very plentiful there, when I went to see it, after all my years in the High Arctic. And there was one large barrel that my grandfather used to fill with fish, which would be – it would be filled in the spring and it would be used to cache enough to last people for the winter.

Inukjuak has plenty of water; plenty of rivers. I would take a bit of water from the rivers when I was going out canoeing and, because there are many islands offshore, I would go to the islands and hunt for birds, ducks, geese, snow geese, Canada geese, and when I ran out of water I would search out some lakes or ponds in the islands. But, these are not good sources of water, because even large ponds are all polluted with the droppings of various game birds.

Hudson Bay is a good area for birds and other wildlife. Perhaps, at the time of the relocation there was less than there is now, but there is plenty of wildlife in that area.

Thank you.

**THE FACILITATOR:** I would like to move on to another question. Larry, do you want to add to that?

**LARRY AUDLALUK:** [English] I would like to keep repeating, to make it a little bit more clear, for those of us who live in Grise Fiord, who grew up there, when we were very young we were relocated into the area; Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord. To us, that's our home. And I am one of them. It will always be my home, because that's the area where I grew up.

To me, today, it's a land of plenty. I am used to the wildlife of the mammals, seals, walrus, whales, polar bear, that my brothers and sisters told you were alien to them, because they were used to a completely different kind of wildlife; different types of it in Inukjuak.

I will defend it today, while I am able to – give up my right arm, even. The area we are talking about, Grise Fiord, which was so desolate when my parents went up because, among other things, they didn't have the proper equipment to go where there were more game, we, who are descendants, who have the opportunity to have good boats today, can harvest. I am so used to having seal meat, I don't think I can have caribou meat every day, which my parents missed so much when they were moved, not even a few months after they were relocated.

That's what I want to set straight. We are talking about the difference in an area; the drastic change from the hunting they are used to; hunting different kinds of wildlife. When they were moved up there it was as if there was nothing because, among other things, as I said, they had no way to harvest the area, because they were not given proper equipment. But, today, Grise Fiord is not so ominous and scary as my parents went through. But the price was too high to pay then.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Thank you, Larry. I have another question, so, Simeonie, would you like to continue with this issue?

**SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] I am Simeonie Amagoalik of Resolute Bay.

What Larry is saying is true. Back then we were not provided any boats, but today they have better equipment and they are able to get around better.

It doesn't have as many small game as there are in Inukjuak. If the government had wanted to relocate us to where there is plenty of moose, they would have relocated us to Pangnirtung or Pond Inlet, because there is more small game there than there is in the High Arctic.

We were landed to where there was no fish; no vegetation. They should have relocated us to Baffin Island, where we could find blueberries and marine mammals. As Larry said, today, there are a lot of seagulls, though, when we talk about birds. They have a lot of large mammals. We were not used to that, but today the people that have grown up there are used to this. That's true.

Thank you.

**THE FACILITATOR:** We will move on to something else. Samwillie, you would like to say more?

**SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** [Translation] As Larry was saying – I would like to elaborate on that a little bit. My mother – I would like you to understand what my mother went through. My mother really missed the diet she was used to; the small game birds and the fish, and she even ate wolf meat, because she was always eating polar bear and seal meat. She got tired of eating just polar bear and seal meat, so she even ate wolf meat. I have heard that she was so tired of eating the same kind of meat, she even ate dog meat and wolf meat in order to change her diet. Today we just throw away wolf meat and dog meat. Because she was missing her regular diet back home, she tried to change what she was eating every day.

I would like to make it clear what Arnakallak was saying in regards to the information that was given to them about us. The government says they

This is a key element of the testimony that is often forgotten: the discrete differences between northern Quebec and the High Arctic matter, but the *comparative* differences were of much greater import to relocatees. This, combined with vast differences in availability of supplies and equipment made life in the High Arctic comparatively much harder than in Inukjuak.

assisted us, they helped us, they gave us welfare, but that's not the case. We were never given any welfare in Inukjuak back then. Only the widows were given welfare, and that wasn't much either. Only the widows used to receive welfare. Anyone who was able to hunt was not provided with any welfare. That was the information that the government gave, that they were providing too much welfare and too many hand-outs to the people of Inukjuak. That's the information that was given to the Inuit of Pond Inlet, and that was not the right information.

Thank you.

**THE FACILITATOR:** We will move on to another question. The Royal Commission has to have a good understanding of what you were talking about in regards to separating off the Inuit into groups. After you have left Inukjuak, during the ride on the ship, you were divided into two groups. Can you elaborate on that?

The families were separated. Were you even separated from some of your children, or how was the separation conducted?

I know it's hard for you to talk about that, but could Simeonie start off with that?

**SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] Thank you. Simeonie Amagoalik, from Resolute Bay.

The fact that we were divided as families, as I said earlier, my son-in-law – two of my sons-in-law, and my brother-in-law, older brother-in-law – two of my sons-in-law went to Resolute together, but my step-brother, who is older than me, tried to follow us up to Alexandra Fiord, but then he got off in Grise Fiord. What we were talking about earlier, two of his sons drowned looking for sculpin. We went to get him by dog-team – on a dog-team. He is now dead, but three of his sons are where we are living now. But, because of sickness and all the hard times he had been through, one of them is unstable. One of the three is going back to prison. He repeatedly gets arrested.

My family has been divided throughout Canada. The fact that we were divided on the boat, that was the beginning. Even up to now, more and more we are being divided. Even though – my only brother now, who is younger than me, we are not together; even my nieces or nephews. Perhaps we would have been together if the government had never said anything. That's the results of what the government had done, broken the circle of life.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Simeonie, were you told that you would be together? Did anybody ever mention to you that you would be together?

**SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] As I said earlier, Larry's father, understood that we would be together, but once we arrived, at the time the Pond Inlet people had a meeting, that's when we first learned that we would be divided.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Thank you. Samwillie, do you have anything to say on this?

**SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** [Translation] I would like to add something. My name is Samwillie Elijasialuk, from Grise Fiord. I lived in Grise Fiord, yes. Yes.

They wanted to divide mother and son, or father and daughter. I am not lying. They wanted to divide, but there seemed to be no way to do so. They really wanted to divide children from their mother.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Did you not allow them to do so?

**SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** [Translation] It was not us. They really wanted to divide children from their mother, or from their father, but we did not go along with that, because my mother – my father – just Larry – could have kept only Larry, the youngest, and would have gone to the furthest. That's what they wanted to separate us, and they tried. The government tried.

I can divide my dogs, if I have dogs, and put them here and give them away. That is what they wanted to do, what the government wanted to do; give us away to the land, just like that. Just take the child away from my mom, if she had agreed to it, but she did not. My step-father could have gone along with that. That's what we saw. That's what they tried to do. So, there was just me – that his older brother – Simeonie's older brother, that you accompany Simeonie's older brother. I was 17 at the time. I was given away to him. That's how we were divided. But, Philipoosie, Larry's father's – my father's – my step-father's – just agreed to that, but Philipoosie had protected, or defended my mother. But, Philipoosie said, "Just return him, because he has no family and nobody to sew his clothing. How can you not say, when he had so many relatives – his grandparents. Perhaps he was better off at his grandparents. Return him right away." That had defended me. I said, when this subject came – Simeonie can even say – I was saying – I even asked a question, like, "If I go up there alone, nobody to look after me, maybe" – I even said, "Maybe I should marry my cousin, so she can do the sewing for me." I can recall that, and Simeonie can recall what I said back then. They really tried to separate us, as if they were separating dogs. It's true. They really took us and separated us, just like that. Treating Inuit as dogs, that was the case.

Thank you.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Thank you. Jaybeddie?

**JAYBEDDIE AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] I can say a little bit on that separating issue. Leo Kayualuk, who was our interpreter on the ship, he was able to speak Inuktitut, and he used to be really loud when he talked to us. He asked a question: "Thomassie, would you mind being alone with the Inuit of Pond Inlet?" They tried to refuse that.

After about an hour, just before we were finished, and as things were winding down, Kayualuk said to my older brother, "Thomassie, would you be able to get along with just the Pond Inlet people?" He answered again, "I came here only to be with my family members." But, on the third time he was asked that same question, he finally gave in, and that's how we were divided. They just kept on insisting.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Thank you. Anna would like to speak.

**ANNA NUNGAQ:** [Translation] Anna Nungaq, from Inukjuak.

It was really traumatic for me when we were being divided, in a very strange land. The people that we were going to be settled with, we thought we were going to settle with them, but they were separated from us. I thought that all the Inukjuak, all the original Inukjuak relocatees, would be all happily encamped in one location. But, after we had past Pond Inlet we were divided.

We should have been told, all along, that we would be divided into different groups, but we were all together in this ship and it was a real wrenching

experience when we were being divided into groups. When we landed there it was bare of any population, very cold, and we had to leave the people who we spent all summer on the ship with. So, it was with a lot of foreboding that we landed onto a very cold shore. We were very apprehensive, because we did not know what was ahead of us.

Now, it's very different now, since our arrival. There is more there now. The original landing, and what exists now, is very different. Now there are houses. Larry's description of it as being a very good land and a land of plenty is true, but when we first landed there it was a totally different circumstance; totally different from what exists now. Only just before Christmas, and only for the use of the police, supplies were dropped from the air. There was an air-drop of supplies towards Christmas, because there was no landing strip. There were no houses. There were no aircraft. There was nothing.

When Josephie – they had to go get ice by dog-team. They had to use a dog team to go get their ice.

I was married to Paulasee.<sup>10</sup> He is no longer living now, but I loved him. He went to Resolute by dog-team. After having done that, in the service of the police, he asked the police for at least \$10, because our children were hungry and the welfare and hand-outs that used to be issued in Inukjuak were no longer issued in the High Arctic, because of me being a crippled and disabled person. I don't know the English name. He was called Policialuk. My husband asked for at least \$10 from him, for his services to dog sledging from Grise Fiord to Resolute and back. Josephie and my husband had to do this in hunger and in cold, and they were physically very exhausted by the time they returned. He went to ask for money, and Josephie had muscle spasms from hunger and cold and exhaustion. When I think back on that episode, I remember.

10. Pauloosie Novaligna.

Now, I said I've returned to Inukjuak, but my children are still in the High Arctic. If the government had never bothered to relocate us I would still be with my children.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Thank you, Anna. We are going to take a break. I wanted to ask one question of John Amagoalik, about the letters that you wrote to your brother, who was in hospital. How were they delivered to the hospital? Can you, please, clarify how that was done? John?

**JOHN AMAGOALIK:** [English] John Amagoalik.

As I testified earlier, my mother and father used to send letters regularly – tried to send letters regularly – to my brother in hospital. Whenever my father – our only source of mail was the RCMP. We had to give all our mail to the RCMP in order for it to be sent. Every time my father handed the RCMP constable a letter to be sent, the constable always asked, "Is there any money in this?" Of course, my father being honest, used to tell him, "Yes, I enclosed \$2. I enclosed \$5. I enclosed \$1." I always remember the RCMP constable writing the amount of the money on the envelope and then putting it in his pocket. As to how they got to the hospital, I don't know. Perhaps my brother can put some light on that.

**MARKOOSIE PATSAUQ:** [Translation] Those letters, were you asking how they got to the hospital?

**THE FACILITATOR:** How did those letters get to the hospital?



**MARKOOSIE PATSAUQ:** [Translation] In those days, in Resolute Bay, there was an Armed Forces base, and the Armed Forces aircraft delivered the mail when I was in the hospital. I received it through the Armed Forces aircraft. And my younger brother, about what he said, my father used to write to me, as did my mother. They used to say, "I sent you money last month. Did you receive it?" Well, in those letters I received, quite often, questions in the letters asked me, "Did you receive your money?" I know that I did not receive all the money that they ever tried to send. I used to think they were simply lost, because I was not aware that people stole that kind of thing. It did not even enter my mind that they could lose such things. Even when I didn't receive the money, it didn't come to my mind as anything strange.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Thank you. We are going to take a short break; a 15-minute break. When we come back, I think the Royal Commissioners would like to ask a few questions. So, we will take a break for 15 minutes.

— Short recess

— Upon resuming

**THE FACILITATOR:** [Translation] We are ready to start again and I am going to turn it over to Judge Dussault.

**COMMISSIONER DUSSAULT:** Thank you, Mary. We are going to start with Commissioner Wilson.

**COMMISSIONER WILSON:** You have talked to us quite a bit about the terrible conditions that you faced when you landed off the ship at your destination.

I think we are pretty clear about how awful these conditions were and that they were not at all what you had been led to believe they would be when you were being sent there. And, you have also talked to us quite a bit about the pain of being parted from your relatives, when you went on the ship, and about the separation of families. I think we have a pretty clear picture of that, also, but there is one area that I am not quite clear about and this is what I would like your help on.

I am really interested in knowing whether you were able to communicate with your relatives back home after you landed in your new location because, obviously, they would be wondering how you were getting along and what was happening to you and you would be wondering how they were getting along without you. So, I would assume that you would be making efforts to get the news back home, send them the news of what you were living through, and hearing from them how they were getting along without you.

We have heard an awful lot about the means of communication. At one point it was mentioned that there had been letters which were subsequently found, had been opened and had been torn up and were found in the dump. Then, just before lunch, we heard about an attempt to send a letter to a patient in hospital containing money.

I am wondering whether you were writing home to your relatives complaining about the way you had been deceived about the conditions that you were going to. Were you writing home to say that you would like to be sent back – that you would like to get back? Was there that kind of exchange of communication going on? How was it done? Was it done by letters? Do any such letters exist today that would show that you were wanting to return

within the two-year period and were not allowed? Is there anything like that, because I don't think we are very clear as to how you communicated with your relatives back home and how much communication you were able to achieve?

So, I would be glad if anyone of you could tell us a little more about that.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Which of you can answer these questions? Samwillie?

**SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** [Translation] As Inuit, we have a practice. First, I am originally from Grise Fiord. I was relocated to Grise Fiord and I will answer her question. As Inuit, we have a habit of not writing about very unpleasant things. We were not in the habit of writing to our family members back home about how terrible conditions were. We did not want to worry them unduly.

Even if we did write such a letter, our relatives back home were not in any position to do anything about it, except to worry about what we were going through. We could not write about such unpleasant things in the form of written letters, and then I would unduly worry and get my relatives back home to worry because this is what we do. We never wrote about how terrible conditions were to our relatives because we knew that if we were going to have anything done about it we would have to, first, get the police on the scene at the post to approve of anything we requested, and they never agreed to or approved of our request.

The police was our boss there and people expressing their desire to return expressed it to the police as individuals: "I want to return because I am unhappy here, or because conditions are unacceptable to me here."

The letters were torn up. Yes, that is true. We have seen those and, perhaps, somebody can add to that.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Jaybeddie, do you want to add to that?

**JAYBEDDIE AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] Yes, I want to add to that. The letters that we wrote were torn up, but not all of them were torn up, some of them survived. We were able to communicate through letters only because there were no radio communications in those days. Even though it was not very often, we received letters, so we know some communication got through. And we know that those that were tearing up letters were very unfavourable towards the description of the new land.

But, some mail got through and we used to get mail, although it was not very often, as I said, that we were able to get this sort of communication. If our letters were not uncomplimentary, these are the ones, basically, that we found later that got through to our relatives in Inukjuak.

The police in Canada, we know, read the mail. So, because they were treating the people there in the High Arctic as prisoners, or sort of charges of some sort, they read their mail and some mail got through and some didn't. If we were describing relatives who died, for example, if a relative died we would hear about it two months or so later. So, we did not hear things instantaneously, but we heard about them after much time had elapsed.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Can you further answer the question that was raised by the Commissioner?

**ELIJAH NUTARAQ:** [Translation] I was relocated to Grise Fiord. We used to communicate through letters. Some letters were torn, for sure. But, I, myself, wrote to my relatives and sent pictures or photographs because our

local police officer used to develop pictures, although they were not coloured photographs.

The first officer that we had was called Sargent. I don't know if he was actually that name, but we called him Sergeant.

So, I wrote a letter and I sent photographs. The photographs were missing and the envelope was sent back to me; an envelope that I was trying to send to my relatives. But, when the cassette tapes came into existence and we were able to tape our messages, that was when we really truly started communicating, through cassette tapes, but that was many years later.

I cannot say in exactly what year Grise Fiord got a school established, but it was only at that time that we were able to start really communicating. Previously, it was very primitive.

**SARAH AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] Sometimes I lose track of the flow of the discussions, but to answer the question that was raised – if you don't raise questions you are not going to have a full understanding, so don't be afraid to raise questions so that your understanding will be complete.

There was no radio and there was no telephone, so we communicated by mail. But, we never received or sent for a long time. In Resolute Bay there was much traffic, there was much aircraft, so there were medical evacuations and whatnot. But, the letters that we wrote to Inukjuak were delayed because Inukjuak, itself, did not have a regular airmail delivery and that may have been the only reason why our letters took a lot of time to get to their destination.

But, there was no telephone in those days. I used to get letters from my mother, let's say, every two months, for example, when we were first settling there.

So, don't be afraid to raise questions so that we can try to clarify any questions you may have.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Samwillie, make sure to answer the question, please.

**SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** [Translation] I want to try to clarify. Sarah says that she was landed in a place that had plenty of air service, but we, ourselves, were landed where no aircraft could land or take off and our only means of communication with the outside world was through the ship; only when the ship came on its annual arrival. The only access to the outside world from where we were was by ship. It was impossible for us to receive or send any letters before a whole year was up.

We could have sent some mail by dog-team, and that was what we attempted to do. But, I have seen torn letters. We had no radio communication of any sort whatsoever. We were not able to communicate; receive or send communication for a whole year. There was no aircraft service at all of any kind. Thank you.

**THE FACILITATOR:** One more, I think, response. John Amagoalik.

**JOHN AMAGOALIK:** [English] Yes, just a short response. At the time, as I said earlier, the isolation was very complete and it has been pointed out that in Resolute a letter usually took two or three months to reach the destination. Also, they did not have much difficulty in getting it south, but it was getting it back north, up to Inukjuak, that was part of the problem. And, of course, in Grise Fiord they only got a ship a year and there was no regular mail service.

Glen Sargent was posted to "G" Division in September 1951, serving at Spence Bay, Craig Harbour, Grise Fiord and Coppermine during the following eight years

Our despair usually was not included in letters. It was done by word of mouth. So, that is as I remember it. I was too young to be writing letters. I don't know what the contents of those letters were, but I do remember when we started receiving tapes – magnetic tapes – the whole community used to gather around in one house and listen to the tape of that home and those were very, very emotional times. That was when our displeasures were expressed, by word of mouth on tape, usually not by letter.

**COMMISSIONER WILSON:** Thank you. I would like to thank you very much for trying to answer my question. Thank you.

**COMMISSIONER DUSSAULT:** I would now like to ask Commissioner Chartrand.

**COMMISSIONER CHARTRAND:** Thank you. I would like to begin – and this is the first time that I am speaking – to offer you my greetings and to thank you for having come here to talk to the Royal Commission on . I am glad that the Commission is able to be of some assistance in providing you with the opportunity to explain these issues to us and to Canada. The issues are very important, very large, and we know they have filled many, many pages.

I have been informed about a lot of matters in listening to you over the last day and half and there are two more days, or so, remaining. It is, as we have been told, important that we ask questions to clear up things. But, it is also important that we listen to you and provide every opportunity we can for you to tell the full story.

So, keeping that in mind, what I would prefer to do right now is to give myself some time to reflect upon what you have said and upon the issues that were brought before us and to ask some questions later on, during our hearings, and to provide, perhaps, other Commissioners, who might be prepared now to ask questions, to take the time. Thank you.

**COMMISSIONER DUSSAULT:** George Erasmus.

**COMMISSIONER ERASMUS:** About the Greenlanders, there was a good explanation of that earlier today, but prior to the Greenlanders coming was there any description told to you by the RCMP about what you should do if the Greenlanders came? Were you told, for instance, that you should discourage them from coming; that they should stay in Greenland? What were you told about the Greenlanders before they arrived?

**THE FACILITATOR:** Can any of you answer the questions about the Greenlanders? Before they arrived, what were you told about them? What were you told by the RCMP to tell them?

**ELIJAH NUTARAQ:** [Translation] Elijah Nutaraq, relocated to Grise Fiord.

You asked a question about Greenlanders. The police – there were two Inuit and two *Qallunaat*, or white people, in Grise Fiord who were in the service of the police. One of the special constables had a mother whose name was Martha, so we were told a lot about the Greenlanders from her, that they had always made the trip over across to Canada and they were sneaking into RCMP post buildings when they were abandoned or during the times that they were not occupied. So, the Greenlanders had a reputation for breaking into these places and taking food and whatnot, or whatever supplies.

We were told this by Kyak, or Kyak's mother. Kyak was the special constable. But, we were never told to discourage them from coming. We were

Commissioner Paul Chartrand is a Métis lawyer and professor of law at the University of Manitoba, where he specialised in Native law

The Greenlanders were mostly interacting with those at Grise Fiord due to its proximity and the fact that there existed, until the 1990s, an ice bridge during the winter. There was less direct contact between Greenland Inughuit and those at Resolute. These interactions, and the importance of the Greenlanders' sharing local knowledge about the land and its animals, are explained in detail in Larry Audlaluk's *What I Remember, What I Know*.

simply told to discourage them from catching polar bear when they came because they were able to – and not to discourage them from harvesting marine mammals and seals.

But, in regard to polar bear, they needed polar bear skins for pants. They made pants out of polar bear skins; the Greenlanders do. And, even if they are women, they wear that. It is a ceremonial or ornamental tradition of the Greenlanders. Some of these Greenlanders wore very poor quality polar bear skin pants. In Canada, they were discouraged from harvesting any more polar bear when we started occupying that particular area, because we Canadian Inuit were using the polar bear skins, not for clothing, but for pelts as trade items.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Larry, would like to add to the answers here. Make sure you answer the question, please.

**LARRY AUDLALUK:** [English] I feel unqualified to talk about borders between Canada and Greenland. It is such a big political subject and I am hardly the one to talk about it, but I will tell you what I know from the Greenlanders that we have been seeing from the beginning, since we were relocated.

They have come to become our friends. In fact, today there are some relations through contact. From what I can understand through the exchange visits, Ellesmere Island is very much a part of their polar Eskimo hunting area. That is why they were always coming up to the Grise Fiord area. Until 1977, or very close to the seventies, or late seventies, they were always coming to the area. When we arrived – when we first made contact, they knew the area more than we did. And I know some people who were born in Craig Harbour who are from the polar Eskimo region of Greenland.

That is all I wanted to say. Thank you.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Anybody else want to – Samwillie, do you want to add to the answer?

**SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** [Translation] The Greenlanders. As my older brother said, our grandmother said the buildings in Craig Harbour were unoccupied for long stretches of time and Greenlanders used to take their fuel and the food in Craig Harbour when they were out polar bear hunting in the area. So, they used those huts – those buildings – for their purposes when they were hunting polar bear because police were never there to occupy that post full-time.

There were two white policemen and two Inuit special constables, who could never occupy that post at all times.

I want to make clear – I know I am repeating this, but I want to make clear that Inuit – to be there would have been very hard to supply and it would have been a real burden and bother to have to supply Inuit or others who may have been permanently residing there.

To me, the meaning of this is that they wanted people who could not just take off or return to their original homeland. And that is what I surmise was the reason why they sent us there. They sent us there to establish communities to assert Canada's sovereignty so that it could be said that those places were now occupied permanently by Canadian Inuit.

Well, the Canadian government says, "No, that was not the reason." But, we do not believe their statement.

**SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] Thank you, Mary. About George's question regarding the Greenlanders, he asked if they were made to feel unwelcome in Grise Fiord. Well, it was not to make them feel unwelcome, but it was the law of the Canadian government and law of the Greenlandic government, or the government regime under which they were living – were two very different things. The Greenlanders were no longer allowed, or they were being dissuaded from harvesting polar bear and musk ox from what Canada deemed to be its areas.

So, because we were sent there to be Canadians and to, by extension, apply the law of Canada, that is the information that was eventually made clear to the Greenlanders, that this particular stretch of tundra or that geographical area was now, no doubt, Canada and the laws of Canada apply and, therefore, because it is a different set of laws, the Greenlanders should abide by them or follow the laws of that geographical area. That was the point that was made clear to them, eventually. Thank you.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Did you want to say something? Are you going to answer the question? We just want to keep strictly to the matter of the Greenlanders and the question that was raised about them.

**ELIJAH NUTARAQ:** [Translation] I want to relate something about the Greenlanders that I know. I am going to stand up and go to the map.

This is where we were landed, and that is where we lived. We first saw traces of the Greenlanders there. We had heard about them, but we had never met them yet. We found their tracks and traces of them hunting polar bear in that area. We, ourselves, were hunting polar bear in that area. The Greenlanders came from here and went by that way. You had the habit of coming down there by dog-team.

Now, they visit by aircraft, so we have been able to share much more information with them and they tell us that this place was very rich in seals.

**THE FACILITATOR:** How is it now, and what about that area?

**ELIJAH NUTARAQ:** [Translation] There was a very good breeding ground for polar bear.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Is it still there? Is it still the case, because they had intimate knowledge of the resources that were available in the very different areas of that area?

**ELIJAH NUTARAQ:** [Translation] When we visit back and forth with them nowadays in *Qaanaaq* in Greenland, by aircraft, we have been able to get information about where to find fish. It was only through them that we were able to find where the fish were, where the animals were, and where the wildlife resources were. We were Canadians sent up to that, and we feel we know that area. But, we have been able to get that information about these areas more completely only from the Greenlanders' knowledge.

That is all I have to say for now.

**THE FACILITATOR:** George, is that sufficient, in terms of a response? Mr. Dussault, I will give it back to you.

**COMMISSIONER DUSSAULT:** You are not finished. Sorry.

**COMMISSIONER ERASMUS:** I wonder if someone could describe for me what the situation was in relation to caribou, the ability that people had

This is an important part of the argument that the relocations were conducted for sovereignty purposes. The documentary record makes clear that the RCMP were stationed in the High Arctic to "show the flag" and assert Canadian sovereignty, particularly by enforcing Canadian wildlife and game ordinances and ensuring that Greenland Inughuit returned to Greenland. Inuit were asked to help with this project, but it is not clear if this was an intention or a consequence of the relocation.

to hunt caribou, because we seem to have been given at least two different stories. In one case it seemed that we were told that only the RCMP could kill the actual caribou and it may have been because they felt that you could not tell the difference between male and female amongst the caribou. In another case it seems that people were allowed only to kill one caribou and, in another case, it seemed that it might have been a bit more than that. There was promise of eight or nine caribou a year or something. So, I am wondering if we could just get the stories straightened out. Perhaps, I was not hearing it correctly, or perhaps it was that different communities were told different things. I wouldn't mind getting that, more or less, straight.

**THE FACILITATOR:** He is asking about caribou. Some people said that you could only kill one and some people said only the police could kill caribou. What exactly was the case? How could this be clarified? Mr. Erasmus wants to know.

**SAMUEL ARNAKALLAK:** [Translation] Well, I was the one who referred to us being prevented from doing the actual killing when we were hunting them for food. There was Sargent, and Sargent was the boss and he told us – and the land, actually, is all mountains and cliffs. Habitable areas are very small.

In Lancaster Sound side we were told that we could harvest caribou, but there were no caribou where they told us we could harvest. Perhaps he could – because he is talking about areas and he said that there is a certain area where they were allowed to – they were told they could. Lancaster Sound, that is Devon Island, the northern side, across from Grise Fiord.

We were told we could harvest any caribou across from Grise Fiord, which is the northern Devon Island, in that area of the map. But, we were told never to harvest or kill any caribou in the vicinity of Grise Fiord and Craig Harbour. So, it was a matter of, you have the right to kill there, but don't kill in another area.

**SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** [Translation] I want to point out where we were supposedly allowed to kill caribou. But, the areas we were designated, where we could hunt caribou, there were no caribou. So, I want to point that out to you on the map.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Make sure the question is answered as accurately as possible.

**SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** [Translation] We have said that we were told there was caribou when we were being recruited. There the rule was one caribou per family from that area. And we were told that we could have one again next year. We were told that we could hunt for caribou there, there, and there, but we were told not to hunt or harvest any caribou from that area. We were told we could only kill one per year, so we searched caribou in that area. They were very scarce there, very scarce. Perhaps, only two were ever harvested there. Well, I said that we could harvest one per year there around that area, but it was after the first year – never applied – that rule never applied again.

We searched there and we didn't find anything. Then we eventually found some there and there, and we found some there. But, the trail to that place was hampered by 6,000-foot mountains, and it is a very inaccessible area. That was the only place where we could harvest caribou, and not many

either. Although we were told there was plenty of caribou, we never ate very much caribou meat.

So, what was said to our parents was false. There were no plentiful caribou in the area anywhere at that time.

**COMMISSIONER ERASMUS:** Before he starts, perhaps I could find something out. He said that the rule of one caribou was what they started off with. Was that the same rule every year since then? Did it ever change? Could they ever hunt more caribou at any time, if they ever found them? I mean, technically, if you can't find any caribou, it doesn't matter how many you can shoot, but did the authorities ever let them hunt more than one caribou?

**THE FACILITATOR:** Exactly as it was posed, Simeonie, can you answer that, if you can?

**SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] Larry asked – this is where I lived. That is the only area where we could – then, eventually, the caribou from the northern island – he is pointing out to the areas where he can only get caribou meat now, from Pond Inlet and Cambridge Bay areas, because all of the areas we could have harvested caribou eventually ran out. We can no longer harvest any more caribou in all of those Arctic islands.

I just want to clarify that, because that is the case with the caribou.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Was there a change in the one caribou rule, or regulation?

**SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] We used to get them from there. We were very careful not to over-harvest the caribou available on the island. It is an island where we are, and the government has imposed regulations to conserve the caribou available in those islands. So, we can only get them now from the two places that I pointed out earlier.

**SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** [Translation] We were told that we could only harvest one caribou per year. We never even ever harvested any more because there was none available. They are totally wiped out, that area is, of caribou. So, we were told – the statement that we were told that there was plentiful caribou was never true, then or now. And now I am told that there is a moratorium on harvesting of caribou for ten years. You can ask again.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Andrew, do you want to answer the question?

**ANDREW IQALUK:** [Translation] I am Andrew Iqaluk. I was formerly living in Resolute Bay. I want to clarify what Simeonie said earlier.

I went there in 1955, and only then we were able to eat caribou meat. We searched out areas where caribou were available, and we were able to harvest caribou because we found an area that had caribou available. Nobody imposed any regulations on us. We were able to harvest however many caribou from the areas that we searched out ourselves.

Simeonie has pointed out the general area where we were able to harvest caribou, but now he says, in recent years, since my move back, that whole Arctic islands area is off limits to caribou hunting.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Jaybeddie, you wanted to respond as well?

**JAYBEDDIE AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] Yes. I want to respond as well. This is Jaybeddie Amagoalik.

The discussion of caribou availability is a good example of some of the differences between Inuit experiences at Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay. Simeonie's experience at Resolute Bay and Samwillie's experience at Grise Fiord were quite different, though many similar themes are present.



Back then, in Resolute Bay, for two years we never ate caribou, from 1953 to 1955. Only in 1955 were we able to eat caribou meat. In the vicinity of Resolute Bay we saw two caribou, and we got them. In 1955, when Andrew and the other group came, we were able to find caribou on the Bathurst Island, but there were not many back then. Only when I was back in Inukjuak, they started imposing regulations heavily in regards to caribou.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Elijah, you wanted to add something? Try to make it brief.

**ELIJAH NUTARAQ:** [Translation] I will add to what Samwillie Elijasialuk was saying, because we were from Grise Fiord.

The nearest caribou – we were told that the only caribou we could kill was male, not female caribou. So, we used to say that, we Inuit – even if they don't have male caribou, they are not going to multiply, because our Elders told us that. If they do not have a male caribou they cannot multiply, and so we saw that the only caribou left were female. When the wolf came they were all wiped out in the vicinity of Grise Fiord. We used to find caribou on the ice which were attacked by – the carcass of the caribou on the ice. They were killed by wolves. I am not really quite sure if they were completely wiped out by the wolf, but that was the case in the Grise Fiord vicinity. We couldn't kill caribou as we pleased.

**THE FACILITATOR:** I think that pretty well covers it. Are there additional questions? Mr. Erasmus, does that clarify your question?

**COMMISSIONER ERASMUS:** Perhaps we could go back to Quebec and talk about what the situation there was like. We heard that people thought there was a lot of available game at home in the early fifties. Was one of the animals that you were used to eating in northern Quebec caribou? How far would you have to go to get caribou when you were in northern Quebec?

**THE FACILITATOR:** Simeonie?

**SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] In the early fifties we used to hunt caribou in Inukjuak, and it would take us a whole month, or sometimes three weeks. That is how far they were. But, when we were relocated to Resolute – there is a lot of caribou in the area of Inukjuak these days. Like I said earlier, there is a fluctuation of game over the years. When we left Inukjuak we had to go far to hunt for caribou, but after we had been relocated they had moved back to the vicinity of Inukjuak.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Does anyone want to add to that?

**ANDREW IQALUK:** [Translation] Back then, between 1950 and 1955, we had to go to the middle of Quebec to hunt caribou. We had to go very far inland to hunt caribou. Back in the early 1950s that was the case. I just wanted to clarify that.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Mr. Erasmus, does that clarify that?

**COMMISSIONER ERASMUS:** On another subject, one of the points that you started talking about – and a number of people mentioned – was the relationship between the Inuit and the police. Some people feared the police and some, as John Amagoalik told us, his father didn't necessarily fear them. I would like somebody, or a number of people, to talk a little bit about the general relationship that existed between the RCMP and the Inuit people.

Was there a feeling that when the police asked you to do something it was something that you had to do? Was it like an order? Was it just an idea or a suggestion? You didn't have to do it if you didn't want to? Was there something compelling about what they said that made you feel that you had to do this?

A number of times people have said, at least, in either Grise Fiord or in Resolute, that, "The police, they were our bosses and we did what they told us to do." For us to understand what was going on we need to have a good idea of the general relationship that existed between the RCMP and the Inuit. So, if some people could just tell us, in their own words, what the relationship was like.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Samwillie?

**SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** [Translation] This is Samwillie Elijasialuk, originally relocated to Grise Fiord.

When I was still in Inukjuak the police told me – and I was fearful for a long time because I was told by the police that – when the ship had arrived, we were unloading the ship before we left Inukjuak. When we were unloading the ship I wanted to go home because my mother had said that we would get some milk from the police because Larry has – we were getting family allowance for Larry, so my mother told me to ask the police to ask for milk because Larry was a young baby then. But, the police told me, "If you don't leave tonight", he said, "I will kick you to death, if you haven't left, and if I see you in the morning – if you haven't left – if you don't leave."

So, I was very fearful. And that is how we feared the police. They were not just ordinary *Qallunaqs*. The police had told me that. He was called Aupaqtualuk. He said he would come and kick me to death in the morning, and he would take me aside. He had boots that had steel on them and he had a gun and I was very fearful of the gun. I am just trying to make you understand how fearful I was.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Sarah Amagoalik, again.

**SARAH AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] While they are talking about the police, I would like to add that I used to be very fearful of the police. We used to go to the dump because the airforce used to dump a lot of really good food, and we would like to go looking for food at the dump. But, all week we were trying to make sure that the police were not around when we did that, because if the police saw us at the dump he would pick us up and take us home. They would prevent us from going to the dump. So, whenever we saw the vehicle of the police, we would hide because we wanted to go the dump.

When we went to the dump, if he saw us – he used to come into our houses almost every day and he used to check our – and he would ask us where we got this or where we got that, whether we got it from the dump, or if we got it from the air force. He used to ask us those questions. That is how much we feared the police.

He wanted to run everything. The air force was willing to help us, but the police wanted to run everything. When the air force staff wanted to give us a cigarette or some candy, he would first ask the police if he could do that. The police, when he came to our homes, he used to look into our pots and pans and everything in the house to see what was in there, and asked where we got it from if he saw anything. He used to ask us questions about – even if he

saw a container – what was in the house. Even if we bought it, he used to ask us these questions. Ross Gibson.

That is how we feared him. He didn't allow us to go anywhere we wanted, and when we wanted to go for a walk – the women – we used to always watch out for the police.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Thank you. Jaybeddie?

**JAYBEDDIE AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] Jaybeddie Amagoalik from Inukjuak, Quebec.

Regarding the police, you want to hear more about how we feared them?

When the police officer has arrested a person, the person, or the victim – the person that has been arrested – would be fearful. It was like being a hostage. The officer would do anything he wanted to with the person.

And, at night, when it was dark we would go to the MOT Land. We had to use a – the boss – I was saying the police, the Canadian police. Anyone can be fearful when they have arrested someone. They would have to go through the RCMP, an arresting officer, and the other side, which was more having to do with hostage taking.

When we would visit the other areas, then we would know that we were being watched on the window. So, anyone would be afraid of the police officers at that time.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Thank you, Jaybeddie. Simeonie, go ahead.

**SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] Thank you. Regarding your question; the fact that the police were sometimes feared by Inuit.

When the police had a partner he used to take them by dog-team. We would have – the dog-team would have difficulty pulling the three of us. However, we never got paid for having to do the duty. Jaybeddie – we each had a team.

Now, Amarualik combined four dog-teams, or our dogs, and the four of us can travel on one sled. He would tell the other group, "You go in that direction, and you go in this direction, and the other will go in that direction." So, he mixed up the men and they would go in different directions. The people who owned the dogs did not do what they wanted to do. They were told to do this or that.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Are you finished Simeonie? Would anyone like to add to this? Sarah?

**SARAH AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] I forgot one thing in regard to the police in Resolute Bay. We used to get some food supply from the air force at times. It was not the case all of the time, but when they were going to throw some food away, they used to – instead of throwing it in the dump, they used to give it to us. So, it was up to the police to distribute it, which came from the air force. We used to get some food which came from the air force. We used to really appreciate that, and it was the first time that we saw that kind of food.

The police used to give very little to the Inuit. We had a small boat and he sunk a lot of food which we really wanted, and he said that it was bad. There was canned meat, there was canned food, and there were different kinds of canned food, and he threw them in the water. We were really sorry to see that, and the men were told to throw them in the water. Although they didn't want to do that, they had to throw the meat.

This is a reference to the Department of Transportation's weather station at Resolute Bay. It is located near the RCAF station and the local dump.

Sometimes we would get sick and he was our only doctor. There were doctors at the air force and the police told them not to come and visit, or see and treat the Inuit. The only medication he gave to us was apple juice. That was the only medication he had to offer. And he used to have some medication which had been frozen before. My husband used to have ear-aches and all of the medication he was given was apple juice.

I forgot to mention that earlier. I just wanted to mention that. Thank you.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Thank you, Sarah. Elijah, did you want to speak on this?

**ELIJAH NUTARAQ:** [Translation] I am Elijah Nutaraq. I am originally from Grise Fiord, before I moved back to Inukjuak.

We used to hunt with our RCMPs by dog-team to Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord, back and forth. Sometimes we used to meet between Resolute and Grise Fiord, half-way between Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay. That was the first time I saw police, or the *Qallunaats*, white people. Simeonie's Primus stove, the first kind, when we met between Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay, when it stopped working, the police threw it at us and it sunk into the soft snow and that was Simeonie's only Primus stove. It was going to take us many days to get back home. And that is how scary the police was, and I was young then. I got so scared of him because he threw the Primus stove. I can still remember it.

I just wanted to mention that. Thank you.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Thank you. Mr. Erasmus, do you have additional questions in addition to that?

**COMMISSION ERASMUS:** I have very small ones. Just a very, very small one from this morning, from Anna's presentation, when she was describing – I think it was her husband doing some dog-sledding for the RCMP, and at the end of it he went and asked for \$10 because they needed some cash to buy food. She never did tell us if he received the \$10 or not.

**THE FACILITATOR:** They are asking the question to Anna on what she was talking about earlier this morning, the \$10 that her husband was suppose to receive. Did he ever receive it?

**ANNA NUNGAQ:** [Translation] Anna Nungaq. I will answer the question.

My husband went on the trip. We did not have money. We had children. We had several children. They were hungry and we had nothing. Then he – the one that we call the big cop, the big police officer, he went to approach him; my husband went to approach him. He was hungry, he was tired, he was just arriving from a long trip on a dog-team. He was even having cramps from hunger. They had no flour or bannock. They were hungry. The big policeman did not agree to give him the money.

After a long trip on a dog – \$10. A small amount. He did not even agree to give him that amount. That's how it was with the police. No payment, even after a long trip in the cold. No supply for the dogs travelling. None. No dump, no nothing. Empty. No store.

Grise Fiord was empty, just bare rocks or gravel. The other people that lived in Grise Fiord with me know this story, that it was empty. We had nothing: no stick, no wood, no plywood; nothing. There we lived in tents, on gravel as floor. But, we had a *qulliq*, an oil lamp that used seal blubber. That's

how – in the dark – that was our first experience in the dark. That is how it was.

I would be afraid on the gravel; on the floor. We had the *qulliq*, the oil lamp, but this is not how it was used. This was not how it was back in Quebec. We did not have a *qulliq* in a tent and in the dark. I was disabled. I am not able to walk – and in the dark.

My brother and I were apart from my mother. We each had our own tent. Nobody even put our tent up in the dark. We had the old worn-out skin; musk ox skin. That is dark. Even the skin is real dark.

And the *qulliq* was our only facility to have drinking water. Our brother would go out hunting fox; trapping. We were hungry. When we first arrived, we would be so hungry, we were dying for our food. The only food we had – the only meat we had was seal meat. The seal, when we first went there, were bigger than the ones we left back home. That was one of the reasons why we wanted meat so much. We had no store, and the *Qallunaat*, the white men we had, the *Qallunaat* who sent us – we were taken to nearby camps so we won't be a nuisance to RCMP.

The only people looked after us – our families; our parents. We couldn't survive on our own. That was the first time I ever experienced this kind of living.

In Inukjuak we used to live in an igloo. We used to live in igloos. We were able to make an igloo in Inukjuak. In the fall, in Grise Fiord when the fall came, I thought we were able to make the igloos, but we couldn't because the wind is so strong and the snow can't stay. The wind would blow away the snow that comes.

In our little tent, in the fall and winter, when we first arrived there, us Inuit, I don't know how we survived. I don't know how we managed – washed our clothes. When we first started experiencing darkness all year-round it was very difficult. Some of the places where they could get ice for water drifted away. And Samwillie said yesterday that our mothers, when they went to get ice for water, sometimes they were hacking out rocks without knowing.

These are the conditions that we were not used to at all. We never figured that we were going to a place that was very dark for much of the year. Not only dark, but very empty of any resources, empty of anything necessary for sustaining life. Thank you.

**COMMISSIONER ERASMUS:** I have more for tomorrow, but I have just one for today. I will let René ask some of his questions. There were two relocations, one in 1953 and another one in 1955. Did the people that went up in 1953 ask their relatives to come up in 1955?

We have read some reports that say that, perhaps, letters were sent, or else communications were sent down to the people in different parts of northern Quebec to suggest to them that life was good in the high Arctic and, perhaps, they should join them.

Was there any kind of communication sent to people to come to the High Arctic to join the people that had originally come up, by way of letter, or else, message through radio, or any way?

**THE FACILITATOR:** Simeonie?

**SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] In response to George's question, I talked about it yesterday, but at the time when the ship came the follow-

ing year, after our first year, Alex Stevenson and the person that has been described as *Qallunaat*, and our policemen, convened a meeting outside, because there was no building in which to have a meeting.

We said, "Are we going back next year, because we were told we were only going to spend two years here?" So, that was a question we posed to them. Alex Stevenson was using Kayualuk as an interpreter and said, "Why don't you call for your relatives instead and, if your relatives can come, you can always return with them." We said, "Well, if they want to, perhaps, they could." But, we were down-hearted right away with the reply that we received. So, the people who had us sitting outside at that meeting, then, apparently, sent a message to the RCMP in Inukjuak asking for our extended families to go up to the High Arctic. The police were the ones who told our relatives in a later wave, in 1955, to come up to the High Arctic.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Samwillie?

**SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** [Translation] I have said it perviously. I guess, I have to make it clearer. I am Samwillie Elijasialuk, who used to live in Grise Fiord. Josephie Flaherty was called for by Larry's father, the one that they never got to see alive. Well, he was told to send for his relatives instead. Was it Paddy or Josephie, or who?

But, the police – the effect was that the police sent for their extended families. Larry's father, whose adopted son was Josephie, sent for Josephie. Paddy Aqiattsuk asked for his adopted son. Paddy Aqiattsuk was the one who died only after eight months, and he died of a broken heart because he was told falsities; he was lied to.

When he knew for certain that he was never going to return again – he was the one who died after eight months. He is the one who sent for Josephie, who was his adopted son.

The police instigated the families to send for their relatives.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Larry, do you want to talk about that?

**LARRY AUDLALUK:** [English] Let me clarify something here a bit in relation to 1955.

We are now presently talking about after landing in the designated areas, where we were dropped off, and the life in the High Arctic. We had planned to talk about our attempts to return and the attempts to return being ignored – our request to return being ignored.

Then we were going to talk about the government trying to persuade us to get, or telling us that we will get, our relatives to come up instead. Thus, the year of 1955 relocation. So, I think it is only appropriate that after talking about the life – having lived after the move of 1953 – the life up there, we should go to the subject of attempts to return; the broken promise of two years to return back to Inukjuak. Thank you.

**COMMISSIONER ERASMUS:** I want to thank you for answering my questions.

**COMMISSIONER DUSSAULT:** Thank you. Mary?

**COMMISSIONER SILLETT:** I, too, would like to thank everyone for participating in this special consultation. I am going to be very brief because of the time. But, I did want to say that – I think George raised an issue which came to me.

Son of American filmmaker Robert Flaherty, Josephie Flaherty was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Grise Fiord in 1955

Throughout the hearings, I guess, we thought about the High Arctic exiles being in one place. When we hear some of the answers, it might seem like, to us, a contradiction. But, it occurred to me that there might be differences in the life experience of the people who were relocated to Grise Fiord and there might be differences in those who went to Resolute.

For example, we heard earlier that in Resolute a letter would take two to three months, because they had an extremely good transportation system, and in Grise Fiord they probably had communication once a year.

We heard that in Resolute the RCMP gave different instructions with respect to caribou. I understand that Resolute was nearby an air force base and sometimes when the air force discarded food people would go to the dump for the food.

But, I was wondering, throughout the next few days, for my benefit anyway, if people would identify clearly where they are from. And I was just wondering if someone would be able to help me by summarizing the kinds of differences that people experienced in different communities. For example, in Grise Fiord – or in Resolute, we heard that in Resolute there was an air force base and there was a dump and people would sneak there to get food. Was that the experience, for example, in Grise Fiord? Can someone help me with that?

**THE FACILITATOR:** Simeonie?

**SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] In regards to Mary's question, I want to answer briefly.

Perhaps the difference between Resolute and Grise Fiord has not been described very well. These are two very different people.

In Resolute, the people who landed there – the people who landed in Resolute have described the falling snow, but in Grise Fiord the snow that falls there is blown away right away. There is no snow packed enough for building snow houses, whereas, in Resolute, mountains are not as high and the snow can be packed, so snow available there for building snow houses can be packed. So, the two conditions of these two places are very different. One can be – in one you can build snow houses and in the other you cannot.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Samwillie?

**SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** [Translation] To describe the differences further, it should be known that they are very different places. There are two distinct communities. They should not be bunched in together. You should understand well that they are very different. One is absolutely devoid of any *Qallunaag*, white people, except for the two policemen and their assistants. That was it. That was the extent of the population.

In Resolute, there is a landing strip. There are many white people there. There is wood available. There is wood available for burning.

In Grise Fiord, there are no whites. The only whites there are two policemen of the RCMP. There is no wood. There is absolutely no wood. There is no shelter. There is no material for building snow houses.

These two places are far away from each other and the conditions you can find locally are very different from each other.

**COMMISSIONER SILLETT:** Thank you very much. Actually, that explains why there might appear to be contradictions in some of the answers that we were receiving. Very quickly, two more questions.

This is a good summary of some of the differences experienced by those living in Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay. There are also different experiences among those who came from Mittamatalik and from Inukjuak, and between those who were relocated in 1953 and in 1955. Each of these groups has a different experience of leaving, arriving, and surviving in the High Arctic.

Anna mentioned the killing of the dogs. Why did we have to kill the dogs? That was a question that came out very clearly in our Inukjuak consultations. We heard that the dogs had a very essential role in the lives of the Inuit, and Inuit were told to kill their dogs. I am wondering, on that particular issue, what happened? Why did the dogs have to be killed, and what kind of impact did that have on the owners or the community?

**THE FACILITATOR:** She is translating the question exactly as it was posed in English.

Can somebody state the reason why? Anna Nungaq?

**ANNA NUNGAQ:** [Translation] Soon after we arrived in the High Arctic I had sympathy for my mother. They killed off the dogs of the High Arctic people and my mother was recruited to skin the dogs and dress the furs of the dogs. She asked, "Will the tails be attached?" I don't quite recall for what purpose this was being done, but I was very sympathetic. I had sympathy for my mother.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Elijah?

**ELIJAH NUTARAQ:** [Translation] I am Elijah Nutaraq. I was relocated to Grise Fiord.

The police raised their dogs inside fences and they became fierce. They became wild or they became distempered, and the police employee killed off all of those dogs that had been raised inside a fence. And my wife's mother was recruited to skin those dogs. And they were never paid for their work. They were paid to skin them and dress the furs of the dog and they were never paid. That is the issue.

Anna raises that in the context of police dogs and a lot of dogs who were suffering from distemper. They were slaughtered as a result. And the people they hired to dress them and look after the skins were never paid. When the police had dogs – this person was named Nutaaguluk in Inuktitut, but the policemen were talking about – was a German or was of German ancestry, or was a German. He was a lower-level policeman than Sergeant. There were perhaps ten, or perhaps over ten dogs which were slaughtered. They were in their prime. They appeared to be good dogs, but they were slaughtered off because they were enclosed in fences constructed just for that purpose, and all of the dogs that were in there were slaughtered by the person who raised them. Perhaps they were suffering from a disease or distemper.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Were those dogs slaughtered? Did you then become dogless as a result? Was there an effect on your own use of dogs; that slaughter?

**ELIJAH NUTARAQ:** [Translation] Well, the way it has effected us was, our mothers were hired or forced to work to skin the dogs for no pay whatsoever. Not even a tea. Not even some food. This was done for no pay. That is the issue, as it affected us.

**JAYBEDDIE AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] I wanted to talk about dogs.

When we landed in Resolute, the police had a friend who was working in the Armed Forces and they had twelve dogs amongst the two white people. They were different than our dogs. They were, perhaps, originally from northern Greenland. There were about twelve dogs, and the police wanted to slaughter them. So, he got me on the truck and up at the base he had me

For further reading, see Qikiqtani Truth Commission (2015).



slaughter those dogs. But, he was very careful not to kill off any of our own dogs.

Simeonie said that when we had to use our own teams, the police were absolutely in charge of where each individual went with which team. When we were hired to do dog-team trips, and we killed polar bear, nobody ever told us, "Well, now you have this much money because of the polar bear skins you sold us."

When these two people went back to the military camp they left behind their left-over food, and so, Inuit took advantage of that. Now, in Mould Bay, when a white guy and I went on a dog-team, we killed a polar bear. His name was Tim Mollocks. He did not want the polar bear skin. But, when we went home, one of the white people wanted to buy the polar bear skin, and he asked me, "Is \$800 too small for you"? Well, I have never known of how much a skin was worth. So, when he asked me the price, I was just thankful. Nobody had ever quoted an actual price for a bear skin to me before.

When we killed our own polar bear, we sold them. But, we were never told how much each skin was, or how much was put into our account as a result of the polar bear skins we sold.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Martha?

**MARTHA FLAHERTY:** [Translation] I wanted to talk about dogs.

Although I am a woman, I used to go on dog-team trips with my late father. I was eight years old when I was going along on these trips, and I was caring for those dogs. I used to assist my father when he was hunting for seals through their breathing holes. I was not able to urinate by myself. I was very involved. I took part in the dog-team trips while a very young girl. I don't quite remember the ones that Anna talked about, but in 1962, in the community of Grise Fiord, where the community is now, we were relocated to the actual Grise Fiord. When the shacks and the huts were moved to Grise Fiord, from their original locations, I remember that the police slaughtered all of the dogs, when people moved to the community of Grise Fiord.

Inuit were too independent, previously, because they all travelled by dog-team. But, now it seemed that they wanted to take away the independence of the Inuit, and be put on welfare. The dogs, who were tools of our independence, were removed and slaughtered, and we were put on welfare.

The men of our community lamented for their dogs. They had wanted to keep those dogs. They were told that they were going to be replaced by snowmobiles, but nobody ever gave them money to buy snowmobiles, although their dogs were slaughtered and they had no jobs to earn any income.

I was only small then, but as a child I was very attached to dogs. I carried them on my back. I was very attached to puppies.

So, my questions were this: Perhaps, there was going to be a faster transportation system? Perhaps, there is going to be more ships coming more frequently, or more aircraft? So, that is what came to my mind when they slaughtered the dogs in Grise Fiord.

**THE FACILITATOR:** Larry wanted to be next.

**LARRY AUDLALUK:** [English] Larry Audlaluk.

The subject of 1955 can only be told after we speak about attempts to return, on the word of the promise, after two years. Looking at my schedule, I am very worried about skipping the attempts to return; the government's

attempts to persuade us not to go back. That is a very big subject. Tomorrow is going to be talking about DATE, but that can only make sense if we talk about attempts to return by the first group; 1953.

The subject of dogs. I would like to say, I am not sure when, that there was a point in time in Inuit history, in the north, when somebody's child, a little girl, in one of the Arctic communities in eastern Arctic, was killed by Inuit dogs. I don't know which community. The RCMP inspector in Ottawa issued an order to all of the RCMP detachments in the eastern Arctic for the dogs to be destroyed. That subject of dogs being killed everybody knows in most of the eastern Arctic communities.

Perhaps, that is part of the subject that these people are talking about. I think there is a bit of confusion as to why. If I remember right, I think that is part of that, this government order. Thank you.

**THE FACILITATOR:** I just want to reassure you, Larry, that we are not going to skip that; the efforts to relocate.

**COMMISSIONER DUSSAULT:** Quite the contrary. I would like to reassure Larry that the whole issue is very central. According to my watch, I know that it has been a long day.

I was struck from the first question that was asked by Commissioner Wilson and the follow-up that was made by other Commissioners.

I will be very brief, and I will just say that I understand perfectly that there is a logic to discuss the attempts to return, and then to discuss what was said to the relatives.

We have touched the questions of letters to relatives today, who sent the letters, what were the motives, and we heard explanations of how Inuit wrote letters. But, we also learned that some of those letters survived.

I think it is an important fact, so I would like to be sure, as Larry just said, that we are going to look at this very central issue tomorrow morning, starting with the attempts to return. And, I think, it should shed a better light on the communication that was made afterward, either through the RCMP, or by people who had moved to Grise Fiord or Resolute in 1953, to their relatives. So, I will keep this for tomorrow.

However, I would like, maybe, just to ask a short question to Lazarusie Epoo on the situation in Inukjuak. It was mentioned by many that the caribou had gone far away between 1953 and 1955, or for a few years. We read in reports that they came back. Somebody told us that, in 1979, when he came back, there was plenty of caribou. As you have been in Inukjuak all of your life, do you remember if the span of time, when the caribou went farther away from Inukjuak, was long or short? Was it a couple of years, and then they came back? Were they already back in 1955? Could you just give us some additional information on that?

**LAZARUSIE EPOO:** [Translation] Yes. Lazarusie Epoo.

They are not just close by, they are even gone farther. I think they are too close and they are even drowning due to the current of the sea.

The first relocatees left when the caribou were far away. They must have been about 300 miles away, but the way they migrate is hard to say. We used to have to travel very far. It took a very long time before they got very close. Every year they got closer, up to the point where they came to the community even, and they have even gone farther.

I know islands offshore, south and north of Inukjuak – and you can see

Lazarusie's explanation of the caribou migrations is an important part of this story - the government's belief that there was insufficient wildlife in the Inukjuak area (and northern Quebec more generally) was an ongoing concern. That Inuit knew where to find the caribou herds, and knew that the migration was cyclical, such that the caribou would return to the camps near Inukjuak, provides important context for the lack of concern by Inuit in Inukjuak. Furthermore, as Lazarusie, and particularly Samwillie and Simeonie explain, hunting in a larger group - such as could be done from Inukjuak - allowed Inuit to travel the 300 mile distance to hunt caribou. Travelling this kind of distance with a small group - such as those available for hunting at either Resolute Bay or Grise Fiord - was not safe or practical, particularly when combined with a lack of knowledge about the local land and caribou patterns.

them on the map – they have caribou there now, but it is hard to tell how they got there because they have never been flown in. I know, in the case of Sanikiluaq, caribou have been moved there on purpose. But, it is hard to say exactly how the caribou which now occupy the offshore islands – it is hard to say how they got there. I guess the only people who can answer as to where the caribou came from are biologists, or the ones that know how they migrate.

The caribou in Belcher Island are a lot smaller than the caribou we have on the mainland. The caribou that we see now, that are close to the communities, we don't even want to eat them because they have started to eat the garbage from the Inuit. No one has tried to capture the caribou, but today you are able even to touch them. But, they are closer than the 1960s.

**COMMISSIONER DUSSAULT:** I think, at this point, I would like to thank each and every one of you for this long day of discussions. We are going to continue tomorrow morning on some of these very important subjects and, also, with the schedule that we have planned. I hope that everybody will have a good evening and a good night of rest. We are going to all meet in this room at nine o'clock tomorrow morning.

If I could ask for the closing prayer.

**THE FACILITATOR:** The closing prayer will be by Samwillie Elijasialuk.

**SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** [Translation] Thank you. If you want to stand up, you can stand up, but I, myself, will be sitting down to be near the microphone.

**(Closing prayer)**

— Whereupon the hearing adjourned on April 6, 1993 at 5:30 p.m. to resume on April 7, 1993.

**Royal Commission on Aboriginal  
Peoples Testimony: April 7, 1993**

ROYAL COMMISSION ON ABORIGINAL PEOPLES  
LOCATION: OTTAWA, ONTARIO  
DATE: WEDNESDAY, April 7, 1993  
VOLUME: 3

(Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, "Testimony," April 7, 1993, *The High Arctic Relocation Special Hearings*, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada))

Ottawa, Ontario

— Whereupon the hearing commenced at 9:10 a.m. on Wednesday, April 7, 1993.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** If I could get your attention, we will start for the day again. Could someone do us a favour at the head table and get us some head sets, please, translation equipment.

Perhaps while we are waiting for that we could start with our opening prayer. I would ask Lizzie Amagoalik to open the meeting with a prayer, please. We will all stand.

(Opening prayer)

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** I will turn the meeting over to Mary Simon now.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you, Mr. Erasmus. We are going to be beginning our testimony with Markoosie Patsauq today.

[Translation from Inuktitut]

We are supposed to start questions but we couldn't complete that so Markoosie you can start. They are still trying to put their headsets on. If you are going to be speaking in Inuktitut wait until they are ready.

After Markoosie has completed his testimony the group from the 1955 relocation will start and after that we will start with Minnie. I think everybody is ready now Markoosie.

**MARKOOSIE PATSAUQ:** My name is Markoosie Patsauq from Inukjuak. Back in 1953 I was one of the first group of the relocatees. Can you hear me? I was 12 years old then. Since I was only 12 years old, I was just happy to be on my first boat trip.

[Interruption in translation]

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Markoosie, perhaps you could begin again. You don't necessarily have to start from the beginning though.

**MARKOOSIE PATSAUQ:** In 1953 the very first time we were transferred, my younger brother had stated that he had T.B. I had T.B. at that time. The government used to say that the people who were sent out in 1953, they used to say that they were not ill, they were not documented as sick, but that's not true. At that time I have already had sickness of T.B. because I remember that. I was spitting blood in part of 1952, because I remember very well it was in the fall of 1952 every time I spit, I would spit blood. My illness was getting worse at that time because I was spitting blood up all that time, so that's the time when we started travelling in the year of 1952.

My mother used to say, because she knew that I was spitting blood up at that time, she used to tell me that I have to be sent away to down south. She would tell me that because she knew that I had T.B. After two months of moving to Resolute Bay, after being landed in Resolute Bay for two months, my illness was getting more serious and I started vomiting blood, enormous amount of blood and the people who took care of me Simeonie Amagoalik and Jaybeddie Amagoalik were the people who took care of me at that

time when I was vomiting blood. They have seen me and I'm sure that they remember about that. This was just the time when we recently landed in Resolute Bay.

The RCMP member was made aware about the fact that I was spitting blood and he was shown my sputum with blood. However, although he was shown, he could not do anything. He did not do anything. Later on I found out that, I hear that if a person is sick like that, they should be taken care of by the doctors and the nurses because they can die of that kind of illness, so we were told by the health officials at that time.

Then I started asking the nurse, "How should I have gone about it," and she told me that I should have – that my T.B. was urgent and about the fact that I should have been treated urgently because those kind of illnesses have to be treated urgently. I've been told by the nurses and I believe that fact because I've been told.

I believe the fact that I was not treated well. I was told that the RCMP at that time knew the ambulance treatment because the RCMP knew what first aid was all about. They were trained in treating first aid. They were told whether the illness was serious or not. For that reason that our cop at that time, although he knew how ill I was, he couldn't take care of me. Sometimes today I think that I was mistreated.

For almost a year, I was ill with the sickness and I would vomit blood and we lived there, we stayed there and nobody took care of me at that time by the health officials because we did not have any nurses because our RCMP was the only person who could take care of me. There were a lot of people with the military. They had a doctor, but they could not take care of me. They were not responsible for us, although they could have been. The RCMP was the only person who had taken care of me because there was nobody else around.

I remember vividly, although I was going through this illness seriously, for I was very ill up in Resolute Bay and they let me stay there after one whole year of being ill in 1954 when *C.D. Howe*, the medical ship came up, so they x-rayed me and they told me that I had T.B. and that's when I realized that I had T.B. at the year of 1954.

Therefore, I had to leave my community in 1954 in the fall. I was quite happy to leave because I wanted to become healthy, although I was quite leery of leaving the town or quite leery of leaving my parents because I had never left my parents before. It was the very first time that I had left my parents and I was quite leery about leaving them, but I thought that I wanted to become healthy, it was the best of my health. I had to get healthy, for those remaining families that we left behind in Inukjuak and my peers that grew up with me, because I felt that I wanted to see my peers. That's why I wanted to become more healthy.

I speak of this quite a few times. I talk about being mistreated, even up to today I believe that fact. But the government at that time, the day we were leaving, they told the people who are healthy will be examined and they said that we were all examined before we were transferred up there. They said we were healthy, so therefore we had to be transferred up because we were healthy because that's what government had stated they only transfer the people that are healthy.

However, back then in the north, T.B. was rampant. In the year of 1940s and '50s, T.B. was quite rampant in the north, perhaps in the whole world,

especially in the north. Due to that fact, the government stated that the people that were being transferred were healthy.

However, the day we were leaving Inukjuak, in the year of 1953, they did not give us x-rays because they said that the x-ray machines they were not operating because they were broken. However, the government had stated that we were very healthy people, and yet they said that we were healthy but we were not examined properly. They could have examined us. They could have given us x-rays. That way they might have known. But after we pass Iqaluit, that's the only time they ever given us x-rays after we pass Iqaluit perhaps because the x-ray machine was fixed – they didn't know about my T.B. until we pass Iqaluit. For that reason I was quite ill with T.B. It took a long time for them to diagnose me with T.B. For that fact, I was lucky to be alive. I know that I was just lucky to be alive because I was diagnosed a few years after the fact that we were located.

I had no strength at all. I had to be carried around in a stretcher and I couldn't – the people had to carry me around and they had to carry me around in stretcher and perhaps in October or November in 1954 at that time they took me to the hospital in Manitoba.

It took a whole year of really taking care of me. By the time I went down there to the hospital, I was literally limp. By the time I arrived there the doctor had told me, saying, "You've had this illness for a very long time, so therefore you'll stay here for a very long time."

As it turns out I have had T.B. for the longest time. My mother used to say, "I think you have to go to hospital. I think you've got T.B." She would tell me that in the year of 1952-53 and I believe her. I really believe my mother's statement, because she knew how ill I was. She used to tell me, "I think you have got T.B. I think you will have to end up in the hospital." She knew that. I remember at that time she used to tell me. Although, my mother had stated that fact, although we were x-rayed they never realized that the fact that I was sick.

A lot of it, maybe perhaps they thought that my illness was mediocre, about the fact that it wasn't really there. But by the time I arrived to the hospital, my doctor had told me, "You've had this illness for the longest time, so therefore you will be staying here for the long time."

Then, for three years I stayed in the hospital. Also by the time we were being transferred up there, although I had this illness, for those people who had landed up in Resolute Bay with me, since T.B. is contagious, I had spread the T.B. disease to other people. In the year of 1953, the year we went up, I think there were about 22 of us, the people who were landed in Resolute Bay. Twenty-two members of us who landed in Resolute Bay for the very first time, all of them had caught the disease, T.B. There was only one person who did not get the T.B. disease. There are 21 people who caught the T.B. disease from me and since it's so contagious I've given it, I've spread it to a lot of people.

During that time for many, many years, our health was not properly taken care of. So therefore, lot of people had T.B. It all started from me, as it turns out. I've spread that disease to a lot of people when we first move up there. For that reason, our parents, brothers and sisters, have ended up staying at the hospital because of me, because that serious illness had come to us for I spread it. A lot of people ended up getting T.B.

Although I remember this very much, the government had stated that we

were healthy people when we were transferred up. In fact, we were not and even up to today I don't believe it, because my mother used to tell me about the fact that I was not healthy because my sputum was blood at all times. I was spitting blood. Even today I think that we were mistreated, for they did not take care of us carefully. All my family, all the people who went up to Resolute Bay with me, the disease spread to them from me, even up to today. Because we were not treated properly, health-wise properly. Even up to today it's still the fact that's how it was at that time. When I arrived up there with my illness.

I don't have much to say, but I also would like to point out to you my land, my parent's land, the one you see on the map, for many, many years perhaps for 200 or 300 years, even more, that land Inuit people have been living even before the white man started coming up and that was their land and they lived off it. The land we lived in, it's unique. The place where you were born is unique, there is no other place like it. That's how it was; it was our land up there. I remember people telling me that nobody thought about leaving. It's a fact because, they never wanted to leave their home; it's their homeland.

I'm out of time. I do not like it when people talk badly about my land. The government have stated and they still do, my land was – they used to tell me the place we were living the animals were not going to sustain us to live, the fact that there was not animals there. We were told that, so therefore, we had to be transferred. The government had told us they were too many people here and not enough animals, not enough to sustain us. Therefore, they told us that we have to move and that the communities had to be reduced for the population was increasing. We were increasing by numbers so therefore the land was not able to sustain us. We were told that, so therefore we had to leave.

Our grandparents had lived there, that's our land. We lived in harmony with the land and the animals. We were told that there was not enough animals and I'm not happy about that fact that it's not true, because my land has so many animals, it's rich in animals, even up to today the animals can sustain us Inuit people in that region.

The government, how did they know? I often wonder, how did the government know about the fact that – where did they hear about the fact that the animals were so little in amount, therefore, they could not sustain us? They told us that fact, but it wasn't true and they transfer us to a place where it was more desolate. The government did not really know about what they were doing. They did not do their homework and still they governed us and that had a great impact on us.

The government at that time did not know their homework. They did not do their homework. They had stated to us at that time that the Inukjuak area had run out of animals, so therefore there was no game animals for us. Even up to today, we still have those animals. It's a great mass of land. When you live there, it's a great mass of land.

They told us that there were too many Inuit people living there, so therefore the animals or the game, there were not enough game animals to sustain us. That was not true. I'm not happy about the fact that we were told lies, I'm not happy about that.

I cry for the land and for the people, a lot of people. We were told that there were too many of us around for the animals for they were scarce, they



told us. We were told, which was entirely untrue.

Therefore, for that reason, we have come face to face with you for the government had made a mistake, for everybody makes mistakes. We are all human beings and the government had made a mistake for transferring us. However, when we make a mistake, when we make an honest mistake, we accept the fact that we made a mistake and you don't have to be scared of making a mistake. Everybody makes mistakes, that's a part of life. We don't hate the government for making a mistake, for everybody makes a mistake. Nobody is entirely always right in the whole world. I cannot tell you everybody is always right, correct. Everybody makes mistake, I know. The government has to accept the fact that they have made mistakes, a lot of us made mistakes.

When we were in Inukjuak, the services we got like help when we were kids, we started getting services like some kind of welfare to help our grandparents. When we moved up to the High Arctic, we lost all our services. My grandmother did not receive any money for welfare to receive groceries. So instead we started using our family allowance and then we stop receiving those allowances. So therefore, we had no services at all. They dropped us as if we were hot potatoes and we were being used. We were being used as if we were just examples and experiment people. We were being experimented on. When I hear about the fact that we were being experimented on, it's no good. A human being cannot be used as an experimental being.

If they had told us ahead of time that's the kind of land you will be landing to, and you will be losing the kind of services that you have been receiving when you arrive there, it would have been all right if they had let us known ahead of time. But they told us only about the good things, not at all the bad things. I'm not happy about that fact, because the government should understand and should apologize to the people for we have needs too. I think they even went around the Canadian legislation.

Thank you.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you, Markoosie. I have one question. If there are any questions concerning the T.B. issue – Simeonie, let me ask a question first before you start.

In 1952, your mother knew about the fact that you were not healthy and that you were ill and nobody, not even nurses or doctors, looked at you or examined you.

**MARKOOSIE PATSAUQ:** In 1952 when I started spitting blood, that's the only time I remember. I was the only one who knew about the fact that I was spitting blood, so therefore I didn't tell anybody. I did not know whether I was ill or not. I was spitting blood. I thought it was natural human thing to spit blood.

However, in 1953, before we leave town, my mother finally saw me spitting blood. Then she finally realized that I was ill. I never told her, but she had to see it for her own eyes. And that's the time she used to tell me, "I think you will you'll have to leave because I think you have an illness." I never told her, she had to find that out herself.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** When was the time when you first saw a nurse or a doctor? Nobody, not even doctors or nurses saw you, but you were never examined when you went to the ship?

**MARKOOSIE PATSAUQ:** I was never examined at the time when we went

to the ship. That ship was a medical ship, so therefore we had to get examined there. We kind of figured that they will diagnose me at that time when we get on that ship because that was the medical ship. That was the only medical services that we ever received. That was the only services I ever had. We were never x-rayed in Inukjuak. They used to tell us that the x-ray machine was broken in Inukjuak, so therefore I was never x-rayed.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Simeonie, would you like to touch upon that issue? Please mention your name and where you come from. Introduce yourself.

**SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** My name is Simeonie Amagoalik from Resolute Bay. I would like to make a supplementary to the person who is speaking, my aunt's son, actually my sister's son, however, to his statement. All the people, the T.B. started from him. All of us who got sick ended up getting the disease from him, for the disease spread and we had to spend well over a year in the hospital, although he is saying that "it came from me." However, the government – it derived from the government. The government thought, never mind if they die, as long as they bury them in that land.

He could have been a big man. He's very smart, he's articulate. However, when he was ill, nobody took care of him. That's why he is small; he could have been bigger. My wife had T.B. and they did not diagnose her early enough, so therefore she is very skinny today. For those of us, the way we were treated we are not as masculine – we are supposed to be as healthy people. We did not get the services. Although he had stated that he was told that the x-ray machines were broken, by the time we got nearer to that High Arctic place, that's the time when they x-rayed us and then we realized that he had T.B. and the fact that he had to leave to the hospital, we were all aware of that.

As Anna Nungaq yesterday had stated when we were being split, we cried; even the dogs howled. The government did not want us to cry, so therefore, they did not want to send him away. So therefore, you know, they didn't care. We had an elderly woman, a very old woman. She was very sick, lying still, very skinny. She starved and died in her bed without ever being taken care of by the nurses. We were told that the RCMP was responsible for the medical services. The doctor or the nurse had come over to us to vaccinate the old woman by putting her on the stomach, putting the vaccination in her bum and the policeman was smiling and saying, "Okay, girl," to a very old woman and then he walked out. That woman was dying.

Thank you.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Simeonie, Jaybeddie wants to add something to that, so could he sit in your place.

**JAYBEDDIE AMAGOALIK:** Jaybeddie Amagoalik from Inukjuak. In regards to what Markoosie Patsauq was saying, I want to add a little bit. The fact that we were relocated to a place of no medical people is true back in 1953, it's a fact. What I am saying, the facts that I am saying will come out. It can prove what we are saying is right. My grandmother who was lying in bed without any medical attention just died.

In 54', my sister, my aunt gave birth and myself I was 18 or 19. I was a young man then. I had to try to help when they were giving birth. I had never watched anybody give birth, it was the first time for me. I tried to help them. I assisted them when they were giving birth and I was a young man.

This is likely Nellie Amagoalik, who was 80 years old when she was relocated from Inukjuak to Resolute Bay. There are conflicting rationales for why "Old Nellie" was included among the relocatees. See Marcus (1991) and Lackenbauer (2020).

I think you can understand that the fact that there was no medical personnel up there, we were able to survive where there was no nurses or doctors around and the fact that the T.B. was around, it was very big; it has an after effect. My two sisters were younger than me. They are both not alive today. They died because of the fact that we didn't have any medical attention or medical services.

I just wanted to bring out the fact that we didn't have any medical services back then. I think that's it, thank you.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you, Jaybeddie.

Markoosie, I would like to ask you another question, just to clarify things. When you were in Resolute, yesterday it was also stated that there were *Qallunaats* in Resolute. There must have been doctors even in Resolute Bay. Did you ever get any medical attention because you were sent only in 1954 in Resolute? How was it? Can you speak about it more?

**MARKOOSIE PATSAUQ:** The fact that we say that we went to a place where there's no medical service, the police was the only one that used to treat us. Whoever got sick, the other *Qallunaats*, the air force, they had a doctor there, but the doctors could not treat us. They were not responsible for us. The only medical attention we got was from the police, she was the only one. The air force, it seems like they were not there at all because we couldn't get their services. We couldn't approach them. It was as if they were not there at all, because they were not allowed to look after us.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** I understand now. You couldn't get x-rayed because it was broken. Did they fix it in Frobisher and you were able to get x-rayed after that point? After you got x-rayed, do you remember what the doctor said to you, how he diagnosed you back then?

**MARKOOSIE PATSAUQ:** It was only after we had passed Frobisher that we were x-rayed and they were able to fix the x-ray machines in Frobisher Bay. After we left Frobisher that was when they started giving us x-rays, but they did not tell us anything. They didn't even tell my parents. They didn't say that I was ill. They just gave us an x-ray and that was it. They didn't tell us the results. After that, I figured I was okay. My mother used to tell me that, "I think you have T.B. I think you will have to go south for treatment," and I used to expect that. But they didn't say that I had T.B., even after the fact that I was x-rayed.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you for your answers. I think that pretty well covers it, unless the royal commissioners have any questions on this issue. Mary Sillett.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Thank you very much, Markoosie. You said that you had T.B. in 1952, you were spitting up blood in 1952 and that all the people that you went with in Resolute were infected; there were 22 members, one person wasn't. I was wondering, were any of the people from Grise Fiord, did they have T.B. too?

**MARKOOSIE PATSAUQ:** No. People of Grise Fiord, as far as I know, was a lot more healthier than the one in Resolute community and I would think that the reason is that people of Grise Fiord did not have anybody among them who had a disease. So they were not – they were a lot better off medically than the ones in Resolute because, like I said, I was the one who was

carrying the disease and I'm the one who spread that sickness among our people, but Grise Fiord people did not have someone among them who had a disease.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you, Markoosie. Are you finished?

Martha Flaherty would like to make a comment on this as well.

**MARTHA FLAHERTY:** I may not be clear on this, so I'll require assistance if I am not clear enough.

In March 1955, we were relocated up north to the High Arctic. On our way up, my sister Mary she was only two years old and she was diagnosed as – she had a sickness so she had to leave us. When she left, I didn't know where she was. I used to listen to my parents speaking in the evening and in the morning wondering where she was. We were wondering if she was still alive. We didn't know if she was still alive.

The government had sent us. After she was in the hospital she was sent to Inukjuak because they didn't know where we were and she was in Inukjuak for a year. The government didn't know where we were and they were the ones who were moving us around.

After a year in Inukjuak they tried to find out where we were and they thought we were in Resolute Bay, so they moved her to Resolute because they thought that's where we were and then she spent another year in Resolute because they couldn't find us and she couldn't even speak in Inuktitut. She came to us, she was crying she didn't want to be with us. She didn't know she was back with her parents. She wanted to go back to her parents in Resolute. She kept crying and she couldn't understand what we were saying. I think she was about five years old by the time she came to us. I don't exactly recall how old she was, but I know it was really hard on my parents and my mother is still hurting. Mary, my sister is still hurting, she can't even speak about it and her life has been affected.

Samwillie was speaking about my father yesterday. I know that was one of the reasons why my father was so heartbroken. He was a good man. He was sane and when he was refused his request to go back, he got worse. When I was 12 years old, he blamed me. It seemed like he was taking his anger out on me. Since he was taking out his anger on me, we were always scared of him then. I really got mad at him. I think I was about 35 years old, I was so scared of him I couldn't stay home any more. I couldn't live with my father any more so I had to leave home.

I couldn't be home any more because I was scared and I was gone as much as possible, although I wanted to help my mother. I was scared. I went to Churchill. I was attacked by my school mates, people have hated me. I don't know why. I almost lost my mind in Churchill when we were going to school in Churchill. Even when I got back to Grise Fiord, my father had gotten worse. He was getting worse all the time. His mind was not getting any better. I couldn't understand why he was that way to me. I couldn't understand why people hated me so much. I couldn't understand that and I thought I was bad all this time.

Even when I grew up, I couldn't even have a good relation with another person, even the people – even the men I tried to have a relation with used to abandon me because I was bad. When I got back to Grise Fiord in the summer, he was in a really bad state. He was going back and forth to the hospital. He was mad. My mother went through a really hard time and we

couldn't be home. We couldn't stand it any more. Since I couldn't stay home – it was impossible for me to stay home although I wanted to be with my mother – I started hating my father. Even when he was about to die, people told me to go see him before he died. I didn't want to see him. I just told him, "It's better if you die." I even told him that. It was the truth. What I said was true.

Even after he had died, he wanted to forgive me. I know he wanted to forgive me and I started to understand why he was in that state only after he had died. I understood only after he had died why he was in that state. Now I really love him. I understand now. I understand why he was in that state, so I love him.

The family, we couldn't even sit together and speak as a family, because we were intimidated by my father. Just by looking at other people, I knew how they lived because they were so intimidated by other people. Three of us have been so touched: my mother, myself and my brother. I know he is going through a hard time. He's hurting inside. He can't talk about it. He needs attention. He's hurting so much and sometimes he even wants to kill himself. And Mary, who was here yesterday, is hurting so much. We couldn't be together for a long time and even up to date we cannot really be together. We are now getting closer together by my mother; my mother understands me.

I knew about the fact that she used to do these things behind my back. I know that the way the government and the nurses and the doctors had governed us, it had a great impact on us and not just only me, not just my family. It had a great impact on all the people who are sitting around here. They are hurting inside. They cannot tell you how much they are hurting. They cannot even speak to you as to how much they are hurting inside. They cannot even begin to tell you. They are hurting inside. I know it's very hard to come forth and tell you all these things. That's the only way we can come out to you.

The government had refused time and time again, no matter how many times we apply for funding, although no funds is going to cure, no funds is going to heal us from inside. The government had deteriorated our life. The Inuit people, the Indian people, they had deteriorated the Indian people, the native people especially, so therefore they used us. The Canadian is government always proud of their native people, and the fact that they feel very obliged to welcome people who are from out of country, "Look at these Inuit people, they can make their own snow houses," and, "Oh, these Indian people they have their own ceremonies, go see them." They are so proud of us. We are a tourist attraction. After they leave, they will forget about us.

For that reason, I was not very happy about the fact that the Canadian government had been given an award for being the best government in the whole world. I was not very happy about that fact, because they had mistreated their native people. They take care of other people from other countries urgently. Although they should prioritize the Inuit people and the Indian people, for their native people they should prioritize in taking care of them.

For that reason, we have all those painful hurts. I opened this so that other people may have the opportunity to talk with you. I know they are hurting inside and I love them.

Thank you.

The inter-generational challenges of the relocations, and particularly the damage to family relationships is an unexplored element of the relocations. The Inuit-led memory project *Iqqau-mavara* (2011) provides greater insight into these long-term and ongoing effects.

Martha Flaherty discusses these issues and concerns further in the film *Martha of the North*.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you, Martha. Samwillie.

**SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** What Martha is saying is the plain truth. As I have stated, it is a plain fact. She is telling the truth. I also would like to point out to you, in Resolute Bay we had to carry about flour. I also would like to make a clarification to you. We had to live a different way of life because we had no bannock, we had no animals. There were no animals or game animals and there has been at that time, even up to today, there were no animals there and they had to carry heavy load of flour because it's very far. There was no flour to make bannock with so therefore they were given to carry all that flour for very great distance.

Why did the government say there's more animals up there so they can sustain you? Why did they say that? Why did they bring all that flour to us when there were lots of game animals? I would like to point out to you in the map, after I speak, I will tell you where from point A to point B we carried firewood and flour when the government had told us that they were a lot of animals. So therefore I would like to point out to you in the map right now.

We lived here through here. We travelled through here, through here all the way down, started from here. That's how we carried flour. Why, when the ship was so big, when the government had transferred us, we had no bannock, no tea and they said that we would be rich up there? Why did they do it? Why did they do that?

In 1962 – prior to 1962, we had to go all the way down to pick up flour and necessities. I can tell you, the RCMP used to have a small amount of supply. I would like to – Bob Pilot used to help us out. He used to hand out very small amount of supplies like tea, coffee because we did not have that.

Thank you.

**JACKOOSIE IQALUK:** My name is Jackoosie Iqaluk from Inukjuak. In 1955, the day we were transferred I was one of people who arrived late. Elizabeth Allakariallak is at the map. She will be pointing at the map, the very first map you see, Elizabeth will be pointing out on the map for you. Elizabeth Allakariallak is my sister's daughter, my niece.

That's a map of Quebec, Inukjuak the River of Inukjuak, they live here. We used to live out in our first camp. We did not live in Inukjuak, but we were in the north of Inukjuak. We had an our first camp named Inutsulik. They know I talk about this place called Inutsulik. That's the place we were picked up prior to the time we were beginning being shipped up, prior to the time we were located from here. That's the place where they picked us from, the year of 1955 by RCMP ship.

At that time I was very young. I used to follow along, tag along. I was very happy to leave, so I was very innocent and ignorant of what was going on. Our elders were the people who we followed at that time.

The time we were leaving, we were taken from there and taken to Inukjuak at the lower place. I'll start from the lower place. That's Inukjuak. We got into the ship there in 1955 for those of us who were relocated later on to Salluit. The people who were relocated first had used this route. We went through here. We went through Quebec from Salluit. Through Quebec, from Quebec we started travelling to Clyde River. That's where we ended up and then to Pond Inlet.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Jackoosie, when we are done with the

Jackoosie Iqaluk was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1955 at age 22

health issue, you can go back to that topic. If you would like to wait, so therefore, we would like to go back to it. We are on health issues at this time. So, therefore, I would like you to deal with the 1955. After the health issue, we will go back to what you are talking about. When we go to that agenda item, you will be able to speak.

**JACKOOSIE IQALUK:** In 1955, the day I – I apologise for speaking about 1955. We won't start until we deal with the health issue.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Dora, did you want to say something about this?

**DORA PUDLUK:** Sometimes I tend to speak a little too fast. My name is Dora Pudluk. My maiden name is Dora Iqaluk, but my married name is Dora Pudluk. My husband is one of the members of the legislative assembly in the Northwest Territories.

Dora Pudluk was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1955 at age 12

When we talk about health issues, I would like to say there are quite a few of us who were left alone in the hospital in Churchill, Manitoba. Martha had stated about her younger sister being lost. I myself the very first time when we were being shipped to the hospital, I had to take care of that child and I also had to take care of my younger sister, my younger sister sitting beside me right here. She was a little older than Mary, so I had to supervise those two. I was at the age of nine. At the age of nine, my sister was at the age of five and Mary, Martha's younger sister, was two years old. We were shipped to the hospital at the same time and we were left alone in the ship. As our parents have stated, they had to pitch their tent up there, so therefore, we had to remain in the ship. At the same time we were to be taken to the Kuujjua (Churchill) hospital.

I had to work very hard in order to take care of the younger girls, especially when I was very young at the age of nine, so it was quite a heavy burden on me. One of the girls just used to cry. Mary, Martha's younger sister used to cry all the time. No wonder, I was a stranger to her, for we did not come from the same community. It was her very first time to see me, so she was quite strange to me, so therefore, she cried quite a lot. My younger sister did not want her to see me cry and she would cry. I apologize. When my younger sister started crying, I would have just broke out and cried because it was the very first time that I left my parents. It was very hard on me, I was very young. The younger one, Mary, we forget the bottle in the ship bottle so therefore she would have crying tantrums. She was quite strange to me and she wanted her bottle. I remember those because it was very hard on us.

When we went to the hospital, Kuujjua (Churchill) hospital, things got worse. It was our very first time to be around white people and we did not speak the white man's language, so therefore the burden we carried got even heavier. In our very first night, my younger sister, I could not take care of her very well. Although she was very young, she was a lot younger me, I had to prevent her from crying. I had to soothe her but I couldn't. She couldn't understand me, for we were very scared for everything was alien to us. Although Mary was given to me for me to take care of, she was put in pediatrics at that time, but she could not stop crying so therefore they had to give her back to me from the peds. When she was given to me, she could not crying. Therefore, I started making a bottle for her. She was given an artificial stuffed doll made out of rabbit. She would bite on it. She was biting

on it so much it ripped. There was milk there and I would pour it through there, so that's how I fed her through the stuffed animal, and that's how she started off sleeping for I was feeding her with that bottle.

The impact that the government had governed us I have not touched upon yet, but the next day we had to leave to a clear water lake and that place what we had experienced was nothing compared to that place. We had to go to the hospital where it was quite hard when we arrived there. I apologize.

From Churchill, when we left Churchill through the airplane, the whole time we were on the flight Mary cried the whole time. She would stop trying crying for a very few minutes, but she would cry during the duration of flight. When we entered the hospital, she was crying. Her arms were outstretched to me, crying. I saw her like that so I had to turn my back on her. Although she was strange to me the very first time I saw her, once she wouldn't let me go. I had to turn my back because I wanted to take care of my younger sister, Mary.

Then we were admitted to the hospital. We were put to bed. We were both put into different rooms. I was very shy at the time, and we were very shy to show any part of our skin. We were stripped naked to be put in bed and I tried not to cry. But when I was put in the bath, I burst out crying and this is the first time that I did so.

I was under a great strain at that time and then I was put through further strain when my younger sister and I were put into the same room. I could not understand or speak English, although I occasionally asked about the other Mary and where she was put and I inquired about her. I could not speak English. I thought about her, but I could not ask about her very much and I was further strained. I don't remember everything because I was very young at the time, but I only remember the strain that I went through.

During the night, my younger sister who was in the same room with me, woke me up in her crying and I asked her what was wrong and she told me she wanted water and here we were being told not to get on the floor and stay in bed. We were required to stay in bed at all times after a certain hour and we were even picked up off the bed and put into a chair we were so restricted from even touching the floor. So when my younger sister asked for water, I observed in a room right across the corridor a faucet that was being used to wash the toilet and I observed that it was tap water which I was never used to. We had a glass and so I took the glass and I looked around to see if there was anybody observing in the corridor and then I sneaked into the place where I had observed the faucet and I went to get some water. Because I had observed how the water was turned on, I tried to do what I could to get the water and so I had the glass filled with water.

As I was returning, somebody caught me. I knew that this person was very displeased with what I was doing and I could not understand a word about what she was trying to say to me. But because my younger sister was able to drink some water, I tried not to notice what this other person was trying to say to me, but I knew she was displeased.

In my memory is etched only the unpleasant strain that I went through, so I'm trying to relate only the strains and burdens that I felt at the time. I don't remember long stretches, although I recall that the nurses and medical staff were angry at me and at us for whatever reason.

My younger sister was being cured of her illness much faster than I was and then she was moved to another room. She was moved to a larger pe-



diatric ward because her diseased lung was less serious than mine. Since I could not get on the floor, I spent – I don't know how many weeks, and she was – I myself was being trained to get on the floor eventually, or to be allowed to touch the floor and I was even being trained to walk. I had not walked for a whole year and so my leg muscles were atrophied and so I had to be trained to learn how to walk again. When I learned how to walk again and I could visit her, I went to visit her, this who was my sister. So I started seeing her and I brought her small gifts that I bought for her.

But I was also at this time learning how to speak a little bit of English because I had spent a whole year by now and I was learning a bit of English and I could read comics. We were given comics that were colourless comics and we tried reading and I could do the A, B, C, Ds and we were trained to learn the alphabet by the late Elijah Menarik when we were still in our original homeland I could recall, so I tried to read comic books and by this way, I learned how to speak English and because the medical staff gave us scoldings, I tried to learn how to speak English and I could answer to any statements made to me in English.

When I went to visit my sister, Mary, I was less fearful and I tried to do what the medical staff told me to do during all my time in hospital. I became very angry at one time because my younger sister, who was restricted to stay in her bed, who was basically strapped to her bed, literally. The straps were attached to the whole body of the person and so the straps were put on the whole person, as if a dog was strapped down, strapped down to the steel bed lying down prone, absolutely motionless. I burst out crying and I became, for the first time very angry, and I was for the first time expressing my anger at the doctor and I said to him, "I am going to write to my father if I ever see her strapped down like this again." People had trouble restraining me because I was using the straps to her bed to whip at anybody who came near me. Then I was told that she was not going to be strapped to the bed any longer because people were very concerned about the anger that I expressed, so I was told she was not going to be.

After experiencing all these things, the other Mary, I asked about her, where she was because I was able to carry on conversations by this time. She was in pediatric ward somewhere further away from us and she was no longer crying all the time and she was happier than before and I thought less of her because she was now apparently getting along and I never saw her again.

So before it was time for me to go home, I was told that my younger sister was going to go to Churchill and I really envied her, but I also felt glad for her because she was going home. Then when she was in Churchill, perhaps after six months, then it was my turn to go to Churchill. Then I thought by this time she had gone home. Then I was told that she was still in Churchill. I was told that your sister Mary is still in Churchill, so I was really glad when I was told this.

When I arrived in Churchill, we were put into a very unclean place. I didn't know where I was going to sleep at all. It was a very dirty place. There were children about my age staying there, and so I was put in such a place. I did not see my sister Mary there, although I was told that she was there, so I had expected to see her. I started worrying about her because I was told that Mary was in that location and I had no idea where she was. We were put into a very poor place. We were placed in a very poor place where

very poor children were placed. There didn't seem to be any supervision. I was hungry. I remember I was hungry and I was looking for food here in a place where we were put and there was no food. There was no oranges, there was nothing. Perhaps once a day by somebody who seemed to be a supervisor we were given food. We spent two weeks this way; once a day we were given food. We spent two weeks that way. We were very poorly bedded. We just lay down with our clothes on and slept when we were sleepy. There didn't seem to be any supervision as to when to sleep.

Now, we are under the care of the government. We are under the supervision of the government originally, technically. We were given food once a day – once a day, for goodness sakes. I was hurt by all this. I never saw my sister Mary although I was told she was there. So I was further hurt by this experience.

Then after two weeks somebody fetched me to go home. I was told I was going to go home to my parents. I never knew who was fetching me. I have was told I was being sent home by ship, so I was glad of this. Then there seemed to be a little ship, there seemed to be – well, I recall the *C.D. Howe* and then a smaller ship. Then I was put on the smaller ship and I asked, "Where are we going?" and I was told that I was going back to Inukjuak to my parents in Inukjuak. I said, "No, my parents are now in the High Arctic. They are no longer in Inukjuak," and that's what I tried to say and nobody believed me. "Well, you were fetched out of Inukjuak and you are going to be sent back there." Well, I said, "No, they are up in the High Arctic now. The government sent them to the High Arctic. We were moved by the government. Ask the government where we were sent. We were in transit to go to the High Arctic. Ask them," I said.

So because nobody believed me, although I tried to state what was going on, my caretakers or supervisors, not knowing all the while who they were, I was sent something by my father. It was an address that my father sent me. My father said to me, "Use this address wherever necessary," and so when we wrote to our relatives in Inukjuak and it was enclosing a letter that he had sent to me this came into my possession and I kept it and I tried not to lose this address that my father had sent me. This address was not respected when I was mistakenly sent back to Inukjuak.

The government officials who put me on the ship to go back to Inukjuak never believed that my father was now in a new address and I showed them the address. Nobody believed me although I showed them the address, but they never believed me. I don't know why. I have always kept that address for some reason I don't know. This address I have kept all these years. I don't know why. And so eventually I was sent back to a very different address.

This is how much burden and strain the government has put us through. Our disease of tuberculosis, a disease of the lungs and because we were not understood, we were lied to, we were deceived, we went through a lot of strain going through disease of the lungs at the same time. And so we were irretrievably sent back to Inukjuak and I spent a whole year there. Then after a year when the ship came again, I would be sent to my family. Well, I didn't try to mind as much because I was now amongst Inuit, although I cried a lot during that time.

This is what I wanted to relate. I was under a lot of strain. But then when I was there in Inukjuak I was also put under a lot of stress because I stayed

with somebody who was not very pleasant, but this was nothing compared to what I had went through. Rynie's daughter, Mary also arrived at that time but she was no longer under my care. She was under somebody else's care.

Then after a year I went by the big policeman, Ross. I wonder if he is still living. Ross went to fetch me and when the ship came, I was put on the ship immediately. Then I was sent home. Then I was sent home when the ship arrived in 1958. In 1958 the ship came to get me then I went up to the High Arctic to my home – to my new home. But even though I went home up there, I was hurt further.

When we arrived to the High Arctic, our father came down to meet us like Inuit do. He went to the ship to fetch me. I was happy to recognize, or that I was going to be recognized by my father and I was going to see him. Then we were still on the deck of the ship and he came. He asked me, "Is Dora here?" He asked me. He didn't recognize me. He asked me if Dora was there. He asked me. I was trying to show myself because I wanted to be recognized by my father. "Is Dora on board, do you know?" he said and I tried to tell him, "That's me." But he kept insisting, "Is Dora on board?" and this hurt me very much. I tried to tell him, "That's me. I am her." He kept saying, "Are you really her? Are you really Dora?" I said, "I am her. I am Dora." I tried to tell him and I told him this several times. Then he finally said, "I didn't recognize you because you had grown up so much," and he put his arms around me and he cried. He wept. He said, "I never expected to see you alive again," and he cried.

Then we were landed on shore and my mother was not amongst the people who came to meet us. When we landed we went home. I called my mother my daughter and when I went home with my father they were in the tent and I entered the tent and she said, "Where is Dora?" She asked, "Where is Dora? Where is Dora?" she said. Here I was entering with my father. She gave me some glances and asked, "Did Dora come, or did she not come?" She did not recognize me, her own daughter.

That's all for now, Mary.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you, Dora.

Rynie, would you like to make a comment?

**RYNIE FLAHERTY:** My name is Rynie Flaherty from Grise Fiord. While we are on the topic of this issue, I would like to make a comment because I know what is happening here. During the time when we were still living in Inukjuak, the doctors and the nurses would examine us in our upper chest and our upper back. My daughter, Mary was at the age of two years old at that time and they diagnosed her with T.B. They realized that I had a red spot in my back. Then we went to the *C.D. Howe*, although I spent the night with her before we arrived to Churchill they diagnosed her as having T.B. She was only at the age of two. She used to be quite ill when she was a baby.

When we arrived to Churchill, after they diagnosed her with T.B., Estella had stated that she would take care of those people. I don't remember very well how I was told and I was holding her hand for she was very small. When I took her by the doctors, I did not really think about it, thinking that she would be given back to me. I didn't realize about the fact that I wouldn't see her for many, many years. I thought that when they had taken her, I thought that she would be given back to me right away and then we pitch up our tent in Churchill and I thought that after we stayed in Churchill she

Rynie Flaherty was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Grise Fiord in 1955 at age 27

would be given back to us because they took her without telling me what was wrong. All they told me that she had T.B. I did not see her for a very long time. Without seeing her, I went to High Arctic. I never – I did not know where she was going to. I did not know what happened to her for there was no communication system then.

We went to Resolute Bay without ever hearing from her. I know she was taken away from me for she had T.B., that's all I knew. I have never spoken in a large group like this. We had no communication system at the time. Even without ever hearing from her again, we moved to Grise Fiord. We had left her down there. I never heard from her again. We had no communication system, we had no airplanes. The RCMP never even told us whether they heard from her or not.

After two years, we finally heard from news about her that she was taken back to Inukjuak thinking that she came from Inukjuak, thinking that we still stayed in Inukjuak. Since the government, they were there people who governed us, they could not tell anybody about our relocation. She was mistakenly taken to Inukjuak for one whole year and we did not hear from her. We never heard anything about her since the whole time she was away. Even the RCMP members did not even tell us any news about her.

I used to expect news from her because we did not – the police did not arrive at that time to our communities. After two years –after two years again, I heard that she was mistakenly landed in Resolute Bay. The RCMP did not do their job in informing us. They did not tell us, only after two years when the plane finally arrived I was told, "Mary will be arriving." Her father used to say, "I wonder how Mary is doing." He would say that very rarely. We did not speak about it, although we thought about her the whole time. It was our very first time to go up there. I used to be very shy. I was at the age of 27 when we were relocated. I did not ask any questions to RCMP how my daughter was. All I thought about, maybe she will arrive when the time comes.

Then the RCMP finally approached me after two years. After two years, they finally told me that they mistakenly taken Mary to Resolute Bay to Jackoosie thinking that she came from Resolute Bay. Jackoosie had taken care of her and she thought those were her parents. When she arrived to us she could not speak any Inuktitut language. She did not want to be with me.

When the RCMP tried to give her to us, she would just kick her feet because she did not want to be with me for I was a stranger to her. She wanted to be with Jackoosie for they had taken care of her. She wanted to go back to them thinking that those were her parents. She would cry and yearn for them.

I had a very hard time when she want to go back to her parents, to Jackoosie's family. Oh, boy, I used to love her so much and it would hurt. She couldn't stop. Although she was very small, she wanted to go back to her parents. That has really hurt me. Because she wanted to go back to her parents, she thought those were her parents. Even her father used to pace around on the floor when she wanted to go back to her parents. My husband, the father, used to pace on the floor because she really missed her parents, Jackoosie, and she yearned for them. I did not know how to treat her at that time for she was yearning for them so much.

This was done by the government. The product of the government. Even the RCMP could not take care of us, for we could not hear from her. So I'll

stop for now. Thank you.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** I would like to break for 15, 20 minutes.

— Short recess 11:00 a.m. — Upon resuming at 11:25 a.m.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Martha, do you want to start off?

**MARTHA FLAHERTY:** The issue that we are talking about in regards to health, there is a lot of contents of this. We are just talking about the tip of it. It has affected a lot of lives. I would like everyone to know we are just talking about – there are a lot of people in the back here that have been affected very much.

We have been told that the Aboriginal people are just drunkards, that's what we are told of. There is no sense in that. There are a lot of people who have turned to alcohol and drugs and abusing each other, sexual abuse of young children and suicides. These are the results. This is the results of what has happened in the past. Some of them don't even want to speak up. That is why I had stated that a lot of people have to open up. I have been holding on to this for a long time and I want everyone to open up although it is hard. If we don't talk about it, like I had said I had a hatred for my father and the fact that I couldn't have a relationship and the fact that I had hurt my daughter in some parts, that is just part of it.

The hospital, the *C.D. Howe*, really affected us. I used to be ashamed when it came up to the High Arctic. When you are a girl, when you are growing up, it's shameful when you are a growing girl. I used to dread having to go to the *C.D. Howe*. They used to undress us in front of our fathers, in front of our brothers. It's shameful, it was to me, and I used to dread having to go to the *C.D. Howe* because I was ashamed.

Nobody has ever talked about a lot of women have been hurt by this, because a woman is not supposed to be undressed in front of people. I even used to think of fleeing, when the *C.D. Howe* was coming, to a place where nobody could find me because I knew I dressed having to be undressed. They didn't even cover us, they just undressed us in front of men.

I wanted to talk about my sister a little bit more who was lost. It has affected us a lot. It has affected my parents. They even went to the extreme of abusing others and even wanted to commit suicide. If I didn't know where my child was, I wouldn't know what to do. I don't know how they lived through it. I have a lot of questions in regards to this and I don't even ask them. I don't even ask my sister, because she just starts crying. I even asked her if she remembered those and she says she doesn't remember anything. I asked what she went through. I wonder what she went through at that time and I don't know what she went through. I have a lot of questions in regards to that. I just wanted to bring that up a little bit more, that *C.D. Howe* has really affected us in a bad way.

The efforts to cut my hair, I hated it and it has been the cause of me to hate *Qallunaat*, white people. I used to hate white people because I did not believe in them because of that one incident. I know I shouldn't hate people, but the efforts to cut my hair with scissors, being chased with somebody with scissors I still dream about it. The government keeps telling us, do not remember all this, this happened so long ago. But as children we remember the traumatic experiences that we went through. In fact, we remember more than adults after many years. That doctor, Dr. Schaeffer, Otto Schaeffer the one who tried to do this to me, I recognized him right away when I saw him

Dr. Otto Schaeffer practiced medicine at the Charles Camsell Hospital (the referral hospital for the Western Arctic) and throughout the Arctic from 1951 to 1964, when he became the first director of the Northern Medical Research Unit

at the airport and I saw him many, many years later and still the image of him I know is still the same when I saw him many years later.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Where are you from and your name, please?

**MARY ATTUGUTALUK:** I am going to speak Inuktitut. I'm sorry, I fear this microphone. I am Mary Attugutaluk. I live in Pond Inlet. I was relocated in 1955. I am Mary Attugutaluk. I am going to speak Inuktitut because I am an Inuk. Perhaps what I am going to say is not going to make much sense while I speak.

I grew up as part of the relocatees to Resolute, and I am sorry if I speak the High Arctic dialect. This is not the dialect that my mother speaks, but I have a tendency to speak it because I grew up there.

I have concern. I said I feared the microphone because I although I speak fluently in English and I can understand English, I have a sort of a fear of government and *Qallunaat*. I never knew what I had this fear long ago. But since then, I figured that it has been the result of the trauma that we experienced in the relocation and having empathy and sympathy for my relatives who were relocated, and who were put through all this, unbeknownst to us by the leaders of country, the Canadian government who did all this to the Inuit and for the Inuit. *Qallunaat* who treated us like dogs.

My older sister, Dora and what she said, I wanted to add to what she said while she was speaking. Perhaps I am going to forget, or forget to say a lot of stuff I want to make sense of what I say to you. But here we were up to today having been relocated by authorities who did this to us and with the consequences of which we still live with today.

Now the relocation itself, I don't have very distinct memories of it. I only know what I hear and perhaps I've heard for the first time many things while they were being recounted, but I want to start off with what my older sister said, because that's seared in my memory, the fact that we were strapped onto the bed, tied down literally to the bed because we were restricted from getting on to the floor.

In Inuktitut there is a term that is translated into English – perhaps it's not translatable. My mother said who it translates into a very exclamatory expression which is "*Aukataalungani*" in Inuktitut. Perhaps you don't understand it because it's not your language even if it's translated into Inuktitut, it's an expression of exclamation. For us it is a very poignant and relevant expression, expression of exclamation.

We were poor. Perhaps we were thought of as dogs. We've seen that the white people, when they have dogs and how they treat dogs. They train dogs. They teach them how to go fetch a bone. The bone is thrown and they teach them how to fetch that bone, or give them commands to sit or to heel. They train their dogs. Give them commands and the dog does what the master says. If, for example, the master says "sit" the dog sits and so the master becomes pleased with the way the dog follows the commands, and so I'm using this as an illustration that that's how we were treated. We still are treated like that. So if we are told "sit", we sit, and we become very silent just as dogs do when they are being commanded. Well, that's how it was at that time, we were treated as such.

I want to recount how we were strapped to our beds. We were harnessed in the hospital. I said earlier that I fear the microphone because it reminds me of two certain medical people who looked after us when we were sick,

The differences in culture and dialect between Inuit relocated from Inukjuak and Mittimatalik contributed to difficulties within the communities, but also contributed to the evolution of a new culture and dialect in the communities that differed from their home communities. These changes further contributed to isolation and separation of families. (See Iqqaumavara (2011).)

two nurses or doctors who had a lot of authority. I don't really remember, because we were relocated in 1955. I was five years old at the time, perhaps I was almost six years old at the time. I was a small child. My youngest child is now six years old, so I was about that age at that time.

I wanted to talk about the two nurses. The first one was an old woman at the time, so she may not be any longer living and the other one was a bit younger, but they were conducting themselves not only to me, but in a very fearsome manner. There was never any pleasantness about them. Perhaps it was because I was an Inuk, an Eskimo, an Inuk. I am a native. Perhaps they knew that right away and so they treated us with a certain attitude that was never pleasant. When they came to supervise us or take care of us in the morning, every morning, in English you would call it they abused us because they did not look after us very well although we were in the hospital. Every move we make, every little move we make they made us feel unworthy, they made us feel very unworthy. I don't remember all the incidents, but that is my memory. They did not make us feel very welcome. This is a memory that I do not cherish. They strapped us down. They literally tied us to the bed. I thought that every person who was in the hospital was treated like this.

I have this exclamation expression "*Aukataalungani*" towards this memory. When the people who were relocated started recounting their experiences I had this expression of "*Aukataalungani*". We were treated like dogs. My parents were treated like dogs. "Yes. Yes." That's all they ever said in reply, "yes, yes." Every little thing they were told, "yes, yes," as if they were training dogs.

I want to say further that if you were treated like this and the people who treated you like this were white people, you would say, you are going to report on them, you are going to tell on them. A human being should never, ever be treated like this whether they be *Qallunaat*, white people, or Inuit.

It would be strange to me – I'm trying to stay calm, just to stay calm. I was trying to restrain myself from throwing all the objects in my reach just to look good in front of the cameras, but that's how I felt. I want to be given the opportunity to recount the experience of relocation that my parents there went through. I'm crying because I have an empathy for my parents who went through all this.

I hope this is well understood. I'm crying and in the process of weeping, I'm losing a lot of what I would have wanted to say. I wanted to recount everything that I want to, but when I saw some white people, my thoughts sort of scattered. That's all want to say for now.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Minnie, you wanted to say something about the medical aspects going to the hospital because after lunch we are going to concentrate on 1955 and the events of 1955. You can speak on the medical aspects, if you want to, Minnie.

**MINNIE ALLAKARIALAK:** I want to speak on this matter. I am Minnie Allakariallak. I'm going to speak on this issue. They recounted how they went to the hospital. We left them behind and Rynie and our children, so they have spoken on how they were treated. They have never really recounted all this to me. My daughter here who was looking after the other two younger little girls, is the first time I've heard it.

When we were on the ship and we had arrived in Churchill, and we had lung check-ups, or check-ups of the chest and lungs. We had somebody who

was suffering from tuberculosis, a nephew of my former husband – my late husband. He is no longer living. The infection started from this particular individual. When we arrived in Churchill, they were landed there and we had our tents pitched up across the river. Perhaps it was two days and two nights. I don't remember all of that, perhaps because I wasn't – the strain was easier on me, so I don't remember exactly whether it was two nights and two days when we pitched our tents across the river.

When we had to depart from them we tried to prevent from being too visible. But they kept coming to us as they were trying to follow us. They kept coming to us, although we were trying to prevent – trying to not be too visible when we were leaving them on the ship, or when we were on the ship and leaving them. We tried not to have them see us depart. We didn't want them to have the strain of seeing us depart.

We were not even aware how they were being supervised. They were going to pitch up our tents across the river in Churchill. We pitched our tents across the river in Churchill leaving our children on the ship because they were said to have tuberculosis.

Then Rynie and I – well, we prevent them from seeing us and we would run, but they would come to us right away. It was impossible for them to stay away from us. We were trying to depart from our children. They were on the ship and here we were pitching our tents across the river and we were put on the barge to do this, leaving our children on the *C.D. Howe*. On the ship, *C.D. Howe*, whom we had been on on board because we were the second wave of the relocation. The first wave it was already located up in the High Arctic.

When we were being delivered across the river in Churchill, some of our household articles were lost. They were sunk or drifted away. Our new clothing, which we were going to use to clothe ourselves in the harsher climate and they were willow mats, they were mats called *alliaq*.

I'm trying to recount the departure of when we parted company with our children. Here we were leaving our children on the ship and we were being delivered to the across-the-river location. I said this yesterday, but our belongings which drifted away and were lost, and our sewing machine, the government had absolutely no concern about the loss of our articles.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Sarah, you can speak now.

**SARAH AMAGOALIK:** I am Sarah Amagoalik from Resolute Bay. About being in hospital, I wanted to add to what Markoosie had to relate earlier about this business about going to the hospital and suffering from tuberculosis while we were in the High Arctic.

When we started suffering from tuberculosis, we were spitting blood. When we were spitting blood up in the High Arctic, we were sent south to the hospital and so we were infected well beyond reason and we had to spend much time in hospital. I myself spent time in the hospital. I went in the spring, in the spring I went and when I was in the hospital in Brandon, I was in the hospital in Brandon. First, I should say when I was delivered to Churchill first and I spent some time there, perhaps just a week there. I was then sent to Winnipeg and in Winnipeg I spent two weeks, never to touch the floor again when I entered the hospital.

I was then sent to Brandon Hospital and I was put on the bed, never to touch the floor again. I spent almost two years on the bed. I spent two



years actually in bed. When I finally was allowed to walk on the floor, I spent another year, so totally I spent three years in the hospital. I went to the hospital in DATE and I returned home in 1960. That's how long I spent in hospital.

My in-laws, who is Markoosie's mother and Allie Salluviniq's mother, my sisters-in-law, were along with me. Allie Salluviniq's mother, who is also named Sarah was there. She spent five years in the hospital. She spent five years in the hospital and she finally went home after I went home. She had not been home long, perhaps not even two years, two or three years and she died because her lungs just collapsed. Her lungs just gave out. We all had lung operations in the hospital, so we all have the scars of surgery on the lungs. I have experienced surgery three times. My body is scarred with the three operations. Because I am that way, I cannot – my body physically cannot really be in the cold, but my mother's body never really recovered. I have never recovered, never gained weight. My physical being, when I go to somewhere else, I notice that my physical body, my breathing improves. My whole physical disposition improves when I go somewhere else other than my home now. When I go back home, my physical well-being collapses again and then I have to go back and forth to hospital. That's what I notice. The first time when we went to the High Arctic, when I went to the High Arctic first, and then I moved out of there for the first time, I just lay lying down prone because I enjoyed the scenery so much.

I wanted to relate this time in the hospital. Thank you for allowing me to speak on it. Thank you.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you, Sarah. Larry will be the last. After he speaks, we will break for lunch and after lunch, we will start getting into the 1955 events that took place at 1 o'clock. After Larry speaks, we will break for lunch.

**LARRY AUDLALUK:** Larry Audlaluk, Grise Fiord. I'm going to tell you about the price that we paid to establish these communities. A few months after we were dumped into where we were to live for the next nine years, being just a little boy I injured my eye, my right eye. Because we had no health facilities, it was not attended to until it was almost too late. I developed a very painful eye problem on my right eye. When the RCMP, who were the medical dispensers, what little they had, they tried to look after my eye, putting all kinds of eye drops. I remember them trying to correct the pain. By the time it was so painful, they decided with their radio to contact the nearest doctor in Pangnirtung and he came.

I don't know how many years later, finally. When it was first injured, I was only three. By the time the doctors were able to have an idea what was wrong with me with the descriptions by the RCMP, I had been told I could have gone blind in my right eye; they might have even had to remove it. I am not a medical expert, I cannot exactly tell you what was wrong with it. All I know is after my injury got bad, really bad, I remember the pain and my mother trying to put something in it to relieve the pain. I remember one of the them was tea leaves, used tea leaves.

My brothers here can tell you the pain I used to suffer with my eyes. This could have been avoided if we had stayed in Inukjuak where there was already a nurse at least. I'm sure she could have at least notified the authorities earlier, but I end up not being attended to with my eye problem

for almost four years, five years, in fact.

The doctor from Pangnirtung diagnosed me as and said I had to go away. So I went away on RCMP plane. My dog came, we went to the RCMP post and I got on the plane. I didn't know how to speak English then. I remember my mother crying while I was getting on the plane. We cried. I remember the door being close and my mother crying. Because we had to go by dog team from the camp, which was little bit closer by then, six miles, she was so much in grief to see me go, she didn't want to go back by anyone to help her. She rather walked, she walked alone. She walked all alone with no gun. What could have happened if there had been a bear close by I think about today.

On the trip down, I don't know it's like in bits and pieces. I know we stopped off in Pangnirtung end up in Montreal en route to Frobisher Bay and where today Senator Charlie Watt was escorting me, I know it was him because I asked him years and years later, because I recognize his photograph later when I was growing up. I owe so much to Charlie for the dramatic experience. At least he could speak Inuktitut because I didn't know a word of English. Then after that I know I was somewhere down south. I don't know where I was.

My mother didn't know where I was, never heard from me for almost two years. Only when I saw a missionary, by then I could write letters and I wrote her a letter. My mother says that letter she kept for years she never was so happy to hear from me. My little letter, I've seen it years later, a letter I wrote out of desperation for communication and I was not even 10 years old.

Today, I have a permanent injury on my right eye. I feel it could have been avoided if we had stayed in Inukjuak. Where they put us there were no proper medical facilities. Many children died early of sickness. I'm a survivor and that's part of my surviving story. Thank you.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you, Larry. We will break for lunch for now. Although it's heavy, you had to recount these memories and it has to be heard. I think we have pretty well covered the health aspect of this, so after lunch we will get into the 1955 stories and we'll start off with Minnie.

Try to come back after one hour because we have a lot to cover. Thank you.

— Luncheon adjournment at 12:00 p.m.

— Upon reconvening at 1:15 p.m.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** I would like to ask everybody to take their seats. Come in from outside in the hall way. We are going to begin in a few minutes here just as soon as Mary is ready.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you, Mr. Erasmus. We are about to resume again. At lunch, as I said, the 1955 relocatees would start off. Try to keep your stories as complete as possible. Minnie would be the first one to speak.

**MINNIE ALLAKARIALLAK:** Minnie Allakariallak. I'm the mother of these women here. I already talked about them earlier, but I'll repeat them so you will be more clear on them.

We never used to be in the community where the *Qallunaats* were located. We used to have camps scattered all over the place because we used to enjoy

Charlie Watt was a Northern Services Officer with the DIAND between 1969-1979 and President of Makivik Corporation from 1978-1982 and 1988-1994. In 1984 he was appointed to the Senate of Canada, where he founded the Special Committee on Aboriginal Peoples, which would become the Senate Standing Committee on Aboriginal Peoples

the land where there are berries, where there is vegetation, where there is food and where there is marine mammals. We used to have plenty of food to eat. There used to be varieties of food, vegetation, along the shore and on the land. It was our land and we used to enjoy it and we never even used to think of any other place. That's the way we used to live in our homeland. That's the way we were still living when the police started coming to our camps. We were on the second wave of the relocation. I already covered that, but I will go over them again.

The police used to come to our camps. They used to come in by boats and they used to use Josie Nowra as an interpreter.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Indicate who came to see you?

**MINNIE ALLAKARIALLAK:** The first interpreter was Tommy Palliser who used to be the interpreter with the Hudson's Bay Company. The only person I remember was Josie Nowra. They remember the other interpreter which came before Jose Nowra. When we were approached to move, we were supposed to be with the first group because we used to be intimidated by the *Qallunaats* because they are *Qallunaats*, and they were RCMP at that matter and when the *Qallunaat* speaks it seemed like we were hit on the head because that's how intimidated we were and overwhelmed. We were overwhelmed when we were moved to another location. We started worrying about how we would survive.

Tommy Palliser was an interpreter with the Hudson's Bay Company

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** What did they say to you about relocating? What did they say to you when they asked you to relocate? Can you speak on that issue?

**MINNIE ALLAKARIALLAK:** They said there's plenty of game where we are going. There's plenty of animals, we would be better off to where we would be moved as the government wants it, it's the government's wish that we be moved. Since we did not know, we were scared and we were afraid not to go along with the wishes. No wonder we did not go right away. We got worried and we felt that we had to comply with the wishes of the *Qallunaat*. That's the way it was.

They came several times, many times, and they got us worried because we were to be moved. As they say it was the wishes of government that we be relocated.

— Power failure at 1:25 p.m.

— Upon resuming at 2:25 p.m.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** We will start again. Co-Chair René Dussault is held up for a minute on the phone. He will be here in a few minutes. I think what we will do, since we had such a delay already, we will resume and he will be with us very shortly. Mary, please.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you. We are ready to resume. Minnie, you can complete your presentation. Please feel free to talk about the things that you haven't spoken about.

**MINNIE ALLAKARIALLAK:** I am hard of hearing, so if you don't understand me, please feel free to ask questions. My name is Minnie Allakariallak. I will speak about the things that I have spoken about. My memory is getting very short and sometimes I forget about things due to old age. If I have missed out on things, please make supplementary comments.

As I was saying, while we were still living in Inukjuak what happened during that time Simeonie and Jaybeddie and all our family went up – we were relocated together. The RCMP approached us, coming two times because they came several times to us. This has taken place a long time ago, so therefore I don't remember everything, but I can only recall the things that really hurt for me.

They would come to us with interpreters, saying that you have to move to High Arctic. After two years, you will be able to come back to your community, if you wish. We believed what they said and we took their word because those are *Qallunaat* people who told us those things. We were quite concerned that – we were very concerned about the fact that if our brothers, remaining members of our family, were going to be left behind.

As I was saying, this was a process that had taken place and we were very concerned about leaving the rest of our family members and we were very intimidated by the *Qallunaat* people, so therefore we felt that we had to agree with them and do whatever they had asked. We finally realized that their knowledge was quite different from us. I know they are not strangers, we are all human beings. It was quite strange for them to ask us to move far away from our community. We were very concerned and worried and this was before we were actually relocated.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** When you say that you had to move to a very far away place, if you can recall, could you please state, did they actually tell you where you were going to go? Were you told that you would be going to the High Arctic islands? Were you told about these things? Were you actually told where you were going to be taken to? I would like to know whether you were actually told where you were going to go?

**MINNIE ALLAKARIALLAK:** They did not mention the name of the place. But all they said was – in a year, we were told that we are going to go to a place where it's very cold and like when you have a place outside the place would freeze going upwards like this, instead of going into the snow. They told us that how cold it was, but they did not name the place where we were going to go to. They did not even mention about the fact that it would be dark 24 hours a day in the winter-time. We thought it was going to be the same place as where we lived and we were quite scared to leave the members of our family.

We were very worried and sad about the fact that we had to leave our family because the government and the *Qallunaat* people wanted us to move. At that time, we did not know what the government was.

When a *Qallunaat* person says something, we would get intimidated right away. The police – we were told that police would arrest people if they broke the law. We felt that we had to say yes so that we would not be arrested. We were very, very worried. So, therefore, we had to say yes, because we were intimidated and we were very scared.

They are the lie enforcers. We were told that they arrest people if a person does a bad thing, so therefore we felt that we had to comply with their wishes.

At that time I wish we were packing our stuff, my son-in-law Jaybeddie were very young and they did not think of our moving because they were very young. They would get married at a very young age and when my eldest daughter married one of the brothers, my daughter whom we loved

very much, we were getting ready to go because the government had told us to move. Therefore, we were getting ready. My father was still alive at that time, Andrew and Jackoosie was his father, was our father. He was still alive then and we were getting ready to go.

No wonder my father did not want to come along with us. He did not want to move away from his place, from his community. My husband, Johnny, did not want to leave his father-in-law while he was still alive and then he stated that he not wish to follow for he wanted to stay with his father and my brothers. I'm the oldest of the brothers Andrew and Jackoosie, so therefore our father did not wish to come along, although we were getting ready because we were told to move up there.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** I have another question, Minnie. You were the second people who were relocated. When the police came along and approached you and ask you to come up, did they say anything about the people who had already been relocated, Minnie?

**MINNIE ALLAKARIALLAK:** We were told to follow the people. Like we were told, "You have to go." We were told several times that my father did not want to go, so therefore we were left behind at first.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** You never received any kind of letters or documentation?

**MINNIE ALLAKARIALLAK:** I received a letter. We received a letter. It stated that they're asking us to ask Amarualik said it was dark 24 hours a day and they didn't live in a place such as that where it's dark 24 hours a day and they talk about Amarualik who had assisted them very much for they did not know how to survive in a very dark cold place. That's how it is in Resolute; it's cold and dark. The letter we received stated – coming from Resolute stated that it's dark and that they were homesick, but we were asked to ask you to come up north. So that's the letter we received after the first people were relocated up in the High Arctic.

My oldest had already moved up. We were quite worried about them and they were very young. Salluviniq and Allie were the builders there to assist them and Paddy is my uncle. Paddy and Philipoosie my uncles had been relocated before us.

We were very worried about the moving up and my oldest one was pregnant at that time and my husband, Johnny, was very worried about them too and very concerned about his eldest daughter. So therefore we had agreed to go up because we were told several times, "It's time for you to go." The government had approached us and had told us to move up and my daughter was told to write a letter to us asking us to come up there and we were told that we would stay in the new place for two years.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Minnie, I am not trying to over-stress you.

**MINNIE ALLAKARIALLAK:** I am not going to get over-stressed.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** I would like to ask, what year you received the letter from High Arctic?

**MINNIE ALLAKARIALLAK:** After one whole year, after they had been – one year after my father had died when we were in our wintering place. After one year – after one year they had been relocated.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** You had stated that they left in 1953?

**LIZZIE AMAGOALIK:** We received the letter in 1954.

**MINNIE ALLAKARIALAK:** I don't know how to say it, but after one year had passed my father had died and in our wintering place where we collect our mattresses where we were left behind, the place where we – I would like somebody to point out where we were. I don't know exact location. That's when they had approached us several times, not too far away from the people from the community. When we were living here they had told us to relocate.

We were left behind because my father did not wish to go and during the time when we were in our wintering place where we collect our wood for the winter, I don't know the name, but my two brothers know the name of the place because I can't recall the name of the place where we wintered.

**LIZZIE AMAGOALIK:** It's called Inutsulik.

**MINNIE ALLAKARIALAK:** We used to live in different places. We would live in a place where we where the animals were abundant, so therefore we lived in several different places and we lived in the place where they would wish to live.

After being left part of the members of our family, since my father did not wish to go, after he had died, we did not have medical facilities. The only time we would have medical attention was when the medical ship arrived. I'm sure that he had some kind of a sickness in the head for he had headaches all the time. After he died, after we buried him, we went back to the place where we were left by the first group who were relocated. I think one of my bothers know, I can't exactly remember if it was the same place, like we would move places to different places. So after the ship had left and by this time my father was no longer living and at that time after the others had left us for one year, that's when we were notified that we had to go after we have received their letter and we found out what it was like, how the others were. The police, they were the only means, they looked after the letters. They gave us the letter.

My husband was worried, my late husband, Johnny, was worried about them. They just would just comply and my husband was worried about the others who had left. So we ended up going. We were crying and we left our boat. Johnny, my late husband, had the boat. We left it to my brother, my uncles, the camp where they were, the outpost camp.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** I want to ask you again, Minnie, the RCM Police, you have mentioned that they came and approached you asking you to move up. Could you please explain if you were told what it was like up there? Can you explain?

**MINNIE ALLAKARIALAK:** We were not.

**LIZZIE AMAGOALIK:** I think I can mention that because she doesn't remember some of them.

**MINNIE ALLAKARIALAK:** Many things I cannot remember, and they will be – these things, the other things that I didn't cover will be mentioned later.

Now I was saying that we were heading or starting to go up and the police kept coming, when the *C.D. Howe* comes at this time you will leave. We were notified beforehand, so we started to prepare to leave. Johnny,

Lizzie Amagoalik was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1955 at age 17

my late husband, was worried about the others up there. They didn't – nobody told us how far it was. They never told us how far this place was. I remember the fact that there's hardly any daylight, it was very cold, that there's no shelters up there. They never told us that. The government was not too clear on this and here we were being handled by the government.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Were you notified that you could go back?

**MINNIE ALLAKARIALLAK:** Yes, after two years you could come back, so we complied with them. They promised us and we were crying and leaving when we were parting.

I will further say more, but the ones that remember clearly will get a chance.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you, Minnie, for saying what you said. Lizzie, will you go first?

**LIZZIE AMAGOALIK:** I'm Lizzie Amagoalik and I was relocated in 1955 when I was 18 years old. Now, my mother does not remember all the things that happened. I'm going to talk about what happened to my father with the police. I want you to go to the map. I want to talk about what my father was told by the RCMP. When we were in Quqvik there, that's where we were. I clearly remember my father. I was 18 years at that time, 1953, when he was first notified by the police. I remember that quite clearly. Now my father started to be worrisome or to be anxious in 1955 in Tasiapik right there. In 1955 the second time, he was approached, my father was approached by the police. They had Tommy Palliser as an interpreter. When we were told to go near the settlement near Kangiqqusaalaaq, at Inutsulik. We went to Inutsulik as we were told by the police to go near the settlement by boat. That's where we were located. When it was summertime, the *C.D. Howe* ship would be arriving, so the police came to pick us from there. The police picked us from there to Inukjuak. So that's how it was the first time, or at first.

Now my father at that time in 1953 when he was first notified, I could see a change in him. My older sister Sarah was going to follow us, Simeonie, brother-in-law and I was noticing my father for one year that he was not the same any more.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Lizzie, do you remember what he was told?

**LIZZIE AMAGOALIK:** Now, my father after he was notified in 1953, his life changed. As my mother stated, my grandfather didn't want to go so we stayed behind. Now in 1955 when he was told again he was told, "Johnny, Simeonie and Jaybeddie and your daughter, have a very good place to stay now. They want you to come, so you will go. When it come July you will go." He was told and he answered, "Is there another place where it's better?" That was his answer. When he said this, I can't remember the police officer's name, he blushed. "There's lots of country food and you will not be hungry, your dogs will have plenty to eat, so you will go up." When he was told this, he went inside the tent and put his head down. The policeman kept saying that it will be better for you when you go into this promised land where there is plenty.

"How come it is it a better place? What is the reason for this place?" My father was told, "When you get there you will see. You will see when you get there." When he was told this, they would not be clear and my father he wanted to ask more questions but he was told, "No, you cannot." He was

given a wonderful description of the new land and he never answered or responded thereafter. All he was told was, "You're going to be going to a very wonderful new land." But he asked, "What is so wonderful about it?" and he was told, "Well, you will see when you see it."

We were never told anything else. We were never told about its dark periods, about its harsh coldness, what sorts of vegetation existed, what sort of animal wildlife resources existed there. My father was not given any description.

My father mentioned my older sister, perhaps we could take my oldest daughter and Simeonie and the others and return home with them after two years and he always talked about this. He always talked about this even when we were preparing to go, to depart.

Then afterwards, after having gone through this experience and trying to respond and not being given very much respect, and the police having attained his agreement after many insistence, he tried to comfort himself by saying "I can return home with Simeonie and my eldest daughter Sarah and Jaybeddie and the others who are already there." He tried to comfort himself but inside he was already very hurt and I knew that, that he was already very hurt inside. He was hurt greatly at that time when my older sister was transported.

Then in 1955 when we were preparing to go, I know that he got a sickness or he had a liver ailment; there were stones in his liver. In 1953 to 1955 he had to be where there were some medical services available because he had an ailment in his liver. It was said that he had stones in his liver. This was said to us by the medical people in Inukjuak. We were never told whether there was going to be any medical staff in our new land. We just assumed that there would be.

Starting from 1953 my father's life started breaking apart. I observed it with my own eyes. I had a smaller, younger brother who is Saumik and I always came with him. I always went along. I always tag along with my father where every he went. I was sort of acting as a son to my father doing the chores.

Then we were put on the ship. We departed on the ship knowing that my father had a liver ailment. Then when we were on the ship and we were on board the ship, and we were going through the sea, going across the Hudson Bay to Churchill, on top of the *C.D. Howe* deck, he said, "I want to go home."

We had no idea where Simeonie and the 1953 relocatees were, so when we were approaching Churchill and the headlands of Churchill were visible, he said, "Perhaps I am going to see my daughter and the others," speaking about the first wave of the relocatees. When we were put on shore from the *C.D. Howe* and the *C.D. Howe* docked, he said, "Perhaps I'm going to see my daughter here," there in Churchill. We were still just in Churchill.

We spent two days in Churchill and we visited some Inuit there and he was always expecting to see his daughter. We had been given no idea of the distance we were going to travel. We were simply dumped on board the ship. We had no idea, no perception, as to the distance we had to cover before we got to see our relatives.

Then as the journey went on, his life became even more falling apart. Then we were taking a long sea journey although we stopped off in some places and you will get to know the locations and we saw Inuit there in each location. He always spoke about, "I haven't seen my daughter yet. I haven't



seen my daughter yet," in each of these places. He had no perception of the distance they were to travel.

When we landed in these places in between, and we were now going right to Resolute on the final stretch to Resolute we were going through a lot of ice. He said, "How are we going to live here? It's summer and it's already full of ice. How are we going to make it here? How are we going to live?" He said, "If and when we do reach the final destination, I'm going to tell the government that – I'm going to express my desire to go home right away to the government. I cannot live in such a place," he said. He was saying this even while he was yet on board the ship.

Then when we had landed in Resolute he went to see the police. We were still on the deck of boat. "When are we going home?" he said. "I'm already homesick. I don't think I can live here," he said to the police. "Once you get on shore," the police said, "Once you get on shore we will talk about this some more." That's all the police had said to him.

Then when we were landed in Resolute, and you heard the stories of how they pitched up their tents in a place that had no stones, and we had pitched up our tents and we were at our older sister's place there in Resolute where my older sister had been. I observed that my father was happy for a brief period of time because he saw his younger brother, Allie Patsauq, he saw Simeonie and the other relatives who were already there. So I observed him being happy for a very brief period of time when we met with these other people.

On our first night the police came to see us, sometimes he did that. My father said to the policeman, "I told you I wanted to go home. Have you indicated this to anybody yet?" The police said, "I am too busy, so I haven't had time to deal with that." That's what the police said. All the time we were trying to get used to new land, he always asked the police, "When are we going home? When are we going home?" All the early years that we went spent, he always asked the police, "When are we going home?"

Then when we arrived, as I said earlier, Jaybeddie's and Simeonie's grandmother, who was a very old woman, told us she was very hard of hearing and we had to yell to be heard. She said, "Are you coming to get us to take us home?" Every day, every day she would ask my mother, "When are we going home?" That old woman would keep asking my mother every day, "When are we going home?" This is how we were treated, and that's how life was when we went there with our father."

Then my father, after the first night after we were living in the tent, it was very cold, extremely cold, this was very traumatic for us already. He said to me, because I acted as his son to help him out in various chores. He calls me *airaarruk* or daughter. He said, "Daughter," knowing that I was the only one able to help him and I was acting as his son, and I was doing chores for him, he said, "Daughter, how are we going to build some warm shelter because your mother is very weak and so gets cold very easily?" That's what my father said to me. He had absolutely no idea what to do about this, although we were now with our relatives there.

Then because we couldn't figure out what to do, I just said I don't know. Then when the snow came along, and it was snowing and blowing snow, there's a place five miles away we walked to, my father and I. We went to a place five miles away. We went to a dump which was five miles away. We went to pick up crates from the dump. We would carry these on our

backs because there was no way for us to get around by dog team yet and there were no trucks. There was no other transportation available. And knowing that he was not well, and there were no medical personnel in our new location, we were doing this. We walked to the dump, went to pick up discarded pieces of wood that we were intending to build a shelter and I knew for a fact that my father had stones in his liver because we had been told that in Inukjuak that he had a liver ailment.

All that fall he was trying to build a shelter and Jaybeddie and them often gave him a hand whenever possible. He tried building a shelter out of these scraps of wood for us. That particular house that we built is not shown on these photographs. My parent's home is not shown on these photographs. We carried on our backs the scraps of wood from a place five miles away and built a shelter similar to what you see in the photograph, although it is not the exact one. My younger sisters could not help because they were too small and I was the most able and even though my older sister was there, she could not. She was not very physically able and she was nursing a small child also.

So my father built a shelter in the way I've described. Whenever he saw the policeman he kept asking him, "Well, do you know anything about how we are going to get home yet?" he would say to the policeman. I observed that he was deteriorating physically because it started happening after his oldest daughter departed from their original homeland. He kept busy, he kept working at these things, and he had to eventually go to the hospital for medical treatment because he was suffering from tuberculosis of the lungs although we were sheltered in a home-made shelter that I described earlier.

I described for you, we carried these scraps of wood on our backs from a place five miles away. My father used to say to me, because I was his daughter, he said, "Daughter, I wonder when we are going home." He said this to me when we were resting between walks because he was always very anxious to get back home to Inukjuak.

My poor mother, who was very weak, she could do chores inside the house, but she could not do any chores outside, even from way back because of her physical condition.

Then my father eventually went to the hospital and then spent time there and came back. He returned after spending time in the hospital. He kept asking the police, "When are we going home?" because his older brother and his sisters were still back in Inukjuak.

This is my father. The one that I am describing, that's a photograph of him. He was that old if you can see the photograph, and he was sick. He had a medical problem. I said earlier that he was always asking about going home. He was always asking about going home, I said.

Then around – I can't really recall which year it was, perhaps 1959 or thereabouts or maybe 1958, he heard about the death of his older brother in Inukjuak. He went to see the police requesting that he be allowed to go and see his family back in Inukjuak. Because it was expensive, he was told that "it's too expensive for you to go," so he just simply slumped down in the bed and his life was deteriorating, he falling apart.

My father said, when this was said to him, "I thought we were going to be allowed to go back to Inukjuak whenever we wanted to." He said this to the police. "I will try to send this message to Ottawa to see if you can be sent to your family," and there was absolutely no word about this ever after, after

the police indicated that he would check this out in Ottawa.

When my father was told this and some time had elapsed, he heard about the death of his sister. He requested again to be allowed to return and he was given the same answer. "I will try to send this message to Ottawa." That's how he was answered, and he was only told that it's very expensive to travel by aircraft. That's the only answer he was given.

Then he went back to hospital. After going through this, he went to hospital because he had a medical ailment and he went back and forth to hospital. He was never – none of his requests were ever agreed to.

I was also aware that he wrote letters many times and I know that one of his letters at least was found in the dump. I myself had seen the envelope. I don't quite recall exactly who found it, but I recognized the envelope in which it had been. I did not ask who had found. Then my father said, "I wonder what my letters – the letters that I sent to my relatives are ever getting to their destination." He said this only to us because the police was not there at the time.

Then after he had said that, he asked the police. After having found the envelope, he asked the police, "Have you been throwing away my letters? You are the only one responsible for letters." He said this to the police, my father did. He was not given a very good answer, he said. He was told, "Whenever you want to hear about your relatives, I can go to the radio at the weather station and try to find out about the condition of your relatives." That's what the police said to my father. "Can I actually hear their voices because I'm really homesick and longing to hear their voices, my older brothers, the voice of my older brothers. Is it possible for me to follow you to where you are going to do this and speak to my brothers?" He was told "No, no." He said, "You cannot go up to the base. You cannot go up to where the white people are. I'm the only one allowed to go there," and this further devastated my father.

He was always given that attitude of any request not being possible and he deteriorated. He got worse as time went by. Starting from 1953 as time progressed he was getting worse. He died in 1972 expressing his wish to his dying breath of his desire to go home. He said to me, "Daughter," he said to me, as his daughter, When I'm cured, we are going to go home. When I have no more ailments, we will go home." He died in 1972. He was still saying this – or in 1973 he died. I'm sorry. I said '72. He died in '73, all the while saying, "We are going home once I get well." He always had this intense desire to return home. He used to say when he was still alive, he wants his grandchildren and his children and the children of his children, he wanted all his family to be back in Inukjuak. If he ever died, he wanted his family to go back to Inukjuak. This is how my father was treated at that time.

As for me, I had not been aware of the need to pray, but when he was so burdened I used to pray for him when I was observing him being so burdened with these things. I was in Grade 5 because in Inukjuak we had started school and when we departed in 1955 then I assumed that we would be going to a place where there would be a school. We were never told we were going to any going to a place that had no school. By the time we departed, I was in Grade 5 and we went to a place where there was no education available. So my education fell right flat in the new land and I have never been able to have the opportunity to get education. If we had never moved from Inukjuak my education would have continued right through.

There's been stuff said about trading posts. Well, perhaps when somebody is saying "trading post", you see in your mind a large store or some such when people talk about stores. We had very old sort of discarded male clothing, socks, boots, pants, trousers, old shirts. That's what we had as trade goods in the store and they were all thick. They were all winter type and none of them fit any of the men very well. As for us women, we were left there with nothing. We had nothing available for us. We really struggled. We struggled to the best of our ability. Because white people had rags and cloth, we would pick these up, wash them and try to make clothing for our children out of rags. The police officer who was responsible there would come around and observe us washing these filthy rags, discarded towels. We used to try to wash the dirt off these rags and put together these rags. The police told me, I recall, "Lizzie, your dress is nice," because he was observing me trying to sew a dress. Those were discarded filthy rags.

It was mentioned in a letter, the government said that garbage is put to use all over the world, so us using rags was okay. Here we were in the care of the government, we should have been well supplied. We should have been – all our wants and needs should have been satisfied. We should have been supplied properly.

We depended on the dump for our food. We had to scrounge in the dump for our food. You heard earlier the descriptions of tuberculosis. Perhaps what compounded the deterioration of our health was us eating garbage. We were literally eating filthy garbage.

I myself spent three years in the hospital. I was very thin. I had lost a lot of weight by the time I had departed. My husband, Jaybeddie could put his hand right around my wrist. I was suffering from tuberculosis. I was very thin when I departed for the hospital because – well, I was also helping my father and we were not well nourished or well fed, so I was very badly off. All of these things compounded the deterioration of my health and I spent three years out in the hospital.

That's how we lived in 1955 and beyond. My father, and how he struggled I don't want to take it lightly. I don't want it taken lightly. I don't want to be forgotten after I speak. As we have been treated before, we are given an opportunity to speak and then we are totally forgotten afterwards with no results. What has happened previously is we would be allowed to speak and what we spoke would be written down and then the only thing that happens afterwards is they make photocopies of what we spoke about and no result, nothing is ever solved. People earn money off of us.

Look, I don't approve for a minute of people living off of our story. We have to be compensated. We have to be given means to heal. That's what I truly want. About my mother and how she struggled and about my father and how he struggled, there's a heavy, heavy burden in there and my grandmother's struggles, the mother of my mother, somebody else will tell that story and if I have to add to it I will.

So after in 1979 when we returned to Inukjuak, we came to a sort of a dead end because when we arrived there was nobody to recognize us, because the people who could have recognized us were all dead, no longer living. So we came home strangers back to our old country.

These are some of the struggles that certain members of my family have had to suffer through. I don't want to speak about this for nothing, because I have been asked many times to tell our story, several times by people who

come here from Ottawa. I don't want to do this for nothing. I want this story to be believed. That's going to be all for now.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you, Lizzie. Jackoosie you are going to be next.

**JACKOOSIE IQALUK:** Thank you. I am Jackoosie Iqaluk from Inukjuak. I am glad to be part of the group here. I was part of the 1955 relocatees and I went at the same time as these people who are speaking now. To refer to the maps the maps, the maps have been pretty well covered. I would just like to refer to the map very briefly one more time and after I refer to the map, I would like to tell about how Inukjuak, what sort of game conditions and wildlife conditions existed in Inukjuak, how well off or how poor were we. That's the issue I am going to address.

Quebec is shown there on the map. I want to – has there been a change in the map? Well, I'm sorry the maps were not ready. But I'm going to try to continue here. The original camps were already described, so I'm going to start my story from the ship, the trip on the ship. These red dots on the map indicates the 1953 route. Now in 1955 the route was different. It's not as indicated on this map. When we left Inukjuak we went to Churchill. We went from Churchill to Coral Harbour. From Coral Harbour we went to Ivujivik on the northern tip of the peninsula. From Ivujivik to Salluit, from Salluit to Quaqtaq from Quaqtaq we went by the sea from Quaqtaq straight to Clyde River there. From there, went to Pond Inlet. From Pond Inlet we went to Arctic Bay. It's not dotted on the map but it's there. From Arctic Bay to Resolute Bay, which was to be our new homeland. That's where we landed.

I would like to start again from our departure point. How poorly off were we? That's what I want to talk about. At that time, my older brother and I were very young men although we were competent hunters by that time. We were equipped with a boat. Our older brothers had a boat which was almost new. It didn't have a deck, it was an open boat. We also had kayaks. Even I had a kayak of my own. We had dogs, dog teams. We had all the equipment required to try to make a living, so we were well equipped.

My older brother and I were very young men at the time and so we were happy to go along. We were happy to go along with our elders, even when we were going to the High Arctic although we left behind some of our family members. That's the way it was with me.

Earlier speakers had said only our elders and leaders were met and told about the details of relocation. Us younger people were never consulted or talked to. But I remember that spring. The spring before we were to move, our elders knew about the prospective relocation and in spring, I can't really name him or tell you his name, but police came, he had an interpreter who he borrowed from the Hudson Bay Company.

The interpreter was used to make it very clear about the details of the preparations. So that spring we knew that we were preparing to go, to depart. I went to the police. I wanted to get first-hand information from them about the prospective relocation, but he told me High Arctic does not have any women, so you are going to have to find yourself a wife. Later on I think he had the thought that we were never going to return. He already knew probably what we should never return and so I had to find a wife. I was very young at the time. So we did the relocation.

The route taken in 1955 differed slightly from that of 1953. In 1955 there were more stops along the northern coast of Quebec (Ivujivik, Salluit, and Quaqtaq), whereas in 1953 most of the stops were on the southern coast of Baffin Island (Kinngait, Kimmirut, and Iqaluit).

You heard earlier there was a big wind in Churchill and we lost a lot of our household articles and equipment, especially lanterns and lamps. There used to be lanterns kerosene, kerosene lamps, steel lamps or iron, metal. Those lamps were part of the lost articles and so we went up there with many things missing from our essential needs.

When we landed in Resolute in the High Arctic, to our final destination, I had known that that was our destination. There was a map on the ship which showed the routing and it was well indicated where Resolute was. We finally ended up at our final destination and we went to see our relatives up in Resolute. The police there had a boat, a whale boat. They used the boat to come. We were under the impression that they were here in the land of plenty of wildlife and I thought it was going to be all very fun, but I saw right away that they were very thin, none of them were fat. They were hardly recognizable. It was day all day, there was no night. That was a very contrasting difference and it was very cold, very cold. So conditions there were very, very different.

When we landed, I don't really remember the landing itself how we landed actually, but our equipment was first. The first group whom we went to meet had little shacks. They had built shacks previous to our arrival, so they had home-made shelters. Where was I? I was at this point. Then when we arrived, we arrived to a place where shelters, shacks had been set up, so we landed to a place where our relatives had built these. These shelters were better than nothing. They were not very warm during the night, but they had built some furnaces or home made stoves from discarded oil drums and so during the day they were able to build fires in these home-made stoves.

We pitched our tent up because the shacks were very small and they could not accommodate all of us, although it was very cold when we arrived and it was snow already on the ground. So we pitched up our tents and so we did pitch up our tents. Then soon after we arrived there, we were held in awe at the physical features of the geography of the new land. They were very striking. It was a long time before we could get around by dog team because snow was very slow in coming and we spent a lot of time that fall in the tent.

Then finally when we were able to get around by dog team, although there was still not very much snow on the ground, we were told that there was a dump with discarded wood. So my older brother and I were able to go scrounge for discarded wood and we were able to build the shelters from the discarded wood. There was six of us in our family. We were able to build a shack large enough to accommodate six, although it was a very small building. So we were able to build a shelter that way.

Then we used it all year, all winter and all year, but it was too small and by the next year I tried to – I set out to build another building. I built a house, although wood was very scarce and the house was very thin. It was not much of a shelter. When the police boat, which was beached on shore had a cabin in the boat – it was not a canoe, it was a whale boat I described earlier. The cabin, I was told that the cabin was no longer going to be used, so I took apart the cabin, plank by plank and I carried it all by hand on my back up quite a steep slope and built a shelter out of it. So my wife and I were able to get a shelter and we were able to ease the over-crowding. We were able to split into two shelters from my older brother. That's how we were.

In the winter it was very cold. Our houses were very cold. It was only during the day that we were able to burn wood on the home-made furnaces, and during the night it was very cold. It was 30 below, sometimes 40 below, the temperature, that's how cold it was. But even though there was no other choice, so we had to try to use that as shelter.

I said earlier that some of our equipment was missing when we landed because we had lost it. We used to light our shelters with candles because in the wooden shelter we would not be able to use *qulliqs* or stone lamps. For three years we lighted by candle only. We were able to scrounge candles from the military installation because there was no trade store as such with these items available. They had a store. As we landed with them was, it was a tent that the Americans had used for a warehouse and it was in bad condition and the lock was always freezing. We moved nearby, and if you see the space between the tables it's not much bigger than that and we bought that building and used it as a store.

We had trade items in that store, which were very different from present day stores. If I was going to buy any flour, I would have had to buy 100 pounds of it. If I was going to buy any sugar, I had to buy it in 100 pounds. That's how things were in those days at that time.

Then the first winter, after we landed, we were all just hunters, that's all we did. We trapped fox, because fox were quite plentiful and so we were able to catch a lot of foxes. But it was not quite possible to set out traps because the polar bears were very plentiful, but we did catch many fox. But when we sold the fox pelts, they did not seem to have any price attached to them, and our trade items, there didn't seem to be any price attached to the trade items, the trade goods. We never noticed any price either with the pelts or with the trade items. That's how it was then, it was 1955-56.

During 1956 in the summer, we started working or being employed in the summers and spent all winter as hunters and we were employed in the summer by the military. That's how we were then. We were paid from the air force if we were in their employ. We know that we were paid because they gave us the money. So that's how we did.

When the next year came by, 1957, we started not being simple hunters any more because we started taking around explorers, oil and mineral explorers. We had to help them get around. There was a lot of polar bears in the area and we had to ensure their safety, because we had dogs and we helped them out. We provided them with a labour force, that's how we did it then.

Then I'm going to jump to 1957. Jaybeddie and I were hired to drive dog sleds. Jaybeddie knows this so Jaybeddie is going to point out on the map if he can. Jaybeddie Amagoalik.

This is Resolute Bay which was our land at the time. From there we went to Eureka on Ellesmere Island. We went to Eureka April 11, 1957 is when we went there. Using Eureka as our base, we went by dog team taking around mining explorers. We first went into that bay there that Jaybeddie is pointing out. After returning to our base camp we had to get on further. We had an air drop of food supplies. The area is very large, but it's a small scale map so it doesn't look as big. But it's a very large area. We were away for three months travelling there. Our trip consisted of three month's worth of travelling and we covered 2,000 miles in those three months in the various coast lines of those islands.

At that island we ran out of dog food and so him and I parted company. We had to do it, it was a necessity because we had to hunt for our sustenance now and we had to try to find food for our dogs and for ourselves. We knew that certain portions of those stretches of islands had what is called open water areas which may have had wild life and Jaybeddie and I set off in different directions and we met first of all in the evening with the white people and then we departed.

I myself was in a very bad shape, or my dog team was in very bad shape and here we were under the direction of people that we were taking around. But there at that island in June I saw a seal. The snow had not melted at that time but I caught that seal and we were able to join together again. So that seal saved our lives and there were no other – it was not occupied by anybody else other than us, although there were Americans there in Eureka, but Canadian officials were not very present at that time.

At the end of July, we went back to Eureka and we couldn't land because the shorefast ice was melting and we had to land by canoe at the end of July. The end of July it was still possible to travel by dog team, that's how ice conditions are there.

We missed our trip home by one day, so we had to spend another three months there. We had departed on April 11 and we only returned home in September to Resolute Bay.

That's just an illustration of the type of thing we were hired to do and the type of task we were required to do by dog team and there are lots of activities now that we opened up basically in those islands. There's mines, there's oil being extracted, they are now in full operation.

Now, what about us, us people who opened that area to mineral exploration, resource exploration? I've often felt forgotten. I've always felt that our role is totally forgotten in having opened that area. I still think, well, even though the government has said – I'm not trying to speak against anybody. I'm not trying to speak against the government or anybody else, I'm just relating what I know. So please don't feel that I am trying to accuse anybody.

I'm sorry, I may have been ahead of myself there. There may be another area that should be covered first, so I'm going to end my presentation now and I'll just add to whatever else may be said if I need to do so.

Thank you.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you, Jackoosie. We would like to take a five-minute break.

— Short recess at 3:55 p.m.

— Upon resuming at 4:10 p.m.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** We will make an assessment at 5 o'clock on whether or not we are going to need to meet tonight. It looks very much like we are going to have to, but we will let you know for sure at 5 o'clock whether we will be in hearings tonight. If we do so, it will be probably for two or three hours tonight starting around 7 o'clock.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Jackoosie, I have a question. Could you sit down.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Go ahead, Mary.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Jackoosie, I have a few questions in regard to what you were saying, two main questions. You said earlier since you



were too young back then, the older people were the ones that were consulted and you were not involved in the decisions that were made, but do you know a little bit about what was said to those people that were consulted?

**JACKOOSIE IQALUK:** As I said earlier, I was just a hunter back then. When older people were consulted, I was not really listening to what was being said. That's the main reason why I cannot answer your question directly in regards to the relocation issue.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** I understand that. My other question is, after you had moved to the High Arctic, did you request to be moved back to Inukjuak?

**JACKOOSIE IQALUK:** I did not really request to be returned to Inukjuak as I was able to hunt, and although my mind was made up that I would want to go back home, I never really directly requested to be returned.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Simeonie wanted to make a comment. If you really want to make a comment, go ahead.

**SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** Thank you. I just want to mention something very brief about something that Jackoosie said. Jackoosie said about a store, he described a store for those of us who were first, we know more about conditions or situation of the store.

Americans were there. The military, American military, was up there when we landed. There was a large tent which was used as a warehouse. Lizzie described it earlier as being filled with filthy rags. Then it was toilet. There was oil drums cut in half; it had been used to store human excrement and we had to clean up the human excrement which had been used as a toilet area, cleaned it up and built it into a store.

To mention a second thing, he said when we were employed by the military, he said that they had been paid when he worked for the military. We were never paid as such with money. We were never told how much we earned.

That's all I have to say.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** How was the payment made? By what method was payment made?

**SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** It was mentioned earlier that the fox pelts, there didn't seem to be any prices attached to the fox pelts that were sold. We didn't seem to have to pay for any of the trade goods that we were getting and when we were working for the military, we knew or we were aware that their rate of pay was the least in Canada, the smallest rate of pay in Canada. We were never issued cheques as such, so we never knew how much we earned even when we worked for them.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you, Simeonie. Andrew Iqaluk was going to be the next speaker.

You can go ahead now, Andrew.

**ANDREW IQALUK:** I'm Andrew Iqaluk. I spent 27 years in the High Arctic. I returned in back to my original homeland of Inukjuak. Jackoosie is my younger brother. I want to add to some of what he said to make it more clear as to the points he made earlier. The maps that we have referred to, perhaps

Jaybeddie or Lazarusie could point to the Inukjuak map. Can I use one of them as a pointer on the map because I want to continue sitting.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** He needs a map pointer. Okay. He wants the Inukjuak area map.

**ANDREW IQALUK:** My younger brother and I had lost our father at that time of the relocation, so we were under the care of our father-in-law, or the man that was married to my oldest sister at the time. I was 24 years old and we had recently lost our father, so I had fear or I had forebodings about what was to become of us so I had to come along. My mother was asked about the relocation, but my younger brother and I were never asked or consulted because we were following the advice and decisions of our elders at that time.

Now, I want to see if I can make something understandable. Perhaps it couldn't be understood, but I'm going to try anyway.

If a person has a broken heart, it's not even pleasant to look at his face, and it's very easy to know if a person has suffered depression. It has an effect on the physical well-being of the body and his whole disposition on life is very different. We are able to ascertain if a person is suffering from such. Now, in Inutsulik geographical area called Inutsulik there we were camped there, that was our camp. Jackoosie and I took a boat trip to the northern area around those islands and we came back the same day. We returned to camp the same day.

Our mothers, our in-laws had already been picked up by the police boat and my younger brother and I had to look after our tent. It's a large – because it's a very clear view from the water, we were able to see our tents from far off. Our tent, which was still up, which was still erect, and I was going to explain that a person has – we can know if a person is suffering from depression or a mental burden. Now, our tent was depressed. We knew it. We saw it from far off. The tent was depressed, its appearance was somehow strange. It was white, but the colour had changed to a shade such as the envelope he is holding. It was empty of people, but its appearance had somehow changed and it was very visible from far off as we approached it. So I was wondering, I wonder what is wrong with that tent, it's different from the others somehow.

I have since considered this and reflected on this and determined that the elders were broken in spirit and were finally convinced upon the strong insistence, even when their lives were going to be adversely affected, and I know that the appearance of that tent was somehow an indication of the broken lives that were to follow from this whole project.

I had an older brother, much older than me, who was much older than me, who had only one eye. He had only one eye. He had burst his eye or injured his eye and one eye was blind, that he had gotten from having chipped wood, so I knew I had to be with him because he was now physically disabled but because my mother determined that we had to follow our in-laws, we had to eventually leave my older brother. I remember that he was down to see us off, sitting on top of bedrock, solid rock, crying, weeping, depressed. I remember very clearly the disposition of my older brother and I was parting company with him because this is what had been determined, the decision had been made and that's how I was, that was the situation then.

Then we were delivered to the trading post, or the community, to wait for the boat, to wait for the ship for us to board, so we were put on board after spending one night in the post. I remember when we were put on board the boat it was raining hard, dark in the night. We were in the cargo hold of the ship. It's very hollow, a large hollow inside the cargo boat. We were put into the cargo hold. That's where we were put as we were put on the ship. We were following our leaders. I tried to find comfort and safety and security with the leaders of our group. I really didn't have time to reflect on the whole idea of relocating. I tried to comfort myself from the presence and security of the elders and the leaders as we were being put through this process.

I can never forget my older brother whom we parted company with, as well as my sister. Our father had recently died at that time and that's how it was: my two sisters, my younger brother, my mother myself, that was the extent of our family inside one tent and that's how many we were, that's who we were. That's a description of the departure as I saw it.

When it was pointed out on the map our routing and the way we travelled on the ship to the High Arctic, yes, that's true, that's how it was done. To the ones who were going to Resolute Bay, we were landed in Resolute Bay. The first group that had gone there, or had been sent there, were somehow very precious to the people who were doing this project. They wanted to populate or add to the population that had been established in that community or in that settlement in that area.

We started exploring for oil as we got there. We started opening the area as the second wave, those of us who came in the second wave arrived. We started opening the geographic area of the High Arctic, exploring for oil and minerals, doing all this by dog team and that's what we did there.

We started living there. We were hunters, that's all we did, and we enjoyed being hunters because we were hunting all the time. We were doing it full time. We were enjoying it and we went on overnight trips there in our new land. Those whom we had left behind on our hunting trips, our mothers, our sisters, maintained the community or maintained the camp; getting ice for drinking water, carrying ice from the sea ice to get drinking water for melting and that's what the women did.

They really had a hard struggle of such things. Those of us who were hunters were working at gathering life-sustaining food for our mothers and it was a necessity of life for us at the time to be out hunting, because we had to earn something to trade. That's how we tried to make a living then.

After we got there, when we were spending our first winter or first two winters there, the local policeman told us, "You go hunting." We were commanded to go hunting from our village at the time. "You go there, you go hunting." We were commanded and ordered to go hunting. We had predetermined that we would do this without being commanded and ordered to do so. I was very much against the idea of being commanded, being ordered to do this.

We had been told that we were going to a land of plentiful wildlife. We were never told where to find the wildlife. We ourselves had to seek them out, seek out the wildlife and which areas were plentiful. We had to find out for ourselves by actual experience where the animals were. We were searching for caribou. We had absolutely no way to get at fish, but we were trying hard to get caribou meat for our elders and our mothers and that's

what we were doing. We were trying to find caribou meat to sustain them, to have something familiar for them to eat and so we had a struggle to hunt for food in the winter.

Those of us men were not treated equally. There were those more able. If an individual was more able than another individual, or was more competent, they are treated differently. Police treated us differently because of this. He treated some people very badly, scolding them all the time, and then he did not scold others as much, so the police did not treat individuals equally. I want to mention something here specifically.

We were describing up to now all the first stirrings of relocation on to the landing and we have described this in many words. But I said earlier, we opened that area for mineral and oil exploration. I started myself going around taking these big companies to the areas where this exploration was going on. I'm going to stand up near the map and carry on my presentation.

As I said, I started taking the large companies who were opening up that area exploring for oil in northern Canada. This area is a storehouse of mineral wealth. I used to be hired to help two months, sometimes three months at a time going by dog team, travelling by dog team by this route here. I was driving dog team from Resolute to these areas. I travelled by dog team up to that area and returned by the same route, by there, different route on the return. I reached there and I had to walk the remaining distance because my dogs were tired and the bottom of their paws were all worn out. I walked the last 25 miles with my white man there.

Then in another year, I took around *Qallunaat* or white people by dog team, accompanying two overland vehicles which were transporting dynamite. We were blasting the water by the way we were going there, there and there. When spring came, we had to stop there because the ice was melting and became impassable. We left our vehicles there. Me and my dogs were transported by air back to our community, back to Resolute Bay, back to our home.

Then the next year, we started off again by here. The vehicles that we had left the year before, we went to the place where we had stored them and I myself was still travelling by dog team and we started from that point again, by here and we went there. By the time we reached that point, we were impeded again by melting snow and ice and me and my team were transported to Isachsen here and we were transported back by air back to our community, back to our home.

That's how we conducted our travels. We were exploring for oil here. I used to be hired as a guide and I used to be hired as a protection against drowning. In those years, as well as in others, we used to even go as far as that point. They were preparing to drill for oil here. We were make preparations for oil drilling in that area.

From Resolute at another year, we were transported by large aircraft to that place, to Isachsen with another man, my dogs and myself and somebody who was going to help me. We were exploring for oil, exploring for minerals. I was driving by dog team in that area. We were transported first by helicopter that particular channel. We were landed at that point and the late season, spring came again, and then we were delivered back to Isachsen and when spring came again we were transported back to Resolute Bay. That's how we conducted ourselves then. I myself included.

Then I was also one other time sent here, then that would have been our

jumping off point or point of departure. We were going to have vehicles that were dragging buildings. I was hired to guide to avoid the dangerous areas. We went there before the sun, the High Arctic sun rose. We spent some time there. We started travelling in that direction. They were using muskegs or tracked vehicles whose speed was no faster than a walking man and I was used as a guide, knowing the dangerous places. We went that way and we went inside that large inlet and stopped at the headland.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Andrew, the white people you are talking about, do you know who they were? Do you remember who they were, or what companies they were working for? Or are you not aware of which companies they were working for?

**ANDREW IQALUK:** I'm not quite sure of their names because there were several different companies. Cominco. One of them is Cominco, for sure. There were many different names of companies and I can't remember them all.

So we returned by there and we had to stop for the summer there again. I'm an old man now and it seemed that I helped open this area, this whole area for development. I'm still waiting for some sort of thanks. I still have not seen any thanks expressed towards me having helped open that area. I am now unemployed. I want to return to Quebec, my original homeland and I've become an old man. I was no longer able to work.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Were you ever paid?

**ANDREW IQALUK:** I was paid for the work that I did, for the trips that I described, but I have never – nobody has ever acknowledged anything to say that we want to thank you for your part in having opened that area for resource development. I cannot really add much more to what I have already said, although I can add a bit here.

We opened this area for development and it's certain that our presence also had the effect of asserting Canada's sovereignty in this area although it has always been denied. It's quite obvious when you look at the map that sovereignty had to be a reason for having people occupying that area. I want the government to acknowledge that. I want the government to say to me, yes, we did use you for sovereignty although they have always denied it. I know, and it's obvious to many people, that that was one of the reasons and I myself took part in the opening of that area for development. Perhaps it's clear, so I would like to stop there for now and allow others to speak.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you, Andrew. Rynie, do you want to speak? Please go ahead.

**RYNIE FLAHERTY:** I'm Rynie Flaherty from Grise Fiord. I was relocated in 1955. I'm sort of alone amongst the relocatees because we were treated separately. My memory of the relocation starting from Inukjuak I remember very well, but my late husband – well, let me first say that in Inukjuak my former husband used to work for the Department of Transport. He worked nine years at that job. He worked for the weather service for nine years as a servant, as an Inuk handyman. We were never much in want. We were warmly housed all the time my husband was employed.

Then when somebody had help for us, I'm not quite sure of the details of how we were sent for, my late husband was the one that was consulted, but I know that Larry's father, who was the adoptive father of my husband,

Cominco, a mining and smelting company founded by the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1906 and expanded its mining operations throughout the Northwest Territories in the 1950s and 1960s, including at Pine Point. In 2001, it was taken over by Teck Corporation.

Andrew Iqaluk's testimony provides a good example of the differing motivations of Inuit who testified at SCAA and RCAP, as well as the differing expectations about compensation and recognition. These differences, among those of different ages, those with different experiences of the High Arctic, and those who had different expectations about the relocations (based in part on their origin in Mittimatalik or Inukjuak) complicates any general narratives about the political intention of relocatees testifying in the 1990s. The differences do, however, help to explain the acceptance of the compensation agreement in 1996 and the NTI push for a formal apology in the 2000s.

longed for his adoptive son and so he sent for him so I know that and heard of that. I only recall bits and pieces of the conversation that took place because I was not the one consulted, my late husband was.

My uncle started coming more often when we were being prepared. My uncle was showing up more often at our camp and visiting more often when we were being prepared to go to the High Arctic. He seemed to not quite approve of the fact that we were being prepared for departure. I myself was not worried and I was aware only that we were going to some sort of land of plenty, so I was not greatly concerned. In fact, I was happy when we were preparing to depart. I remember my husband had expressed some concerns about having to travel all that distance.

My late husband had a father who was a white man. He had been fathered by a white man and his father's younger brother came to take a photograph of my late husband and my husband went to him by walking to go get his photograph taken. We heard that his actual father had died and so his father's younger brother came to take a photograph of my husband. So after this took place and we were starting to depart, Minnie and her family, and Levi and his family, we were all handled together, transported together by barge down to the ship. I distinctly remember that. We had three children. Martha was five years old, Mary was two years old and one of them was still an infant, Peter. He's in Grise Fiord.

When we were put on the barge, the barge was lifted by crane, Inuit people, dogs, all in one shot. I observed on the horizon the disappearance of my homeland and we were going straight out towards the sea and it was receding in the horizon and I just had to look at it as it was receding. Finally, we couldn't see any more land and we were put in the cargo hold in the middle of the *C.D. Howe* in the cargo hold. It was quite a height from top to bottom and we were put in there where there was no light. There were only red lights. Perhaps one or two nights we were in that cargo hold. I was quite scared to try to go up and down that ladder. It was just a string ladder, it was very uncomfortable to have to go up and down it with a baby on my back. We had to feel around, grope around and feel around inside the thing there to lay down to sleep. We know that perhaps we should have been put in the fore section of the ship, but it was full of people infected with tuberculosis. I think I remember being told that we were going to have to be in that cargo hold before we arrived in Churchill because it was occupied by people with T.B.

When we arrived in Churchill, we were all landed. We were landed on the shores of Churchill and we pitched up our tents. I can't quite recall how many days we spent there, because it seemed insignificant to keep track of the days we spent there because we were going to some sort of promised land; we were going to a land where my late husband's relatives were and we knew that Larry's father had died because we were informed of this as we were getting ready. So because we were all prepared for our departure, even though we heard Larry's father had died, we went ahead with the relocation because he knew that Larry's father's younger brother Philipoosie knew my husband or my husband knew them although I myself did not know them very well.

In Churchill when we departed from Churchill to continue on our journey, my daughter Mary was very much on my mind very, very much on my mind. I had no certainty as to if ever I was going to see her again. I was

The Flaherty family is perhaps one of the best known Inuit families. Robert Joseph Flaherty, an American filmmaker, developed and filmed *Nanook of the North* in 1922, a "docudrama" film about the life of an Inuk hunter. While filming, Flaherty impregnated one of the Inuit acting in the film, Maggie Nujarluktuk who gave birth to a son, Josephie. Josephie married Rynie and had daughter Martha in 1950 before relocating to Grise Fiord in 1955. The film about the relocations, titled *Martha of the North*, alludes to this familial history. For further reading about the Flaherty family and the controversies around *Nanook of the North*, see McGrath (2006).

thinking, will we ever see her again because we never saw them again after we departed from where she got off.

It's very sparse in my memory how we went through the other communities. But I remember distinctly that Arctic Bay was at a point where people got off. Then from Arctic Bay we went to Resolute with Minnie and her family. We had not yet reached our own destination, me and my four children or me and my family of four. Minnie acted as sort of my mother. We treated them as parents really.

Then we were landed in Resolute along with everybody else and we spent one week in Resolute. We were landed in Resolute along with Minnie and her family. We were there as long as *C.D. Howe* was off-loading its cargo. We had pitched tent and the rocks there are very sharp, sharp edged although there were no large rocks, but the gravel there has a very hard surface. It was very hard on our soles, foot soles, so we spent a whole week living in a tent because it's all gravel and no rock and sometimes our tent was blown down. When we were there, my son Peter, who was not yet a year old, became sick there. He became very, very sick. In fact, we started doubting whether he would live. Before any medical personnel could look after him, I myself looked after him and nursed him back to better health and our only dog was also sick alongside of my son Peter.

Then after a week was over, there was just my small family were being transported on to Craig Harbour and we were put back on board the ship. I don't quite recall how we prepared ourselves to make that last stretch of the journey. But I recall when the ship was going we spent one whole day and one whole night travelling to Craig Harbour, my small family and I. As we were approaching the destination I started going outside. When we anchored in Craig Harbour we knew that police – there were two policeman who were the only two white people in that area.

I heard dogs howling before we were actually landed. Not being able to see because it was a very mountainous area, I heard the howling of dogs and barking of dogs, but I could not see anything because I thought I saw perhaps some buildings which seemed very tiny. So we found out that it was occupied by people employed by police, and by people who had first been transported in the first relocation who were out to get their x-rays on the ship.

I don't quite recall how we were treated in Craig Harbour those first few days.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** When you were in Inukjuak, you said that your husband worked for the weather service. When you were preparing to depart, and he was still working for the weather service, was there any indication as to whether he would still have a similar job or employment in the new land, or was he just simply plucked out his job?

**RYNIE FLAHERTY:** I don't think he was ever told he was going to work. But his adoptive father was said to have asked for his transport up to the High Arctic and we knew that he was no longer living, even before we left, but I quite don't recall if he was ever offered employment.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Were you also told you were going to be able to return?

**RYNIE FLAHERTY:** Well, I was told. I was not really involved, but I knew he was going to be able to return if he so desired. But my uncle I remember

was very, very reluctant for me to go. In fact, if we were going to go at all he wanted me to go nearby where family had access.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Your husband was employed by the government for the weather service. You know that those who were in the employ – was there ever any discussion of severance pay or some sort of a pension arrangement?

**RYNIE FLAHERTY:** No. It seems to me he was simply plucked out of his job.

Now, to get back to our landing in Craig Harbour. I stopped there, so I want to continue. We were in Craig Harbour for, I don't know how many days. We had to wait for people who were going to get their x-rays and we knew we were going to have to travel quite a distance to their settlement area, so we went. We went to the location where they were encamped. I myself was glad for the trip, but it was very rough weather and the water was very rough. So when we finally reached the place where the other Inuit were camping, I remember dogs howling, when their owners were approaching. It was cold and it was very dark. I remember that very distinctly. We went inside to Larry's mother's place because it was dark and it was night and I was afraid of the dogs who were howling and barking because their owners were approaching. I went to Larry's father's place. We did not even bother to pitch our own tent. Because my husband was aware that his foster father or adoptive father had sent for him and so we went to stay with his family. So we did not bother to pitch up our tent because it was very windy. We were very acutely aware that it was very cold and very windy.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** You lived in Inukjuak until 1955 and it was equipped with a teacher, there was medical staff, you have been able to describe availability of services in Inukjuak. Can you describe the contrast between what you found there in the High Arctic and what existed in Inukjuak?

**RYNIE FLAHERTY:** Well, when we went to where the Inuit were there was nothing. There was no medical services, there was no church, there was no stores. We could probably get a few trade items from the police stores. We went there on bare rock, no vegetation. The boulders were large and we were given nothing upon our landing. We were given nothing. We were not even told that this is where you are going to be and there's no sun for certain sections of the year. We were simply dumped. We were literally dumped on the shore like dogs and they didn't seem to worry about our situation. They simply literally dumped us on the shore to a place where there was absolutely nothing and that's how we were put up there.

Then when winter came and there was no vegetation, all rock in front of a very large mountain. When we observed the large mountain, we thought it seemed that we were going to be smothered or crushed by the mountain. That was very imposing. There was no longer any water. The ice had formed. There were no brooks or small rivers, there were no ponds or lakes. The shore ice was all salt. Sometimes, I hacked out some ice and it turned out to be salt water. Because the people that we went to meet or join had been there two years already, they knew a little bit about how to get around getting drinking water. When winter came Larry's older brother, the late Joadamee<sup>11</sup> was building a *qarmaq*, a sodden earthen shelter and so we lived in one of those that winter. Then when that particular shelter was ruined

11. Joadamie Aqiatasuk



because the weight of the snow was making it cave in because there was no wood. We didn't have any structure to maintain the erectness of the structure. Because we didn't have any wood, our shelter caved in. The shelter that we shared with Joadamee who was Larry's older brother. For half the year that's where we spent our first winter, our very first winter in the High Arctic.

When our shelter became inhabitable, we split into two shelters made of snow. So when we set up in two snow houses, our particular had no light because perhaps there was no seals for fuel, no fat for fuel. I used to thank Arnakallak who was one of my neighbours, one of his daughters and I still thank her to this day when she brought us seal fat because there was no light or fuel in our house. Martha and her sisters and her siblings were freezing in our house.

I didn't know how long it was going to take when the ice would crack. Our son, Peter almost starved to death. I was not breast feeding him. We were dumped into a place where there was no grocery, no milk and I used to regret a lot of times why didn't I pick the garbage while I was in Resolute Bay so that Peter could have something to eat because I did not breast feed Peter.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Rynie, perhaps we will stop for now and let Maina speak. Do you want to continue?

**RYNIE FLAHERTY:** I used to make a broth of out of used bannock, out of used flour with no other ingredients. When it freezes, it just freezes solid. So that's the kind of formula I tried to feed my son, so that's why he's not the same any more. He's slow today, he's mentally retarded and this was done by the government. The government had told us that we were going to a place, a very rich place which was entirely untrue. That's how we were mistreated.

In the fall, the person who was living with me, I would look for vegetation so that we could make some tea. It was very dark, so therefore we started looking for food on the shoreline because there was no store. I guess the other settlements were very far from our place and I'm not very happy about that because my son did not have anything to eat and I did not breast feed him and there was nothing for him to eat. Even up to today he is slow. He cannot talk some words, like he cannot say some words. That happened due to the fact that we were relocated.

During one year my husband was approached to help out the RCMP to dismantle a building and move to Craig Harbour. So he was helping the RCMP for the whole spring, for the whole duration of the spring.

I thought my son was sick. He was so hungry, there was no flour, no milk, no sugar, just little pieces of seal meat. He would eat little pieces of seal meat. My husband became a helper for quite some with the RCMP. I do not remember how he was paid.

*C.D. Howe* would arrive, and stay with us for two to three hours at a time. I remember that. Then they would drop a few supplies, just a box – maybe a box or two to be used for the whole year. We were mistreated, and I don't like that, for the way we were treated. I'm very regretful for myself for almost starving. If we had stayed in Inukjuak this would never have happened. Sometimes I still cry about it. I'm very old, but I still regret that fact because the way Peter is now is because we were mistreated. He

The RCMP detachment moved in 1956 from Craig Harbour to the Lidstrom Peninsula.

understands a few words. This was done by the government. We were told that we going to a very rich place and as it turns out which was entirely untrue, entirely the opposite.

Martha and I used to go to the dumps while they were in Craig Harbour and I used to love Martha, feel sorry for her for not having anything to eat, so therefore we starting scrounging the dumps behind the RCMP's back. We would go around the long way so that the RCMP wouldn't see us scrounging the garbage dump. I did not really know the RCMP at that time and I never tried to ask them for help and they never even told us what was available to us.

This was very hard on me and it was a very heavy burden on me and her father would never even drink water because there was no heat to make water. He would leave and go hunting and he would travel with the RCMP for he was their assistant. We went to Grise Fiord. We went back to Grise Fiord by *C.D. Howe*. From Craig Harbour when we landed beside Grise Fiord, they dumped our belongings. We started pitching up our tent. My husband was told when we started pitching up our tent, "You cannot pitch up a tent here. This property belongs to the RCMP. You have to move further." It was just our family when we wanted to be near them. There would be a river in the summertime. They would put us across the river and the RCMP people would stay across from us. That's how we were treated. The RCMP members would throw things at us and threw rocks with a little bit of food. She knew that we were hungry. That has hurt me very much. The fact that I really don't like is the fact that my husband would not even drink water and leave and that deteriorated his health due to hunger.

When we went to Craig Harbour, he would go out on dog teams for a long distance sending mail and supplies to Grise Fiord and he would come back very hungry and his dogs would be very thin. He was not paid a cent. He was not paid anything, even he was not with groceries. He was not paid at all and I don't like that and I despise that fact. I will leave it for now.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Rynie, are you done?

**RYNIE FLAHERTY:** Maina, are you ready.

Maina you will be the last spokesperson.

**MAINA ARRAGUTAINAQ:** I was born in 1944, April 14th. My mother and my older sister, it's hard to talk about them. I thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak, first of all. My older sister was relocated in 1953 to Grise Fiord to what Rynie was talking about. In 1955 my mother wanted to see her daughter. In 1955 she said that she was going to see my sister with my other sister and the three of us went to visit with my older sister who was relocated in 1953 to where Rynie was talking about.

In 1955, three of us, my mother and my older sister in 1955 went to see our other sister. My mother was a cleaning lady who was working at the weather service. She was a cleaning lady. My father was dead already. My older sister was relocated to Grise Fiord in 1953. In 1955 when my mother was a cleaning lady at the weather station in Inukjuak wanted to see her older daughter who was relocated in 1953. At that time in time 1955 my mother, Annie, myself, boarded the ship to go see my older sister. I was 11 year old at that time. I was happy that my mother was going to see her daughter in 1955. I was very young at that time, so I was happy to follow my mother and also my sister had followed our eldest brother. Our oldest

This is one of the only references to a dump at Grise Fiord.

Maina Arragutainaq was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Grise Fiord via Arctic Bay in 1955 at age 11

brother was left behind in Inukjuak.

At the time when I was 11 years old I thought everything was all right. I was happy, happy to go see my older sister in 1955 who was living in Grise Fiord. However, we stopped by Arctic Bay. We were landed on the shore of Arctic Bay and when we were landed on the shore, there were four white people who went to meet my mother in Arctic Bay. Here we are trying to go and see my older sister Ikuma. I was not quite concerned yet about what was going on. I was 11 years old and I did not believe there was anything in the works. My mother went to – four white men went to talk to her in the ship. I thought this was of no consequence. I was a young girl of 11 years old. So when four white people went to meet my mother, here we were being landed in Arctic Bay. Then I had to ask myself, why? Why are we landing here? And that's the question that I asked. My mother said, "I've been asked or ordered to work here for the weather service for the weather station. I've been told to go work for the weather station here. They want me to land here." And she said that we can spend the year here, I've been told. We are not going to our original destination and she started weeping because she was landed there to a place where she was not originally trying to go to and we could not argue with the people who were operating the weather station.

So my older sister Annie, because she was there, started crying and weeping with my mother because we were not going to the destination of our choice. Then when my mother was hired to work for the weather service, we were put up in a very small shack. It had one very small bed, one very small table, no bathtub, no wash basin, and I remember this about the tiny little shack that was to be our house when my mother was hired to work for the weather service.

Then my older sister Annie, who was crying all the time and asking, "Why are we being landed here? Here we are trying to go see our older sister, why are we being landed here?" She cried all summer, all summer. She was extremely burdened with being landed in a place that they had no knowledge of. So we were put up in this little shack and my mother started working because she was told to do so. My older sister Annie was very burdened and depressed about the fact that our mother had been landed there against her wishes. She was very depressed and burdened and heavily depressed.

Then in 1955 in the winter, my older sister Annie that winter went insane. She lost her mind from the burden. She went insane and she had to be tied down by rope because she had lost her mind. Her mind was lost that winter. Then in 1955 – we went there in 1955, and in that winter my older sister lost her mind and had to be restrained by tying her up with ropes.

In the winter of 1955 an aircraft landed on the sea ice and was used to take out my older sister who had lost her mind.[terms]mental illness She lost her mind, she went insane, and she was evacuated out by that particular aircraft in the winter of 1955. So when she was sent out, that left just me and my mother, just the two of us. Then when my older sister lost her mind and went insane, she was transported out in the winter of 1955, because she was burdened by the fact that my mother had been extracted off the ship against her wishes.

My mother had been told that she would be there for only one year. There was just the two of us left and it was not until 1957 that we were able to transported to Grise Fiord.

A third member of our family, the one that I described earlier, we never heard either by police or by other how she was or where she was. We never heard of her again.

Then in 1957, it was only in 1957 that we were able to finally arrive in Grise Fiord. They were very poor. There was no milk for the children. My mother and I arrived in Grise Fiord to a very poor, poverty stricken group of people. It's true that they were living in poverty. There was no milk for the children when my mother and I arrived.

Then, my mother heard that my brother had arrived in Resolute and when my mother heard about that, my mother went there by dog team. She went by dog team, and somebody was trying to deliver her to go to meet up with her son who was said to be in Resolute. All this time we had never heard of my sister Annie who had been transported out.

In 1959 my mother was delivered to Resolute Bay by dog team. We went also by dog team in 1959 to Resolute Bay because my brother apparently was trying to get to Grise Fiord to see us, so my mother was transported from Grise Fiord to Resolute Bay by dog team to meet up with my brother.

Then in 1960 – my mother was informed in 1955 that I was suffering from tuberculosis and in 1960 I was sent out for treatment for T.B. My mother had been told in 1955 on the hospital ship that your daughter has T.B. at the time of our departure in 1955. She had been told this in 1955 that your daughter is going to have to go to hospital for treatment, but it was not until 1960 that I was able to go out to the hospital. Then that had me leaving my mother. I was about to return home in 1961 when my mother finally arrived at the hospital where I was being treated. My mother arrived in 1961, just before I was to leave for home. I want to mention very briefly that in 1955 when we were landed in 1955 my mother was impregnated by a white man there. In 1957 – she delivered alone in 1957 in December. She delivered alone because there was nobody around. My mother had a baby by herself, gave birth to a baby, because there was no medical help available. She delivered a baby in 1957. She gave birth to a child that she was impregnated by a white man in Arctic Bay.

Then in 1959 when we made that dog team trip from Grise Fiord to Resolute Bay, as I said earlier, we made that trip in 1959. In 1960 because I was said to have been diagnosed in 1955 as having been infected with T.B., it was only five years later in 1960 that I was able to finally get out for treatment. All this time my mother was simply wondering how I was going to be treated, how I was going to go to the hospital. It was five years later, five long years later that I finally got sent out for treatment. All this time my mother was wondering, not knowing.

Then in '61 my mother arrived in the sanatorium where I was recovering from T.B. and I asked her, "Why did you come here?" and she said, "Well, I was sick. It's because I was sick," and then she didn't spend very much time there, perhaps it was a week that she stayed there, or not even a week.

Then she was returned home ahead of me and she said to me, "I'm going to wait for you in Churchill, so that we can go home together. I'm going to wait for you in Churchill, so that from there we can go on home together because I've been told you were going to go home very soon. You were going to go home very soon, I've been told." So my mother, when she was about to depart from me, she said she was going to wait for me in Churchill and then she went to Churchill ahead of me. She went there ahead of me and

"Relocation" of Inuit from their communities to southern sanatoria where medical concerns (primarily tuberculosis) could be addressed was a common problem throughout the Arctic and remains an issue today as the availability of medical services in many Northern communities is limited. In the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s however Inuit were often taken south without their consent and without explanation to sanatoria where they were isolated from family and community. In 2019, the federal government apologized for its management of tuberculosis in the North. For further reading, see Olofsson, Holton, and Partridge (2008)

I was very glad for her because she was going to wait for me there. And then before the week was out, I was informed that she had died in 1961. She had just recently left me. I asked "Why? Why did she die? Of what causes did she die?" I started asking those questions and I was never satisfactorily explained the reasons.

Then eventually I went to Churchill and I consulted an elder Aakinie Tuktoo who is now living in Sanikiluaq. I ask her because she had been in contact with my mother when she was in Churchill and it was only her that informed me because I asked, I kept insisting, why did she die because she had died before a week was up. Why did she die? It was only then that I was informed that her mind had snapped because all her children were spread all over the place. There was one of my sisters, the one that turned insane, we had never ever heard about again. Her children were spread out in such widespread disparate places.

She had taken her son, the one that was born later, to Churchill and she had taken her son, the one that was born up in the High Arctic, to Churchill. This information was given to me by Aakinie Tuktoo who was an elder living in Churchill and she had seen my mother, so I got all this information from her.

Then in 1961 when I went to Churchill to pick up my little brother, I went to Resolute Bay afterwards. I went there to the High Arctic alone because my mother had died in Churchill after I had been informed the reasons for her death. Then in 1961 I departed from Churchill and went to Resolute, just me and my little brother motherless now.

Then I returned to Inukjuak all alone. I was now motherless. I was an orphan and I had no idea whatever happened to my older sister who turned insane. So we lost trace of my older sister who had turned insane. We never heard about her again. My mother died in 1961. In 1962 when I was living in Resolute I started losing my mind. My mental condition deteriorated and I was cured only by the power of prayer, being prayed for by the Inuit of Resolute Bay. They prayed for my healing and it was thanks to their prayers that I never lost my mind again thereafter. The Resolute Bay Inuit prayed for me. Their prayers were answered. They prayed for me. It was only through their prayers that I was cured of losing my mind.

I returned to Inukjuak in 1963, all alone, motherless, an orphan. In 1963, I returned to Inukjuak no longer with a mother. Then in 1963 soon after I had arrived in Inukjuak my older sister's clothing arrived, and her clothing only. We were told that she had died in 1963. Her clothing was sent to us because my sister had died and we were informed of this. My mother died in 1961, having never heard of my older sister ever again.

I wanted to relate this. I wanted to tell you this. If you don't have any questions, I would like to stop for now.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you. I don't have questions. We are going to take a break for supper. We are going to reconvene tonight at 7:15. If we don't reconvene tonight, we may not finish our agenda, perhaps for two hours, two or three hours and we are going to continue at 7:15.

**MAINA ARRAGUTAINAQ:** Before we stop here, our movement was restricted or diverted by the people who ran the weather station. My mother never reached her destination and we lost our sister.

I want to thank you again for giving me the opportunity to talk about this.

Thank you.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you, Maina.

We will have a closing prayer only tonight, so we will just take a break now.

**RENÉ DUSSAULT:** I would like to repeat what Mary just said that we are going to resume the meeting at 7:15 for two or three hours to catch up in our agenda.

Thank you very much.

— Supper adjournment at 5:35 p.m.

— Upon resuming at 7:40 p.m.

**RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Could everybody get a seat, please. Thank you very much. I would like to turn the meeting over to our facilitator, Mary Simon.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you, Mr. Dussault. We have not completed the subject we were talking about regarding the 1955. Samwillie Elijasialuk will be starting.

**SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** Samwillie Elijasialuk, Grise Fiord 1952 up to 1979. The subject that we talked about earlier, I would like to make a few things clear.

What Rynie was saying earlier and Maina, both of them on both matters, what they had said earlier is true and accurate. If Peter was not put in the High Arctic, he would not be handicapped or disabled. It was from malnutrition, no milk. That's the reason for his disability. He is speaking now, but he does not speak because he nearly died from hunger.

The hunger in Grise Fiord that they had endured is true. Everything, the supply they had would – they would run out of supplies, run out of milk, run out of sugar, no flour and there would be none left until the next ship would arrive. Seal meat was what they lived on. What Rynie said earlier is true. Also what Maina said, the fact that Maina's departure, they were not able to endure being in a place that did not have any supplies.

As Maina's mother would say, in all the world, the poorest of all over the world, I will know the poorest in all the world, the poorest from lack of food, of store foods. She used to say – when she departed she made a statement that this is the poorest, most poverty stricken place is Craig Harbour and Grise Fiord; its people are very badly treated. There should not have to exist anything like this in Canada. The stuff that we have related to you. We used to drink – we simply used to drink water because there was no tea, there was no flour and we used to try to – I said earlier we used to have to get supplies from Resolute. This is all true.

Right now conditions are much better because the aircraft is able to go there and supply the place, so it's changed greatly since those early days. But at that time, I knew because I returned in 1979 and I used to visit previous to those years, previous to '79. In 1978 I used to visit Inukjuak and the years beyond or prior to, I used to say when I heard that there was no sugar, no flour when I heard the lack of these, after I had visited Inukjuak I distinctly remember that I bought a 50-pound sack of sugar in Iqaluit. We had bought many other items such as clothing and other stuff. I not want to be burdened with too much baggage. I bought a large knapsack and put the 50-pound bag of sugar in it and I went home. This was as recently as around the late '70s, '77-80.

So I'm able to tell you this. If somebody would be interested to ask me further questions, I can relate much further stuff. But I'm saying, yes, at least we have been able to tell this much.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you. If you can state further about when you expressed your desire to return, how did you do it? How did you state this desire to return? Who did you tell it to? Can you clarify that?

**SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** Yes, I can. The first time it was ever mentioned, the desire to return that is, was after the first year, after the very first year. This was impossible, or it was not agreed to and it was impossible for many years. I spent 27 years there myself. Now, when we first mentioned our desire to return, there was no way to transport us back. There was no aircraft. Our first policeman, the sergeant, was very fearsome. He was the boss when we went there. He used to tell us, "Don't say anything disparaging about this land. Make sure that if you speak to" – his name was Sargent. He was a policeman in 1953. He had served previously in the Netsilingmiut region. I don't think he's any longer alive. His name was Sergeant. He used to serve in the Netsilingmiut region. He was the boss in 1953. He was assisted by a German or German descended second man.

Every time the ship came, he was very aware, he was very alert about whether we were saying anything, or whether he was being talked about to the authorities who came on the ship. He was very alert, making sure that the people who arrived on the ship were not informed or whether he was being talked about to the people on the ship. He used to tell us, "Make sure if you talk at all, make sure you say nice things about this place and make sure you wear your best clothes."

Yes, what I say is true. What I tell you is true. The first time the desire to return was mentioned as I said, he said, "No, you are not going to return. You cannot return. This place has to be populated." That's what he said, that's what he told us. He was told that we cannot be here, it's too cold and we are going to starve here. There's no trade goods, there's no store-bought foods and that's the reasons we gave him for wanting to return and our only father had died by then. Our father had died up there. He replied to our request to return, "The ship cannot pass by Inukjuak. It will go straight to Montreal. Because you are Inuit, or Eskimos, you cannot spend the whole year in the south, so therefore you cannot return. This place has to be populated." That's what he said.

He was the one and sole authority, there was no appeal beyond the local policeman. He was very alert as to whether any of us were talking or having conversations with the authorities or people on the ship. He kept track of this and he conducted himself in this manner all the time he was there. He laid down regulations over there, which was that we were never paid for unloading the ship, the work we did carrying items, crates and supplies from the ship to the shore, saying that the police has greatly assisted the Inuit there, and they are not going to pay the Inuit for carrying or moving any drums or coal bags for the police. He said, "They will pay back by transporting them in the police boat," the police boat would be used to transport them to and from the ship to get their x-rays and to move to another place.

This is very wrong from what I know now. When we went there, when we departed from our homeland, we should have been put on salary or we should have started earning wages from the moment we departed or original

The supply ship made a circular route each year with the stop in Inukjuak occurring before the stops in the High Arctic. As a result, the path of travel meant that from the High Arctic Inuit would have to go first to Montreal and then make their way to Inukjuak.

home because we were not voluntarily doing this. What I say is true. The matter of working for no pay, I would like to address that a bit further, if you don't mind.

That particular police officer was there for many years, for several years. There was a second police constable whose name was Bob Pilot. But Bob Pilot was not the boss and, therefore, could not pay us for the labour we did. I'm going to relate this as it applies to me as an individual.

At that time in 1956, I took a dog team trip. On February 15 we departed from our home. We spent many, many days on the trail because it's a great distance on a trip to Resolute. Bob Pilot and the other guy who was stationed in Alexandra Fiord went along with us on the dog team trip at that time. They had their own dogs. Then special constable Kyak was also part of that and Akpaliapik<sup>12</sup> was also part of that trip, as was I.

As it concerns me, I had a primus stove in case I got lost. I had it as a safety measure. I had also a sleeping bag and I had flour that I could use for lunch. We ran into very bad weather and blowing snow and we lost track of our fellow travellers; it was dark, it was stormy, it was blowing snow. I had to figure out to how am I going to connect with them. How am I going to find them. So I was going to travel on the lee from the trail that we previously had followed and so perhaps maybe we can get their scent and so the dogs picked up the scent.

We found two white policemen almost covered over totally in snow. They were totally immobilized and their dogs were getting covered by snow and I found them. But fortunately I found them and we were immobilized by the bad weather for three days. I had a primus stove, although I did not have much fuel for it. Because I was an Inuk and I had the ability, I had no medical ailment, I did not have a large knife, but the knife that I had broke and that was the only problem that I encountered. Kyak and them carried absolutely everything else.

I proceeded to attempt to make a shelter although my knife was broken. So I built an igloo which was not very big and we could not all three of us stretch out very well inside this small cramped igloo. These people would have died had I not come across them at that time.

Now, on the 27th we arrived in Resolute. When we arrived in Resolute, the policeman went south. They were there to have a vacation, a holiday, and they were there to deliver mail from the north to the south. So by April 2 we headed back for home. I said we arrived February 27th. Then the money I was being paid was cut, my pay was cut at the time we arrived by Mr. Sargent. He stated that, "You are amongst Inuit and you should not be earning any pay." And so when Kyak, who were the other companions were not there, I spent all March looking after the policeman's dogs. I tied them up when they were loose, I hunted for their food and sustenance and I had to keep track of whether they were getting lose from where they were tied up. I had to make daily rounds just to make sure they were all looked after. I was here and I was told, "Because you are amongst Inuit and you are simply visiting there, you are not going to be paid." This is what I was told when I returned. Now, at the time if I had not been along on that trip Bob Pilot would have died. The two policemen would both be dead for sure. The policemen from Alexandra Fiord and Bob Pilot would have frozen to death.

I have never received any thanks for saving the lives of those two policemen by the government. I don't expect the government is going to thank me,

This is likely a reference to Constable Cley Fryer.

12. Simon Akpaliapik



but because they themselves were so thankful they gave me a knife and a small watch: a wrist watch which was at the time going for about \$16 and I got a knife which had a value of about \$5 which was in exchange for the knife that I had broken when I was building the snow house. I didn't get paid for all the time I spent in Resolute, although on the return journey they paid me a little bit.

Now I wanted to say this because we Inuit were never thanked, but were instead written disparagingly about. I stated earlier yesterday that what they said about was the compact opposite of the truth. What they've said about us is the exact opposite of the truth.

Now I would like to go back to Aqiattusuk who was said to have died while being dragged by a walrus. That is the biggest lie as concerns that individual and I treat this as if it happened today. That's the one that we talked about who died after only eight months and I can still see his eyes. His eyes were bulged out, because he was so depressed and his mental condition had deteriorated. Now, he was lied to by saying that he was being sent to a land of plenty and that he could return, if they so desired and so they were very happy that were accepting the relocation under these conditions. They fully expected to return after two years. All the people who came to see us off wept and I can still see that now.

These are the things that have gone wrong and are very painful still up to today when we see them, when we consider them. Had we not been relocated it would have been much better. We would not have had to go through all these burdens that are being described here.

The people who never moved, have a sense of security, have a sense of continuity and their children are living adequate and contented lives. We envy them because they haven't experienced the hurt and pain that we have suffered. We said yesterday that there is no such place as a place you were originally born in and raised up in.

I can answer more questions, if I want to be questioned, but I'm going to stop for now. If you want to ask me questions, you are welcome to do so.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you, Samwillie. Minnie had something to say. Minnie, can you go ahead with what you were going to say?

**MINNIE ALLAKARIALAK:** I would like to speak a bit further. When we were there in Resolute, we were the second group that was sent to Resolute. Some of the stuff that I often keep in mind I'm going to say to you, the stuff that is a burden on my mind I'm going to state. The government did not conduct themselves as human beings. Were they treating us without human standards? They themselves never showed up and they just sent us away to a shelterless barren place. That's my first question.

I have always had a hurt about this and I had a lot of empathy for the people, the first group that had landed on to such terrible conditions. Now I would like to provide another description of the landing in Resolute.

We were landed in Resolute and the first group who had gone there two years previously had made themselves shelters, shacks actually. In the summer in our old country, old home we never had to depend on fat for fuel. We were able to gather firewood. We were able to gather wood for fuel in the old country in our original homeland. We brought home-made wood stoves which we were accustomed to having to heat our tents in our original homeland. We went to Resolute and brought these along.

This is Larry Audlaluk's father, Paddy, who is sometimes referred to in documents as "Fatty".

Now, the people who had lived there in that part of the Northwest Territories, the people that originally lived in the Northwest Territories did not have a tent. They had to buy a factory-made tent and they had to try fit a lot of people in such a tent. So I myself made them a large tent, a hand-made tent and they – because we were accustomed, as I said earlier, to using wooden stoves or wood stoves they copied our method of heating the tent with wood stoves, because we brought our stoves and that's how we used to heat our tents before in our original homeland because we used to be able to get firewood. Now in Resolute, there was nothing, not so much as something to use as toilet paper. There was nothing to use for fuel.

Many of us were disabled, many of us were physically weak and we were shipped up to a very brutally cold place, and if we could not get firewood, we were forced to stay in bed in the very cold tent try to keep warm. Now, we were sleeping at night when our tents were pitched up. As we said earlier, our bedding and other articles of comfort were lost in Churchill. We had lost many household articles that would have given us sustenance. We were not very well equipped when we landed. Fortunately, our actual blankets did not sink or drift away and although our sewing machine was part of the equipment that was lost, we had –

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** How did they lose that equipment?

**MINNIE ALLAKARIALAK:** They drifted away in the high wind when we were being delivered to across the river in Churchill. Well, I don't think it was done on purpose, but we lost our warm clothing because we knew we were going to a colder place, some of our bedding, and all the while the government had absolutely no concern about paying for those things. We thought that we deserved at least a \$20 compensation for their loss.

Now, when we went to Resolute we had no bedding, we had no matting, I mean. We were given some caribou skins to use as bedding that kept our bodies insulated from the bare ground. We were in Resolute by now and when we were there we were struggling to make a go of life. We were trying to live and there was no rocks or stones to use to attach to the guy wires of the tents.

We had to punch in or hammer in stakes to the gravel and mud to attach to the guy wires. It's permanently frozen up there, even in June and July. It is very cold.

These are the conditions under which we were trying to live there. I'm going to say all the burdens that we had to live under during those years, we were very cold when we did not have any firewood to burn in our wooden stoves. We would stay in bed to try to keep warm and there we were in Resolute, although the people that went ahead of us were now sheltered because they had built their own shacks. We were better off actually, but we were still very badly off. Simeonie and his younger brothers and my husband, Johnny went about building a shack and we used our wood stove that we brought from Inukjuak which was a home-made version of an old oil drum and so we they built a shack.

My late husband, because he was always going back and forth to the hospital, and we started getting visits from bishops and priests. The bishop used to want to stay with us because my husband was the prayer leader or lay reader and he would lead the prayer services every Sunday. When the bishop heard that we were there he started coming around to observe how

we were living or to come and see us.

I said earlier that we had a shack. The bishop boarded overnight and because he went straight away to see my husband who was unfortunately not there. He had gone to hospital. He had gone to hospital very soon after we landed in Resolute. In July, during the month of July, sometimes the inside of the house would melt a little bit. He used to wipe away the condensation, the vapour condensation from inside of our house. These are the memories I have of those years.

My husband started going back and forth to hospital. They used to go to Thule in Greenland to get medical treatment, not to Iqaluit. He used to be sent to Thule, Greenland. Sometimes they used to be sent to Winnipeg through Yellowknife.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Minnie, can I ask you a question. I know you are moved up in 1955 but I want to ask you, in 1953, and perhaps somebody else can answer a question the question, I'm going to ask. In 1953 or thereabouts, you were being informed of the proposed relocation and the fact that – well, were you informed of the fact that you it would be sent there together with people from Pond Inlet, or was there never ever any mention of that?

**MINNIE ALLAKARIALAK:** Well, you know, the Idlout family they got on in Pond Inlet. They got on in Pond Inlet onto the ship that we were aboard on. I didn't know where they were going.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Well, I'm trying to ask you, in Inukjuak, when you were still in Inukjuak before you were moved up before you were even starting to depart, was there indication given to you that there would be Pond Inlet people that would accompany you there to the new land? I'm trying to ask you that.

**MINNIE ALLAKARIALAK:** No, we were never told that we were going to be accompanied by people from that area. That's the only indication we were given.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Can you answer that further, Simeonie, from what you know?

**SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** Thank you, Mary. I said earlier that when we were still living in Inukjuak and being prepared for relocation, we were never told that we would be accompanied by anybody. But it was only on the ship during the journey itself we were told for the first time that we would be moved with Pond Inlet people. We were never told by the government official in Inukjuak. Only during the journey itself were we told that we would be moved along with Pond Inlet people.

**MINNIE ALLAKARIALAK:** When I was recounting the people getting on in Pond Inlet, we were never told where they were going. They got on in Pond Inlet and so we went together with them to Resolute.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** I want to ask about that. What has been written about you and the relocation has often had different facts stated. Were the Pond Inlet people and the Inukjuak people, how was the relationship between the Pond Inlet people and you, the Inukjuak people?

**MINNIE ALLAKARIALAK:** Well, even when we got together they thought we were speaking English. They were Inuit and so we loved them, we had

affection for them, and we tried to communicate with them but they thought we were speaking English because it was a very different dialect. We were speaking our own original dialect, they were speaking their original dialect. We could not understand each other. We never understood each other even when we got together. We always never knew where they were going or what they were planning to do. This is the people that we were expected to live with in the same place.

**SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** I would like to add to this or reply to this. What was written about us is that, and I know for a fact today and what I heard about and how we were treated and I know how we were treated or what we were told. Those of us in Grise Fiord could not procure wives from the people who were originally from Pond Inlet.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Why couldn't you get wives from that group?

**SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** Well, the way it was is the only available women were already reserved, spoken for. When the police did their reports about us in those days, they reported that there was cozy relations between the two groups that were living in Resolute, but Grise Fiord people were not working out. This is what was reported and it's true. It's true. It's no wonder we never really got along or never in all those years only my sister got married to somebody from there. She was the only one and then those of us others, we were sort of encouraged to multiply, but we could not – in all the 27 years we were all sprung like a coil ready to go back home, although nobody ever agreed to our request to return. But our mentality was, prepare to go back home.

When we started seeing more of people and aircraft started coming and people became more mobile, we had always been prepared to return. It took many years of effort for this project of returning. There were many problems. Some of them had the calling of being Pond Inleters and some of them had the calling of Inukjuamiut which means people from Inukjuak. In the 27 years I was there and to the end of 27 years, our heart and what we felt inside, we were sort of two communities that could never really join in harmony. I don't know what the situation is now. But one of the main reasons for my own return was that I had been part of the council and I observed that there were two very distinct groups of people and I could not be a leader to such a divided group. Perhaps you understand that it was not possible to have these two sets of people to really get together.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** I think Simeonie would like to make a supplementary answer.

**SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** On the question you had raised, when we first arrived to the new – the first question you asked whether the Pond Inlet people and the Inukjuak people whether they were good together. We worked together. Idlout family came from Pond Inlet and through the government documentation, they have stated that the Idlout family had been moved to help us out and we do not know how they helped us out. But in Resolute, although the Pond Inlet people and people from Inukjuak tried to speak together but usually they were segregated.

The statements that have been made too about the fact that the government had aided us, had supported us, but that's not true. Because it's just

The strained relationship between those from Inukjuak and those from Mittimatalik is discussed in greater detail in the *Iqqaumavara* (2011) interviews.

saying that the fact that people from other communities had come over to help us out.

I have heard Rynie and Maina, and I would like to make a supplementary to their statement. However, it's not very important. I just want to make a comment. As people say, when we first moved to the High Arctic, there was no milk. At this time at three o'clock there was no cream when we went for coffee break, so therefore I would like to have some milk available for us at coffee break tomorrow.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Yes, I understand. I think Rynie wanted to make a comment.

**RYNIE FLAHERTY:** Rynie Flaherty from Grise Fiord. When we on our way there, I remember the Idlout family. They boarded the ship from Arctic Bay not from Pond Inlet. I think they forget that we moved to Resolute Bay with Idlout family. I remember very well. I also heard that they went Arctic Bay from Pond Inlet by dog team. I remember them from Arctic Bay. That's the only communities that I actually saw. I just wanted to make that clear. Thank you.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you. Andrew.

**ANDREW IQALUK:** I would like to make a supplementary to my sister Minnie's statement. She was saying that people were medevaced to Thule in Greenland. When there are emergency cases, they were medevaced to Greenland to the American base and I just wanted to clarify that also. Amarualik was sent along to help us out. He was the only person and there were two other men who came will long later, Kalluk and Idlout went there and moved to Resolute. The RCMP had sent Amagoalik to help us out to live in that land also to support us, for we did not know how to live in the High Arctic.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Lizzie, did you want to make a statement?

**LIZZIE AMAGOALIK:** When my mother was talking, I started thinking when my mother was still talking, so therefore I would like to make her statement more clear. I would like Idlout family and Kalluk family went to Resolute Bay by themselves. They were not sent there, they went there by themselves. They voluntarily went to Resolute by themselves.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Minnie, please turn the microphone on.

**MINNIE ALLAKARIALLAK:** When we arrived there the Iqaluit members from RCMP detachment and the nurse had told us perhaps a year after we were relocated, or perhaps two years, I can't quite remember, but these people RCMP from Iqaluit and a nurse from Iqaluit came over to us to tell us, telling me and my husband Inuit people have been going to the hospitals through the ship.

Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay have no air strips for the planes to land. We were told Inuit people – we were asked whether we could board people and we were really happy. We were dying to be Inuit people as if we were thirsty for Inuit people. We were placed in a place where there was nothing, so I was very happy when they asked me if they use my house as a boarding house for the people who are passing through to go to the hospital from the other communities. I was very happy about that fact, because a lot of people

would stay with us on their way to the hospital when we were living in a home-made shelter. We had a little shack and we had an oil drum stove.

When our house was being used as a boarding place and people from the surrounding communities would come from Arctic Bay and Pond Inlet and Grise Fiord would pass by through Resolute Bay on their way to the hospital to go to the hospital, we were very happy about that fact. Then we realized we were very happy about the fact that we will be seeing a lot of Inuit people. We were dying to see other Inuit people for we are all Inuit people and we left a lot of Inuit people behind when we were relocated.

At that time we were not receiving cheques. So therefore, the people who stayed with us went hungry for we did not have any food. We were short of food. Even the children did not have any milk to drink and this has been a great burden on me. I wanted to feed the people who were passing through or who were staying with me. At the time when we got a social worker, he was a man. Only once I had approached him to apply for welfare. I asked whether I was eligible for welfare for the people who were staying with me, passing through, were hungry. And they passed through a ship and the only way they could go home was through a ship again. Arctic Bay and Pond Inlet did not have any air strips, even Grise Fiord.

The male social worker, I cannot remember his name, I'm sure that some people know him. He was a short little man. The people who were staying with me were hungry for we had no food, so I went to ask the social worker whether we were eligible for welfare. I was told, you were given a cheque for letting people stay with you. If you cannot exchange it – you are not eligible if you cannot cash it – if you are not going to reimburse it, it will not be given to you and I was not given any money to help out with the groceries, although the children had no milk. This was with me very much. People still stay with me, patients are still with me on their way to the hospital and a lot of Inuit people know me and people know me even up to today, even a lot of people, even *Qallunaat* people come to stay with me not just patients because they want to stay with me.

This doesn't really matter now for I am now on welfare and I receive cheques and we are not hungry any more. Of course, in the beginning I was not even eligible for welfare although I was trying very hard to get it. I was told that when you get your money from the boarding money, if you are not going to reimburse the money, you will not be given any money to buy groceries.

I often wanted to talk about this because this was a great burden on us. This was done to us by the *Qallunaat* people whom we had to look up to.

I worked very hard trying to get food, trying to get money to buy groceries with before I actually was old enough to get retirement, old enough to get old age pension. At that time I had been able to buy some groceries, so therefore I will stop for now. I will say again whenever I have opportunity again. Thank you.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Jaybeddie, do you want Lizzie to go first?

**LIZZIE AMAGOALIK:** My name is Lizzie Amagoalik. My mother, she's talking about the incidents that happened not too long ago. She's not talking about olden days. I've always been with my parents until 1979 when I moved. I've been with them since I was born, so I know. I will recall to you the things that happened to us when we were relocated in 1955.

Why and how did they think of the people, or why did they move us to Grise Fiord and to Resolute Bay? What did they think when they moved us? Since 1955 my father, they had approached my father. Even today I do not hear any little appreciation from anybody. My mother has not been given any appreciation at all and I'm really hurt by this because I have seen the way my father was.

My father, as I have stated, had a liver ailment by the time he was relocated. It seems like the High Arctic was not a place for human beings. It's dark, cold and no animals for subsistence, and no place to go for your water, no place to go fishing and no place to go hunt for birds. I know a place, Inukjuak in northern Quebec, the place where they took us from there are different kinds of animals and they have never even written them down yet. We were told that we were going to a very plentiful place. Walrus, beluga whale, seal meat and polar bear, there are only four animals that I can name you to the place they had relocated us. We did not like those, for we were not used to these animals. This was not our subsistence in northern Quebec, so therefore we did not like it. Although we really did not mind eating them, but my mother and my father and my grandmother and my grandmother's husband were dying for their traditional food which came from northern Quebec and I've seen it from my own eyes. In a place where there is nothing at all, even up to today it is still like that, my grandmother's mother, my mother's stepmother and my husband's grandmother, were actually dying for their traditional food and they died yearning for their traditional food and they were crying inside constantly and there was nobody for them to go to talk. Although I may not have felt the way they felt, but I've seen it, I remember them very well.

They put us in a place where there was nothing. Sometimes my father would walk struggling, hunting for any kind of game animal for he could not go very far because of his ailment. His dogs, my husband started using my father's dogs and getting *Qallunaat* people to go out on dog sled trips. For those of us who were younger, all of us girls, there were four of us young women and we tried to take care of our grandmother, my father and my mother while our husbands were guiding the *Qallunaat* people with dog sleds.

After the air force had left, we would go to the dumps and scrounge around behind the RCMP's back. We did not wish for them to see us scrounging for food. We would never scrounge for food. When they had left, there was no nothing for us to scrounge for there was nothing in the garbage then. We were hunters, like we had to feed our family while our husbands were guiding the *Qallunaats* on dog sled trips.

At the time was pregnant while my husband was still travelling, was still guiding them, still travelling, my child had begun to walk. I was not even given a penny even up to today. That's how long they were out on their hunting trips. That's how we used to try and take care of our grandmothers, just four of us girls, my two aunts and my younger sisters.

Even talking about this hurts, we experienced that. In the middle of the night – we look for water in the middle night and then we would go back into the house where it's very cold, there was nothing to heat up the little shack with. This was operated by the government. They should have supported us then. They should have paid more attention to us to see what our needs were.

I know some of us who went through hard times are now deceased and we will not forget them today because we were younger when we did this. My mother would look for some firewood. When she was looking for firewood the RCMP came to her and scolded her. She was not a very fast worker. She was looking for firewood, the police approached her and scolded her and she was sent home. She was looking for firewood to heat up our home.

My grandmother, my mother's mother, the whole time would ask my mother, "When are we going home?" She was probably crying inside and still yearning for her old country food.

When I had been taken to the hospital after I had left to the hospital to Edmonton, I was in Edmonton for three years in the hospital. I had three children then and they would come home lunch hour and there would be nothing and they would get an old can, empty can from the dumps and try to eat it for there was nothing else to eat. The government had taken us to go to a land where the food was plentiful. We were just waiting and listening, listening and waiting patiently for the appreciation that we greatly deserved. It's not the fact that we want, but even when we return to Inukjuak it's getting worse. My kin, I did not see my family for years, although I think of them every day constantly.

This is getting too strenuous for me, I have so many things in my mind. When I'm at home, when I start thinking about these, I sometimes think I'm going crazy. Sometimes I feel as if I'm going crazy, for I do not have anybody to talk about my problem.

When we returned to Inukjuak, we had no place to go. We were not recognized when we had returned to Inukjuak for the people who recognized us were all deceased and we could not get jobs for we were not able to speak in English. When we first started going to school in 1952-51, if we had remained there, the people who went to school with me at that time in those years they can speak English and they have very good jobs. These are the people who went to school with me. Me, I was governed by the government and relocated by the government, I lost my education, and I do not speak English because of that fact. My children who were born in Resolute Bay were not recognized by their own relatives and they had no place to go. However, I had to follow my husband for he had to go down to be with his aunt – although the aunt is now deceased.

We talk about the things that we experienced. It's okay if we don't write about it for we experienced it ourselves. *Qallunaat* people usually write, everything is documented by *Qallunaat* for they don't want to forget. One person does not forget their own experiences although they are not written down on paper.

One of the things that have been the hardest for me, for my mother and my father and my grandmother's doings even down to my children. Those of us woman, girls, for those us woman who would stay home and our husbands would be guiding the *Qallunaat* people, we were making *kamiks*, we would be skinning polar bears, polar bear's skin and we would be making traditional warm clothes for those people. We were never paid a penny, not even once. The polar bear skin and the garments that we made, the parkas we made, they are probably worth a lot. My in-law, Jackoosie's wife would sew every day and she's not paid a penny once today. She would make *kamiks*, parkas, mitts, so that the police – through that policeman even up to



today she was never paid a penny. We will never forget about these experiences we faced.

*Qallunaat* people would tell us what to make. We were not allowed to go out and walk around to a far distance. It seems like we were put inside a fence. If we tried to go far, a wolf would come to us, it's the same meaning. What I'm saying is all true. When you have been treated like that, it's very bad. My education was cut off, although I was going to school before we were relocated and when you have no place to go to it's very bad. You can't do anything about it especially when you are not recognized by anybody.

I had a daughter. She died at the age of 20. She would tell me – she spoke English – Resolute Bay people have lots of money, but even today we don't have a cent. She would be told that Resolute Bay people have lots of money now, they are rich now. Every time she goes to Ottawa and Montreal that's what she would be told, Resolute Bay people are quite rich now. Even today, we are not given a penny. Where are all the riches? We were deceived. That was part of the way they deceived us. That's how it was in the High Arctic for those us who were relocated.

I will conclude for now.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you, Lizzie.

Jaybeddie, the floor is yours.

**JAYBEDDIE AMAGOALIK:** I am Jaybeddie Amagoalik. I am Lizzie Amagoalik's husband. I will make a brief comment. I just want to make a short supplementary. She is my wife and I would like to tell you that she is telling the truth; it's honest, entire truth. I did not see my family for well over 13 years. She said that she was happy when we came here to Ottawa. My wife and I, we saw people whom we did not see for years. Since we went back to Inukjuak from Resolute Bay to Inukjuak for 13 years we did not see the rest for 13 years and this year seems to be small.

I'm not very happy about what happened in Resolute Bay, but we have to talk about it although it's not very pleasant. One of the things that was very unpleasant for me – I know we are pressed for time so therefore I will try and make it understandable or clear.

In 1956, only in 1956 did we get electricity. We could only use 40 watts, a 40-watt light bulb. We could not go any further than that. Prior to these years, three years, we were using stone lamps with seal blubber, candles. We used those for heating and for lighting. I can recall this very clearly. We were really badly mistreated for the first year. It was dark 24 hours a day and our house would be unheated. Look at this glass, half of it is full of water. When we forget to finish the water, we go to sleep, we would wake up and the glass would be all shattered and broken and frozen. It would be cracked because the water would freeze while we were still sleeping. When the weather was warmer, it would be 30 below, minus 30 below. When it gets really cold it would be minus 50 below and we would sleep in these conditions from the year '53 to '55.

The place where we got our wood scraps from the air force dump, the wood piles especially when they were fully covered by snow, it was impossible to retrieve some wood. We talk about these heating elements we used and I remember very clearly that it was impossible to live. It was impossible to be alive, but people lived it, experienced it for the year '53. A *Qallunaat* person would never survive under those conditions only Inuit people would.

I see this year through films and the 1992-93 through television, when it gets cold in some provinces like for one night, more than one *Qallunaat* person would die when the temperature drops perhaps down to minus 20, 25.

I'm sure that you are very proud of us about the fact that we survived in a very harsh place where it was impossible for any other race to survive and this was governed by – we were used by the government. I feel at times I know that. I feel that we were stolen. I feel that we were held by the government as hostages. There was nothing written. They just took us with no consent, written consent. I did not really understand that but this is true. The way I think because *Qallunaat* people, for example, Resolute Bay people in the base they are all men. They can steal a woman, take them home like to the city, like to Ottawa, to their own provinces. My sister's children were taken with no consent. Marry them or, whether it be a girl, marry the man. I have seen those. For many years, I feel that I have the understanding that whether they be *Qallunaat* or government, they can take anything literally, whether it be a human being. For example, the black people were sold as slaves. I feel that. I don't know if this is true, but that's how I feel and I believe the fact that we were treated in that similar manner.

It seems that way after many years had passed, after intensive studies. When we were relocated in 1953, I used to ask, why did they relocate us, for what? I have not been given the reply yet. I feel I understand that it's because of land; the land needs to be populated. Nobody had stated here, except for my brother had stated, this was done on sovereignty reasons. That's the only possible explanation I could possibly think of.

I stated that I was not going to speak too long, so I'll conclude for now, thank you.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Jaybeddie, if you can make a clarification, about the fact that woman were taken away. Can you clarify that for me?

**JAYBEDDIE AMAGOALIK:** The reason why I stated that is because when we returned to Inukjuak my sister had died. She had three daughters and two sons. My sister's children have been lost and the fact that they were taken by the *Qallunaat*, I know. I saw one person living here near Ottawa and that person will be here tomorrow; two of them are living in Winnipeg. I know the other one has a child now and I think the other one – I'm not too sure whether the other one has a child. The two sons, one of them lives in Winnipeg and one of them in Yellowknife. I'm not too sure whether they have a child yet. That's why I was saying that even people, human beings can be stolen.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Simeonie, you had your hand up. Do you want to say something about this?

**SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** I would like to thank the commission, also Mary for facilitating the meeting. What Jaybeddie was saying about the fact that woman being taken away I think his reason being was our sister's children were taken by the *Qallunaats*, because High Arctic did not have men and the topic, Rynie and Jaybeddie's children, since there were no men they found their husbands from Ottawa and also from Yellowknife for there are no men, or the men are scarce. Even Minnie had stated that her children are no longer with her, they had to go to some other community to get married.

Also there were other topics about Idlout and Kalluk's children only marry white people for there are no men available in Resolute. A lot of them

don't get married. Sometimes *Qallunat* people just use them. When they get children, the *Qallunaat* man would leave the woman behind like – for example, like Grise Fiord has no oranges, therefore the children would leave. It's not just oranges. If we say oranges, or if we say an apple, this is an evil thing that began the life of Adam and Eve.

I think his point was about Grise Fiord people, they said that the police had asked the men – it was mentioned that if we hunted only the male caribou the population will not grow. So in the same sense, we can say the same thing with the woman in the High Arctic. So for this reason, the family whether it's a male or female, they have to be a couple. What the government has done, this has affected the family relationship in that way.

Thank you.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you. Dora, you can have a say. The second Jaybeddie would like to say something right after Dora. Go ahead, Dora.

**DORA PUDLUK:** Dora Pudluk from Resolute Bay. I just wanted to make a supplementary to what I said earlier today. I felt a little emotional at the time and I can finish it. I just wanted to mention how I related to my parents who went through hardship because of the relocation that took place. They went through hardship when some of their relatives had to go to a hospital and when they came back to their own homeland, they went through more difficulty and they would think about the ones that they left behind and they go through another emotional problem. All these combine.

It seems that the government was not well prepared when they sent us up. It seems like they were just using the Inuit and that's how I think of the government. If I was well treated at the hospital, I would not think of them in this way. If they were landed in a place where they had facilities, we would not say this. However, when one sees the mother or father go through hardship, it affects the whole family members, especially the children.

My mother is an elder now and her health is deteriorating. When she landed there was hardly in shelter and up to today she has not received proper accommodation especially after my father passed away. I have thought, I hope she can receive proper accommodation that is warm during the winter-time. I hope she gets proper housing. Me, I can pretty well be in a shelter because I have no sickness or illness. I want my mother to be compensated in the way of housing where there it is warm, where she will have contentment. She should receive compensation financially. That's what I'm requesting from the government.

Thank you.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you, Dora.

**JAYPETTIE AMARUALIK:** I'm from Pond Inlet. My name is Amarualik. I was up in Resolute. I was part of the group that was sent to Resolute. Soon after we had landed, perhaps by spring or summer, the police came to approach me and told me that I was to go somewhere else. They sent me up to this new location and we were transported there by aircraft. We went to Eureka and there we did not meet any of the people that were to accompany us over there. I never knew what the white people there were doing. I knew they were examining the land in some way and they were doing research and geological studies and when we departed from Eureka there were two pilots and I was the third person. When I waited for them early in the morning, we

were sent away quite sleepy and they were very sleepy both of them and one of them – and I was prepared to wake up the other one because one of them was falling asleep. But although one of them was falling asleep, I never had reason to poke the other one to wake up.

When we landed we took my sleeping bag and other equipment and I went out with the other one. The pilot wanted to sleep in the aircraft. We went there early in the morning very sleepy. We went to the cafeteria or eating place and there was nobody there and I had to find some place to lay down my sleeping bag and try to get to sleep. When we left again by aircraft, about nine in the morning, we would be picked up at five in the afternoon and we would be picked up by aircraft later that day. Our sleeping bag and food, supplies and other equipment were dropped off with us and so that we wouldn't go hungry we were given some food. We were picked up every day at five in the afternoon. After two weeks – we were there for two weeks – and then when I returned our big policeman never informed how I was compensated, or how I was being paid. I was totally kept in the dark about whether I was going to be paid or not.

Every spring the Grise Fiord people used to come to Resolute, Kyak and the other policemen were going to Ottawa. The dogs were not well fed. There was not very much dog food around. So I took Kyak's dog team and polar bear hunting. I had not seen one yet when I camped for the night. I woke up in the morning and came across two polar bear, a female and her cub. I killed both of them and so I went back home and I used the meat of those two as dog food for the two police dog teams. I helped them out that way. Sometimes they would go out to Ottawa and when they returned they would take their team back from Resolute back to Grise Fiord.

This used to be quite a burden for us sometimes because we had to keep the dogs fed and dog food was not plentiful. Sometimes if dog food was plentiful, they would leave their dogs there and fly out to Ottawa. If there was plenty of dog food available, it probably would have been not much of a problem and we would not have had any hard times. But even when the policeman returned, I was never ever informed about what sort of wages I was being paid for the work that I was doing on their behalf. I would like to be compensated for those times.

That's all I have to say for now.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you, Jaypettie. Samwillie, you had your hand up?

**SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** I am Samwillie Elijasialuk, relocated to Grise Fiord, used to live in Grise Fiord. I just want to point out the cold of the High Arctic and how cold it was, how cold it is when it's cold, when it's at it's coldest. Up there when we first got there, and in the summer there was lots of ice in the summer. I had never seen previously such ice conditions in the summer. I thought perhaps there was a lot of river systems, perhaps there was a lot of rivers. What are these things? Are they large rivers flowing from up that way? What is this all about, I used to think? It was fields of ice pans in the summer.

We used to go caribou hunting and I know that it's permanently frozen. It was during the time later on when we could travel by snowmobile and I was hunting for caribou. I left a gasoline container, perhaps two gallons. I left it on top of the mountain because it was getting to be a burden and I

had enough gas to get me around to where I was trying to go. I went and looked it up the next year, the following year, the gas container that I had left behind. One year had elapsed. The container that I had left behind, normally they melt the snow on which they are standing, but this one there was absolutely no change in its condition. It did not even tilt in any way. It had not in any way melted or removed any of the snow it stood on. I tried to look for my footprints, but there was no trace of my footprints. It's never thawed out, even in the summer. When it is cold – not all the time, but when it is cold, fuel which is a liquid is sort of turned into a jelly, a solid. We can handle it with our hands because it freezes solid. It can be 62 below sometimes and so fuel can congeal like butter.

We lived under those conditions for many years up to the 1960s. Up to the 1960s we never had adequate shelter, all those early years, and here we were having been relocated involuntarily. Up there fuel has to be funnelled through a two inch hose in Grise Fiord. Inukjuak is cold also, but in Inukjuak the piping the size of the gooseneck of the microphone is adequate to funnel fuel. In Inukjuak –

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** I want to ask a question, because we are winding down. Any of you can answer this question. I would like to move on to another subject, Samwillie. I'm going to a 1953 issue, about the time when you were being informed about your possible relocation or when discussions were beginning about the relocation. How were you chosen? How would you in particular recruited? What were the target individuals because I'm sure they were not recruiting everybody. Can any of you explain the method by which the relocatees were located?

**SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** My parents, I recall, told that Salluviniq and Simeonie's families and us were targeted for relocation. I remember this being said. They had a target number of Inuit to recruit for relocation.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** How many?

**SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** Simeonie, there was us.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Let me clarify the question. Different reports have various different facts. The Hudson Bay Company was very reluctant to allow any of the best trappers or any of the more well-off people to be targets for relocation. Was there any truth to this? How did they decide who was going to go? Who decided who went?

**SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** The most competent and best providers, those who had a boat, some of our relatives Johnny Inukpuk, they were not allowed to even be considered for relocation because they were very competent trappers, they did not want such people to be sent to the High Arctic or to be relocated. Then the poorly-equipped people were not targeted either because they were poorly equipped. They were targeting sort of middle-level people who were solidly capable, who were capable of being independent, they were the targets for relocation. It was sort of the middle class of the Inuit people at the time. Perhaps, I haven't really answered your question. Can you ask further if you need more clarification?

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Perhaps Jaybeddie you want to add to what he said.

**JAYBEDDIE AMAGOALIK:** Yes, I want to add. Perhaps what was one of the deciding factors was they had information on who had sold the most seal skin pelts, who had sold the most fox pelts, each competent in their own field of work. So they had information on who best was doing these things and so this information was used to target the recruits. And some people who travel very far from the various posts, people who were capable of being very independent and who did not often have to go to the trading post to get supplies and when they did often came with a plentiful supply of fox pelts. I think that information was used to deliberate as to who should go.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you. I notice that people are getting very tired. Perhaps we can wind things down.

Leah Idlout Paulson will be the last speaker because we have to start again tomorrow morning at nine.

Make sure you state your name and where you're from.

**LEAH IDLOUT PAULSON:** I was not certain as to which dialect to use so I will speak in English. [English]

My name is Leah Idlout Paulson. I shall call myself coming from Pond Inlet. Now I've been living in the south about 32 years now. I'm one of the persons who was relocated to I am one of the persons who was relocated to Resolute Bay. When I was about 15 years old, we were living out in the camp outside of Pond Inlet. I had six brothers, but one of them was sent to Spence Bay to become an Anglican missionary by Donald Whitbread who used to be in Inukjuak as the Anglican missionary.

When father came from – at that time it was called Pond Inlet post instead of a settlement – he told us that for so many years he's been offered to start working with the RCMP detachment or Hudson Bay manager or missionary. He refused for those so many years because he wanted to bring us out in the camp and he even told us, "Look at those kids at the post, they have pale face almost like white people because they lack country food." I finally accept the offer to go somewhere else outside of Pond Inlet at that time with no access to Resolute.

Before we left, in our old tradition, my mother wasn't able to talk with my grandfather. My grandfather got sick and my mother asked me to go and pray for my grandfather and I went. That time ago also my mother used to tell me whether somebody confess, I should never talk about it to anybody. When I pray for my grandfather, he told me – he told me he was ready to suicide himself either with knife or rifle. Since it was his confession, I never told my parents while they were still alive, so he did before we headed for Arctic Bay.

My father told us that since *C.D. Howe* was not stopping by Pond Inlet, we had to go by dog team. He had a boat and other boats and a kayak. He couldn't even take any of his boats except what we could carry by dog team. My grandmother came along with the two cousins that used to be my uncle's son. My uncle died when I was three years old and my grandparents carried their two boys, the only brother my father had. One of them, the older boy, took the dog team that was my grandfather's dog team, came along with it and my oldest brother was already married and he had his dog team and my parents we went to Arctic Bay and waited for *C.D. Howe* in 1955 around about July. We got on when they already had some Inukjuak Inuit that were going to be located to Resolute and Grise Fiord. When we got to – I'll try to

Leah Idlout Paulson was born in Pond Inlet and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1955 at age 15

Reverend Donald Whitbread was an Anglican Missionary in the Arctic between 1955 and 1970, stationed primarily at Spence Bay (1957-1965) and Apex Hill (Iqaluit) (1965-1970)

make to short.

When we got to Resolute Bay, I was starting to interpret, to be interpreting, a few occasions when I was able to and I would start teaching as Donald Whitbread, Reverend Donald Whitbread gave me some school books to teach when we get there. There was no school built, so we started to use the storage room for hunting gear down at the beach. The students I had they were aged from 16 to six years old. The men start to work at the base. They were picked up at 6 o'clock in the morning by jeep. One morning two of my brothers said they were asked to go and look for boy that got on the jeep with the other workers, Inuit workers. So they were going to go to the air base. There was a little lake that the Inuit used to fish; they were the size of sardines.

Two of my brothers started to fish. One of them drowned. He was eight years old. The first people look for him. Since they didn't find him, my brother came to the village with wet clothing, so Jaypettie Amarualik and I, my father and my mother with the RCMP detachment Ross Gibson took us to the lake and look for him. We found him at the bottom of the lake, dead, two hours after.

Following, the same year, the RCMP was hard to tell when there was some people got sick. I tried to tell so many times and my sister-in-law got sick, my first sister-in-law that had one boy – my brother had one boy. She got so sick she couldn't recognize us any more. I finally started to cry to Constable Ross Gibson that she was so sick she can't recognize me any more. He finally get us help. She was evacuated to Thule right away.

All those deaths, I was the one to be interpreting to my family. My first sister-in-law died after two days she was sent away and my brother never forgave me that I was a bad interpreter for long time. He finally told me a few years only that he was sorry.

As I went along, it was getting harder and harder. In those years I was raped by the men who has kids almost about my age. I was mentally involved, I was mentally sick. I had to be sent away.

When I went home on holidays, my father told me, even if I am working at least to go home 15 days that I had to see my mother, mainly my mother. When I got home, my mother was expecting a baby, our last brother, the seventh, and she had the baby alone with me because we couldn't get a doctor. I delivered my brother. Just when I was only going to cut the cord my father's cousin came to help me.

There are many more things to say about it. I think my last talk will be my grandmother also had T.B. She was sent away for so long when she got home I couldn't even visit her because I was busy with the other things. She came home and she had to be sent away again, the only grandmother I had left. She never came back. She died in Churchill and I have never even seen her grave.

Those are the main points that I wanted to say in the relocation of 1955 that you have been hearing.

Thank you.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you.

(Closing prayer)

— Whereupon the Hearing adjourned at 9:40 p.m. to reconvene at 9.00 a.m. on Thursday, April 8, 1993.

# **Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples Testimony: April 8, 1993**



ROYAL COMMISSION ON ABORIGINAL PEOPLES  
LOCATION: OTTAWA, ONTARIO  
DATE: THURSDAY, APRIL 8, 1993  
VOLUME: 4

(Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, "Testimony," April 8, 1993, *The High Arctic Relocation Special Hearings*, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada))

Ottawa, Ontario

— Whereupon the hearing commenced at 9:00 a.m. on Thursday, April 8, 1993.

**GEORGES ERASMUS:** I would like you to know now that we are going to have an in camera session today around mid-day. It will start at approximately o'clock, and it will go into the noon hour, so we will reconvene the public portion of this at around 2 o'clock. We will try and have the in camera meeting and lunch cover the 11 to 2 o'clock period.

For those people who do not have their translation equipment on yet, we will make this announcement again. I just wanted to let the viewing public and the television cameras and everyone else to be aware of our general plans.

Perhaps Mary could just repeat for me what I just said so that everyone in the room is familiar with our general plans. Whatever we are doing around 11 o'clock will end after the most convenient speaker, and we will resume the public portion at around 2 o'clock. Mary.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Thank you, Mr. Erasmus. I will be repeating what Mr. Erasmus said in Inuktitut for those people who do not have receivers. We will start with Lazarusie at 11 o'clock. We will have an in-camera session so that you can make your comments known and, perhaps, until 11 to 2. If we have to extend it, we will extend it. We will have an in camera session from 11 until 2 o'clock.

While the TV crew and reporters are out we will not be using the receivers. Mr. Erasmus wanted you to know this.

**GEORGES ERASMUS:** So what we will do this morning is continue on with the presentations and we will deal with the normal schedule that we had originally agreed to in the plan that was set up earlier.

To begin our morning proceedings, we will start with a prayer. Perhaps we could ask everyone to stand. We will ask Lizzie Amagoalik to begin the meeting for us with a prayer. Please stand.

(Opening prayer)

**GEORGES ERASMUS:** Mary, would you please take over? Thank you.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you, Mr. Erasmus. We are ready to begin again. This is the last day of the hearings, so I hope we will be able to conclude before it is too late tonight.

The opening presentation is going to be made by Lazarusie Epoo.

[Translation] Lazarusie Epoo will be the first speaker to the panel.

Starting from the year 1953, up to today, he will be making comments on those years. The floor is yours.

**LAZARUSIE EPOO:** [Translation] My name is Lazarusie Epoo from Inukjuak. I am not a relocatee, but I am going to describe some observations of my own on this whole issue. I am going to try not to go too fast. I am going to have to be reminded not to go too fast, for sure.

I want to make three basic points on the whole relocation project – about the relocatees themselves and the adverse effects it has had on them and others.

The first point that I want to make is that the adults at the time – people who were adults in the relocation in 1953 – the elders and how their thought processes were affected by the relocation. It was described in some detail yesterday, but I would like to clarify it further.

They experienced – all the elders or that generation who were adults at the time were saddled with mental burdens. They were told that wildlife resources were much more plentiful. At the time we were all depending – at first at that time when we were told of this issue we were convinced, or we told, that it was all beneficial. Normally, we are not too fussy about the geographical features of the land. If it has resources, that was the main point.

We were told that it was cold, but it was going to be a place where we could make a go of life. It was to be somewhat better than conditions in Inukjuak.

I myself was not a mature adult at that time, but I know that adults among us were given deep thought to this whole project and there were families that were split, wrenched apart by the whole thing at the time of the relocation. Some of them, direct family relations, were torn apart right at that time. But they were doing it on the basis of trying to make improvements, to improve the future and their circumstances of living.

Some refused to go on the basis of their elder's decision to not go. For example, I myself was prevented from going on the relocation because my elders advised me or made the decision that – I was influenced by the decision of my elders.

Some of them refused because they felt that they were able to make a living without going through the relocation. The adults amongst us who left for the relocation – and here I am not talking about the younger generation – based their understanding on a better future. A better future was on their minds and it was to be an experiment which they could try out for two years. If nothing went wrong during the course of the project, they were told they could return after two years if they wanted. This was made very clear. We all understood it.

But to look at the land, it seemed that it was going to take a long time to truly settle into the area. Perhaps, the younger generation could have made something more permanent, but by the end of the first year we knew it was going to be very difficult to adjust to life in that new land.

The main consideration here was food sources in the High Arctic. We know that their main sources are marine mammals. Because it is very much a seagoing place, the smell and flavour of the wildlife there was very different from what was found in Inukjuak.

The first year was a long year already for an adult who was relocated. They knew that towards the end they were aware, very acutely aware, that they could return, and it was on their mind already at the end of the first year. Or, in their thought processes, they were already mentally preparing themselves to state their desire to return. It was already having a physical effect on their physical wellbeing because of the isolation and lack of communications.

If there was no easily available method of communication, such as letter writing or radio, this was already adversely affecting the people.

Here I am trying to restrict my comments to the adults of the group and what was going on through their minds during the course of the project.

As the years went by and the adults of the group, the elders of the group, did not seem to be settling in very well. Some started talking about their desire to return even before two years was up, although they understood that the two years was a time limit sort of thing. Although they were adults, they were very well capable of doing the work required to make a living. They were not educated in the ways of the lay of the land in the High Arctic. They did not have what we call traditional knowledge of what resources and how to go about making use of those resources.

When people mentioned their desire to return, they were immediately refused. This blocked any effort to return. The alternative to this whole thing was that the next best thing would be to send their extended families up to the High Arctic to join them.

This has affected the people of Inukjuak, this item of sending for extended families and sending them up to the High Arctic.

There, in Inukjuak, we were experiencing more plentiful caribou. We knew that the elders were physically affected by the project of relocation. The fact of longing for their original homeland, the fact of wanting to have freedom without restriction, longing for food and longing for water. When we were thirsty, we were thirsty. It is true that if you are used to a particular species of wildlife or food you long for that if you no longer have that available.

So, two years was a very long time for people who had to go through these processes. For the elders of the group, two years was very long. It was a long time.

The third thing about longing is longing for relatives, longing for grandchildren, their cousins, longing and being burdened with this. This was described yesterday, or previously.

I am describing the actual relocatees. I am not yet describing the people left behind in Inukjuak, but I am going to return to that.

I was made aware at that time, because I served as leader or mayor of Inukjuak for over 20 years, and I was one of the ones most informed about the problems that the adults of the relocatees were experiencing because I used to get letters occasionally. Those letters were a source of information for me about what was going on.

The adults of the group did not speak disparagingly of their new land, but there were two or three people, Philipoosie who was in Grise Fiord, who was the father-in-law of Nutaraq, Salluviniq and Johnny – these were the three individuals who sent letters most often.

At the same time in Inukjuak the wildlife resources seemed to be getting much more plentiful and much more readily accessible to the people who lived in the Inukjuak area. Although previous years wildlife resources were not always so plentiful in the area, we felt that – yes, they felt that they had a longing for their relatives and their original surroundings. I told them in reply that, yes, wildlife resources are getting more plentiful and if you could return you would notice that it is easier to make a living here than it was previously.

The people that I am referring to never wrote down absolutely everything that was on their minds, so I do not know every burden that they were experiencing. But I know the main ones. For example, they were anticipating

anxiously the option of being able to harvest wildlife. They enjoyed doing that, as I did. None of them were ever sitting around at home doing nothing.

Then, it turned out that very soon after they established themselves in the new communities in the High Arctic they started being imposed with restrictions on harvest of wildlife. This had a very adverse affect on the adults. Then, after many years elapsed and the people who wanted to return attempted to return but were told they could not do so and they were discouraged from returning. This weakened their mental condition.

Perhaps there was a snag, or they had hit a snag. Perhaps use the analogy of a rope snagged on something and it was only by cutting the rope that the snag would be released. So, it seemed like they were hackled by something that was preventing them from making progress. Sometimes, if we are not able to cut the rope, we lose what is tied down. They were saddled with this problem and it had a very adverse and non-beneficial effect on their lives.

Now, for those who were left behind in Inukjuak, some of them were also affected adversely but not as much as what was going on in the High Arctic, considering the same factors.

Now, the adults that are in Inukjuak had the freedom to use the wildlife resources. They were in Inukjuak. They recognized all of the features of the land and what was in it. There was nothing impeding them from carrying on with life. They were saddled with a different set of factors. The main thing on their minds was separation from family members. What weighed heavily on their minds was: When am I ever going to see my relatives again? Would it be after the two years that were mentioned?

They knew that their relatives were going to come back after two years and, perhaps, what weighed heavily on their minds was: Maybe some of our relatives would not want to return. I was one of those.

These are my cousins and nephews and aunts, the people that were relocated. As my mind matured and as I became an adult myself my mind was concentrated on the circumstances, that these are relatives in the High Arctic were experiencing. I, myself, when I became an adult, became saddled with the same burdens that the adults were experiencing.

I know I am carrying on a bit too long here, but I have to say what I have to say.

For those who were left behind in Inukjuak, their biggest concern was longing for family, longing for family members. When their certain family members did not make it back, their physical wellbeing was affected. They were weakened by the people, their cousins. The adults were related to numerous people of their generation back in Inukjuak.

Now, even though this was going on, they tried to be strong. I don't think anybody ever deliberately set out to break down, although there were many problems caused by the relocation to the High Arctic. I thought we should try to be seeking out solutions to the problems caused by the relocation. I wanted to find out how these people were treated in their exile, to try to find solutions to the problems caused by it.

Now, we know that they are emboldened now to describe their experience of relocation. I am glad they are doing it.

The second point I want to make here, I am trying to describe the effects it had on the elders. If you want to ask questions about that later, I can try to answer them. But, the second point is about the independence of these people.

The people that were relocated were very young. They were young adults newly married and they were quite capable. When they set out to the High Arctic as young adults, when they eventually returned they came back with no more than a suitcase in their hands – nothing more than a suitcase. They left behind all of their essential belongings. They came back with only one suitcase, perhaps a change of trousers or a change of clothing, perhaps containing some papers. Some of them came back under these circumstances, not all of them, but some of them.

Their canoes, their snowmobiles, their sleds – essential equipment like that were left behind – their houses, their blankets. They paid for themselves. They paid for their children. They left behind their relatives and their attitude was, perhaps, if they could find some way, somehow to return the remainder of their family and belongings, perhaps a way could be found to do that. This returnee would have to be sheltered.

Now, the government said when they were going to relocate these people, “If you want to return after two years, you are going to be able to do that and you are going to assisted fully on your return, on your efforts to return.” For those returnees, some of them were returned by their employers, their airfare was covered by their employers. Some people have returned through that area, through that route or through those means.

We had to tackle these problems because many people who returned had absolutely nothing because they couldn’t bring their essential equipment.

Things are very expensive in the Arctic. Snowmobiles and equipment such as canoes are very expensive in the Arctic. Sometimes many of these people are simply ordinary people without any equipment and any means for a long time after their return. It seemed that the government was totally ignorant, totally unaware of the circumstances of these people.

But we from Inukjuak informed the government about the conditions of these people, that they should get help. We ourselves were not equipped or resourced to help these people because all we had were barely enough resources to look after the local people. We were not given any extra resources whatsoever to deal with the problems associated with the returnees. The relocation has many problems associated for both the relocatees themselves and for the people they left behind.

There is pain in the heart caused by this. It seems that we can’t just let it sit there, the pain. We have to try to tackle and come up with solutions.

These people who have returned with nothing from the High Arctic, when they returned on their own initiative because the government refused to have anything to do with them and refused to return them, they came back with a suitcase in their hands.

Before they actually started returning, because we knew eventually there was going to be returns, that before they returned we told the government to provide them with housing because we ourselves were getting inadequate housing for the Inukjuak population ourselves.

When we asked them to provide housing, it took us many years before any such thing was provided. There were many problems associated with the relocation. It’s not all smooth, and not only to the relocatees themselves. I am stating none of the people who returned went through anything smooth.

I also want to say that I had a cousin Jackoosie Iqaluk’s older brother who was also related to the people in the High Arctic, and I worked with him. But I personally had more dealings with him than anybody else. He was a

man who had a very pleasing disposition. There was nothing unpleasant about him. Both his younger brothers were up in the High Arctic, his sister, his nieces and nephews. It seemed that most of his relatives were up in the High Arctic and I was the only one who could really be near him.

Even then he also helped me and he helped guide me and advise me. Although most of his relatives were up in the High Arctic he never complained. He never once whined or complained about the fact that his relatives were all up in the High Arctic. Never having once complained, he eventually died.

For the relatives that he had departed from – upon his death we had to inform his relatives who were in the High Arctic. His death was quite sudden. In five minutes he had been well and five minutes later he was dead. Now we were going to have to inform his relatives, his brothers and sisters. All of his relatives were very far away. Although it is nothing strange to have people directly related to each other and experiencing a death in the family, it seemed that there was a deliberate effort to disrupt the family relations. People never saw each other again.

The government was responsible for this. The government relocated them and they should be responsible for solutions. They have to apologise for something at least. They should at least compensate the people for exchanging the major pieces of equipment they had to leave behind, their canoes, their rifles, their sleds – this kind of equipment. Their housing that they left behind cannot really be taken out, which is unfortunate.

If the government does not compensate for the loss of these things, the government is not in the truth. They should also consider the disruption in their lives and compensate them for the disruption and broken lives that has resulted. The government should be sincere about issuing an apology.

I am glad that it's finally getting some attention while we are able to speak about it. This is the main thing that you have had to hear because it affects not only the High Arctic, but relatives that were left behind.

If there is a question about that, I am trying to be brief about it.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] I am going to ask a question later, but Lizzie will be the next speaker.

**LIZZIE AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] Lazarusie Epoo is my uncle who has spoken about returning and being in the High Arctic. I have been returned to Inukjuak. I am Lizzie Amagoalik.

While he was on the subject of returning, we returned in 1979, my husband and my children. My children were very reluctant for the return because they never grew up in Inukjuak, but we sort of forced them to agree to it because they were our children. Although they did not grow up there, we had to take them back when we went back.

My husband wanted to return. He had to go back to see his aunt because his aunt had returned to Inukjuak, and we all had to – I had to follow him because we are a married couple.

I was deeply touched with pain when I had to separate with my mother who was still in the High Arctic.

When my husband and I started discussing our possible return, my husband consulted with a government official. He wanted them to pay for the return. He wanted the government to pay for our return. He asked a government official working out of Yellowknife.

Then, when he inquired, he called him to our home and asked him about

An additional challenge to the efforts to return to Inukjuak after more than two decades in the High Arctic, what has become known as the “second exodus” or second exile. The return to Inukjuak resulted in the further disruption to families through a secondary separation between the High Arctic and Inukjuak. Those returning to Inukjuak once again left family behind in the High Arctic, including many children who were born in the High Arctic and who did not know Inukjuak, or any of the family there. Larry Audlaluk explains the internal struggle between wanting to return home and wanting to remain in Grise Fiord with his children in *What I Remember, What I Know*.

this. He was told, "No, you cannot. You cannot do this." He even wanted to see what sort of pocket money Jaybeddie had. That is how he refused outright to assist in any way. He even told Jaybeddie, "Now, you carve and earn the money to pay for your return."

Then, my mother's recounting of how the government had promised to return us became a pain in my heart. My husband was told that, and so he started carving to save money for airfare. There was me, my husband, my three sons – anyway, we were a family of seven. Our return airfare was paid for – this is a family of seven with children – we paid for our return that way.

Then, when we returned, we returned to our cousins, our direct relatives, people that we grew up with. But they didn't recognize us. Then, there was a whole generation that had been born and grew up while we were up there, did not even know us. To them, we were strangers.

My uncle Lazarusie says there are burdens attached to all this. When we were preparing to go home, my youngest child, and because we were trying to travel light, we did not have any money to pay for any excess baggage, I packed a pillow into my suitcase for my youngest child, because if we had any excess baggage we would have to pay for it.

All my household articles, washing machine – we all wanted to stay clean, we never want to be in unclean conditions for long – all of my equipment I simply left all behind because we couldn't pay for it, and here I was having been relocated under government sponsorship.

We had to pack a change of clothes. We did not have anything to carry, a tea kettle, a cup, or any other accessories such as that because we had to restrict ourselves and not have any excess baggage.

Then, when we arrived we had to depend on the generosity and the help of the people there. We had to be provided with a small house. We were living in a very small house. We were simply inside, simply living inside.

It seemed that we should have been much better off because we had been sent to a land of plenty originally, remember?

The government official that my husband inquired to was David Gilday. He is in Yellowknife.

Then, we experienced another burden because our children did not grow up in Inukjuak and did not recognize anybody. They had a desire to go back to Resolute Bay, and here we were very poor. We didn't have any money. We experienced many dead-ends because my husband and I had no way to contact or get at the people who were responsible for the original relocation to try to seek solutions to our problems.

Our eldest child, his father saved up enough money to go back to Resolute Bay to go see his grandmother. Ever since the government originally relocated us it seems that everything is becoming more scarce. Because we try to work using what we know, and because our cousins and other relatives did not recognize us, because we spent so many years apart, and even though some of them were employed in well-paying jobs they cannot really relate to us because people call us, "You're not from Inukjuak." People tell us that because they never grew up with us. Sometimes arguments ensue.

Today, we have adequate housing, but there is nothing inside because we cannot get jobs there. Even today I have to scrounge around for some place to wash our clothing. I am not relying to you. I am relating an experience that I have experienced up to today.

I have never seen my parents, my younger sisters, my other siblings.

Another effect of returning to Inukjuak, where those who had remained were either no longer living or did not recognize returnees is here described by Lizzie Amagoalik, and is described in greater detail in *Iqqaumavara* (2011).

Sometimes I experience a thinking-in-circles experience. My cousins are at home in Inukjuak, contented, because we were under – originally, the government had done this to us. When are they ever going to help us? This has been going through my mind these days.

I have never heard of my friends and family for years. This is unacceptable. This is painful. My children are experiencing the same problems because they also have a longing to go back to where they grew up. My oldest child often tells me, “I wish I could go in front of government and convince them that I should be able to go and visit my grandmother.” This is what he often says. It should be possible. It should be facilitated for families to get together occasionally.

People, perhaps, are going to add to what I have just said, but that’s all I have to say for now.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Thank you. Jaybeddie, the floor is yours.

**JAYBEDDIE AMAGOALIK:** My name is Jaybeddie Amagoalik. I would like to make a supplementary to Lizzie’s comments. I will try and make it brief.

I would like to talk about the topic of going back to the country. In 1953, we were relocated. When we returned to Inukjuak, we went through very hard times when we returned for these reasons: due to lack of education. It is very hard to find jobs as an ordinary person without education, although when we are returning to our original home place.

When I was going back to Inukjuak from Resolute Bay some of my family I did not see them for well over 13 years. When I first thought of going back to Inukjuak, I wrote a letter to the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories. His name is John Parker, Commissioner Parker. He sent a government official, David Gilday.

John Parker stated in his letter, “For two years your airfare cannot be paid for when you are returning. I know you are capable of working and I know that you are capable of carving.”

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Do you have the letters, Jaybeddie?

**JAYBEDDIE AMAGOALIK:** I don’t have them with me. They are in Inukjuak.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** You have them at home?

**JAYBEDDIE AMAGOALIK:** Yes. The government official, David Gilday, went to Resolute Bay and interviewed me. He asked me,

“Do you have any money in your bank account? I have to know how much you have in the bank account.” I had to let him know that I had \$3,000, savings in my bank account. He asked me if I was selling my carvings to the Hudson’s Bay Company. He asked the Hudson’s Bay Company if they would be willing to buy my carvings. He said they cannot pay for airplane tickets to return.

In spite of all of this, at that time, I had enough money to pay for our plane tickets back. At that time, tickets were not that expensive as today. Therefore, we were able to return.

I am getting older and I am getting weaker. I am still getting pain and concern over being relocated, especially my wife. Mrs. Amagoalik has a mother who lives in Resolute Bay, and sisters, younger sisters. One of their younger sisters – some of their sisters are living in different communities, although they are living in Canada. They are spread all over Canada. One

The desire to be able to visit between Inukjuak and the High Arctic communities is an ongoing discussion of the compensation package which would help to reduce the burden of belonging to two places.

Jaybeddie is here referring to family remaining in Resolute Bay.



lives in Spence Bay. One lives in Sanikiluaq. One lives in Pond Inlet. One lives in Inukjuak. Some live in Resolute Bay. That is how it is.

I, myself, perhaps, I will just elaborate more. Upon my return to Inukjuak, I left two sons with a grandmother in Resolute Bay. I did not see them for 13 years since I returned. No wonder I am missing them.

Also upon my return to Inukjuak my sister was living at that time who had five children. When I heard that she had died I did not have enough money to go to the funeral, and I cannot forget that, although I really wanted to go to my sister's funeral, for my sister had five children. Her children were taken by the white people and one lives in Ottawa. Some live in Winnipeg. I think there are two other children living in Winnipeg. I did not see them for, perhaps, for 20 years.

These are one of the things that really had a great impact on me. I realize that. I feel as though they were stolen away from our family. I could have used them on my own, but they were taken by the Qallunaat people. It was like, "I'll take this one. I'll take this one." And some people would take that person. It was if they were properties. It seems like as if they were treated like properties. That would never have happened if we were never relocated.

When we returned to Inukjuak, I am now a grandfather. I have my relatives scattered all over the place and I cannot move from the village. I would really appreciate it if I could be paid to go see my relatives.

I was very happy to come here so that we could our relatives here, for I did not seen some of these people for many, many years.

As I said, I was going to make myself brief, so I will conclude for now. Thank you.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Thank you, Jaybeddie.

Lizzie, did you want to make a further comment?

**LIZZIE AMAGOALIK:** My comment is going to be very brief. This had a great impact on me. It made me depressed so badly that I become physically ill. It was too heavy on me. My older sister, Simeonie's wife, I really worry about her and I don't know how to go about seeing her. My sister is the oldest one and she is not very healthy. I constantly worry about here, so therefore I do not want you to take what I am saying lightly.

I wanted to say that because I have a great concern for her. I am very happy to see my older sister. I would love to be able to see my older sister with assistance of the government. With assistance of the government, I would like to go and see her. Thank you.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you, Lizzie.

Elisapee, the floor is yours.

**ELISAPEE NUTARAQ:** Can you hear me? My name is Elisapee Nutaraq who was relocated to Grise Fiord.

I did not make any comments. The people who were older than me, what they say is the honest truth.

When my parents were relocated, I would like to talk about my parents who have been relocated. My father was Philipoosie Novalinga who is now deceased. He died in 1987. My mother had died first, before my father. Her name was Annie Amagoalik. Both of them died in Grise Fiord.

When we were relocated, there were four of us from our house. I was a child at that time, so therefore I cannot really relate to what I can recall. I had a brother named Paulasee. My sister-in-law's previous husband, both

Elisapee Nutaraq was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Grise Fiord in 1953 at age 10

of them who died in Grise Fiord. I was the only family member who had returned to Inukjuak.

Seeing I was leaving, I left my family up in the High Arctic, although they were all buried in the High Arctic.

Also, I would like to make a point about what we talked about in 1953, the year when we relocated. I thought it was going to be impossible for me to talk about it. But I cannot really recall the years we were relocated.

But Lizzie and the rest are talking about returning to Inukjuak. I wanted to make a few comments about returning.

I grew up in Grise Fiord. I matured in Grise Fiord and was capable of working when I was old enough to work. So, I got a job because I was assisted. Although I am not educated, I was able to get a job.

When Inukjuak had received education facilities, that is the time we were relocated. When I returned my peers were all educated. For those who were not relocated, and I envy them for having a very good education. If they were relocated, they would not have an education like me because I'm not educated.

Although I am not educated, I worked and had a job in Grise Fiord which I really appreciated when I was still living in Grise Fiord. But in spite of all that, with my job, my husband and I had to follow them because they wanted to return to Inukjuak. I had no choice but to return with them. I didn't really feel like going back in some ways. I would just think about it, but I did not talk about it. If my husband and I were not married, I would have just stayed behind in the High Arctic in Grise Fiord instead of returning to Inukjuak. I thought Grise Fiord was the place of my homeland. I did not want to leave it.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Do you want to stop for now?

She will continue when she is able to. For now, we will go on to Jaypettie, the other Jaypettie Amagoalik. There are two Jaybeddie Amagoalik.

Jaypettie, if you want to make a comment, go ahead.

**JAYPETTIE AMARUALIK:** My name is Jaypettie Amarualik from Pond Inlet. I would like to talk about our relocation and returning. I have few comments to make about this topic.

The people who were relocated with me, the people from Inukjuak, had missed – I did not have anything, like traditional food. I did not grow up eating what they ate, so I did not yearn for food, since I'm from Pond Inlet because I never knew what they ate, or what kind of staples they had on the High Arctic.

Every spring, I knew a little bit about the land. In wintertime when it gets dark, I was able to travel by dog team in the dark, when I had a dog team. However, I wanted to return to Pond Inlet because I was yearning for a staple up there which was mostly mammals, not migrating birds.

When we left further on, I left one of my children. When I returned to Resolute Bay, my wife wanted to return to Pond Inlet constantly. There were other people who wanted to return, but they were denied. I could not do anything or say anything about it. When my wife had died, I looked for people whom I could approach to ask whether I could return back to Pond Inlet. I looked for a white person so that I could talk to them about returning.

When we got a social worker, I approached the social worker about me

wanting to return. I was told some people who returned from Grise Fiord, and they returned back to Grise Fiord. I was told that I will get homesick to Resolute Bay. So I was denied.

Then, I started wondering where I can get some money to return with. I don't think I will want to go to Resolute, back to Resolute when I return to Pond Inlet. I was told to pay my own plane fare, and I was told that they cannot assist me with my plane ticket. But they were able to help me with grocery money on welfare.

I had recently caught a polar bear and I got money for the polar bear skin. I had five children. So I was able to pay the plane ticket, plus myself, then we returned to Pond Inlet.

I wanted to get close to Pond Inlet. I didn't mind if I was dropped in Arctic Bay so I could get to Pond Inlet. I was told if I want to go to Igloolik, I could have drive my ski-doo to Igloolik.

My mother had sisters living in Igloolik and they have relatives, three nephews, living in Igloolik. I did not go with them. I don't know how they are. They really don't know whether we are related or not.

This is the case. When I returned, I had just my children. I had no wife. When I returned, my children did not know anybody in Pond Inlet and they did not know their peers. Their peers living in Pond Inlet thought they were strangers. My son, who had been able to go out hunting and buy a ski-doo, but my son did not know the land of Pond Inlet. This was quite bad, and this was a problem when we returned. We were not able to get close to our peers. That's how it was upon my return.

I know there is a little difference between us here. They yearn for fish and people from Inukjuak. They yearn for migrating birds. They are telling you the truth. They are not the same kind of game animals up there.

I will conclude for now. Thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you. Elisapee did not finish, so I will give the floor to her. Once she is done, after Johnny Epoo makes his comments, I will have questions to ask.

At 11 we will start our in camera session.

For those who would like to speak to the Royal Commission before we go into our in camera session, we will speak about this.

Elisapee.

**ELISAPEE NUTARAQ:** My name is Elisapee Nutaraq. I now live in Inukjuak. I have never attended such a meeting like this and I want to make myself clear.

I am sorry if I am not making myself clear. Perhaps if I attend more meetings such as this, I will be a better speaker.

As I was saying, we were planning to go back home from Grise Fiord and the people I grew up with – I had to leave the people who I grew up with and it was quite heavy on me.

My sister-in-law, Anna, Anna's daughters we left behind up there and her children whom we loved. We left our loved ones. It was very, very heavy going back from Grise Fiord to Inukjuak.

I am just making this brief, although I have so many things to say, but since we are pressed for time I also wanted to point out to you about the fact about return to Inukjuak. Although I have a lot of relatives, I did not

Some who returned to Inukjuak from Grise Fiord in the 1970s and 1980s found it difficult to live in Inukjuak and returned to live in Grise Fiord. This is discussed in greater detail in *Iqqaumavara* (2011).

Jaypettie is here describing the logistical and financial challenges of moving in the High Arctic. The challenges of transporting belongings, and particularly equipment, is discussed in detail in the appendices to the SCAA meetings in 1990.

know my relatives. But I heard that I had lots of relatives there, and cousins. I knew that I had cousins living in Inukjuak and I knew that I had aunts. My father's nieces and nephews lived in Inukjuak, but I heard about those, but I have never seen them.

Upon my return it was if we were not related. Lazarusie Epoo and his wife were very supportive to us. Even up to today, they are very supportive. So I appreciate them very much for that.

Although we returned to our relatives, we never knew our relatives living in Inukjuak. Upon our return, I am starting to get to know my relatives, even up to today, in Inukjuak. I am still learning of who my relatives are.

As it turns out, we left a lot of relatives living in Inukjuak, and this was governed by the government. The government was responsible for those and this had caused a lot of problems and distress.

At this time I have children who grew up in Grise Fiord. They miss their friends living in Grise Fiord. They really miss their friends living in Grise Fiord. They cannot afford to visit friends living in Grise Fiord, friends and family living in Grise Fiord. I want you to know that I remember that.

Not every year, they should be assisted in going to visit their relatives and family and friends living in the High Arctic. Missing and yearning for relatives, it's so hard. It's very heavy for me today. When the people we left in 1988 we really miss them. I yearn for the people we had missed. Sometimes I pace around the house missing the people we left and I want the government to remember this.

I will conclude. I know there are a lot of people who would like to make a comment and we are pressed for time. Thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you, Elisapee. Johnny Epoo.

I am asking the people in the back to please sit down and settle down. Just try and keep it low. Thank you.

Johnny Epoo.

**JOHNNY EPOO:** Thank you. I am here on behalf of the mayor of Inukjuak – my name is Johnny Epoo – since he could not come.

One of the main points I am here, or the reason why I am here, is on behalf of the services we provide to the village or the community. Since the village – municipal counsellor, the people who were relocated, although they were supposed to be returned, when they finally returned nobody even paid attention to them. They never even helped them, although we wanted to give them appropriate housing. But our housing was not appropriate, although we wanted to help them in every way we can. It is impossible to help them out in every way, for we lack in services, housing shortage, too. The funding we receive from the Quebec government, there is no other funding we receive from Quebec government, other than Quebec government, even up to today.

The government who were responsible for the relocation should be responsible for the return. They should be assisting the people who have returned to the homeland. They should be assisted by the government who had relocated them.

I wanted you to know this and be made aware of this.

The social services are very much in the same boat as the municipal services, not just for the people living in the High Arctic, there are people coming to Inukjuak from different communities. Inukjuak is growing in

Johnny Epoo was born in Inukjuak and remained there following the relocations. He is considered one of the "left behind"

population. They don't pay attention to all these, the population and some people who were relocated have returned to our community. I know that it is not on purpose.

It is not on purpose the way we are trying to support them, since the government is so slow. The Quebec government is so slow every time we try to get funding. The social services, and the workers and the police and the nurses, and these kind of services, the federal government is responsible for these services and these services have never been increased.

I have quite a few things to say, but some of them have already been covered here, and we are pressed for time. Therefore, I do not wish to take too long.

However, the younger people who are adults who have recognized the people who have returned, there was no problem between us for those of us who knew each other when the people had returned from being relocated. But our grandchildren and the younger people did not recognize each other and they did not know each other for quite some time.

Also, even some did not sleep all night and they just paced around, and just walked around. They did not understand each other. They were telling the people who had returned that they were not from that region, and all of us have gone through a hard time with this. For those of us who were not relocated, we are trying to give them support their return.

In spite of all these problems that were encountered, our children and their children have to be helped by the police. This would never have been the case if they were never were relocated and we had Inuk policemen.

Although they did not spend their life living in Inukjuak, the policemen did not want to arrest some people, arrest the children of the people who have been relocated, but they had no choice. A lot of these problems had surfaced, although we are living in harmony with them for we know them, but our children and their children did not know each other. That is why a lot of problems had surfaced and they did not know the fact that they were related to each other. They did not even know the fact that they were related with each other.

Even us adults and them did not have a very good communication system when they were living up there. So therefore a lot of problems had arose. The communication system was inadequate so therefore we were unable to keep in touch with each other and a lot of people living in Inukjuak did not know the people who were relocated when they returned.

This is self-explanatory. However, I want to make one point. When I was going to school at the age of 15 they were relocated. When we first had our teacher in Inukjuak for the first time, I have –

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] What was the name of the teachers?

**JOHNNY EPOO:** I have seen documents and I have heard from them, from the people of Inukjuak. The very first teacher I heard that they did not get another teacher, but this is entirely untrue. When the first teacher arrived, and when they left, their education system had continued.

I heard that when the teacher left there was no other replacement teacher, so therefore the people living in Inukjuak, education had deteriorated. But this is entirely untrue.

I have not too much to say. You can see the letter in English. I have given

them to Jaybeddie. So, therefore, you can see the document that I talked about. Thank you.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you, Johnny. I wanted to ask questions, but there are a few people who would like to make a comment before I do ask questions.

I will ask them to speak out. I do have some questions, but perhaps after lunch...

Samwillie will go after.

**SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** I was relocated to Grise Fiord in 1953. The things that I am going to mention are the fact that we returned to Inukjuak.

As Elisapee was saying, in regards to the return and our request to return they did not agree to our request. They did not say that we did not want to go back, but our request to be returned to Inukjuak, as I said yesterday, for two hours, *C.D. Howe* used to be in the community for two hours and the police used to supervise us while we were there just to make sure that we did not make any bad – he used to tell us that our community is really nice. He said, “Do not complain about this new location to anyone on the *C.D. Howe*.” The person that we referred to as Sergeant in 1953, he was up there in 1953, you can find out exactly what his name was on the records. He was really against our returning back to Inukjuak. He used to make – he used to dictate to us all the time. That is the way he was.

Another thing that I would like to mention is the fact that we were refused our request to return. These have complicated a lot of things. As Johnny was talking about, upon our return a lot of things were different. Our parents, when they died, when they were no longer there, since they were no longer there, my sister Anna, my older brother, those we returned without our mother because she had died. It was getting very hard for us to stay up there when our mother had died and Elizabeth’s mother had died. But our younger brother Larry did not want to move. We thought they were just going to go with us when we returned. But he did not want to leave behind his homeland, where he grew up.

They are going through the same things as we have gone through. Our parents were never granted their wish. Now, when we were able to afford it on our own, we returned to Inukjuak.

Today, as I have been told, I’m not going to mention names, but a young person had said, “What am I? I don’t know my relatives. I don’t have a grandmother here. What am I? I don’t know my relatives. Maybe I should just kill myself.” A young person had said that to me. But I told that certain person, “You shouldn’t do that. Try to live as much as you can.” The reply was, “I don’t have any relatives. I don’t want to live any more.” One of the young people has said that to me.

I would like to make clear that the homeland of the Inuit is very small. Montreal is a big city. Ottawa is a big city. They can’t recognize each other. They don’t even know who lives where and they cannot say, “You are from that community, or from that certain place.” I even got a letter in regards to that one. Anyone in Inuk –

As Johnny was saying, the young people are saying, “You’re from that certain place.” Because we all know each other, we know where we’re from.

Another thing I want to make clear is my parents went through a hard time. They were worried; they were concerned. We, the younger generation,

have been touched. And our children are going through the hardships again.

Whose fault is it? We know. We can state that it was because of the issue of sovereignty. A lot of Inuit are affected.

The government had, in their minds, even if they die, as long as they have graves there, and we have gone through a very hard time.

Our request to return, broken promises, those have to be solved, fulfilled.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Simeonie Amagoalik.

**SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** My name is Simeonie Amagoalik. In regard to the problem of return and the problems associated, I want to make a brief statement.

It has been said that when we were relocated to the High Arctic there was a lot of weeping and crying amongst the Inuit, our cousins, our brothers. When our brothers and cousins returned back to their original homeland, there is also a lot of crying because we cannot all make it at once back to our original home.

My brother Jaybeddie said that he had to leave some of his sons behind because returning has such an expense associated to it. When our relatives started returning, they saved up their own money. We buy some of their equipment, trying to put help them put together the money to finance their return. We buy some of their stuff, their equipment, to help them finance their return.

So, our relatives return – departs from us and our pocket money goes with them. Being departed from by family members is a very heavy burden. There is absolutely no consideration given to the fact that the people who are left behind are also suffering the effects of their family, relatives, returning. We are made poor financially, plus we are made poor family relations-wise.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you, Simeonie. Markoosie Patsauq.

**MARKOOSIE PATSAUQ:** About the equipment, we left behind a lot of our equipment, for those of us who did return. In 1988, we had a meeting to determine what exactly we left behind. We did research on this and had a substantial meeting because many people left behind a very large number of things. We want to make a claim about these to the government. We still have not gotten any results from the government.

This involves not a great number of people, but I have the written affidavits here about the equipment that they catalogued that they left behind. For example, myself, I had to leave behind a lot of equipment when I made my own return. When I catalogued them and listed the prices, I myself had lost about \$8,000 worth of equipment I had to leave behind.

So, when we returned, our equipment and goods, we have to leave them behind. When we returned, we returned to basically nothing because we leave all of our means of livelihood back in the High Arctic.

Samwillie Elijasialuk has made a claim of \$14,000. My late father has a claim of \$11,000. There are several others.

Joseph Idlout, Jaybeddie Amagoalik, Jackoosie Iqaluk, and they are individual claims, I would like to give these to the Commission for their information. This catalogues part of the stuff that we have left behind.

We will maintain our position because we were relocated and when we returned we become a lot poorer. We are going to insist on maintaining pressure on government to compensate us for the equipment we left behind. Thank you.

The catalogue of equipment left behind in the High Arctic makes up Annex 10 of the appendices to the position paper submitted to the SCAA. The cataloguing of personal losses was an important aspect of the work done by Makivik and ITC in 1986/1987.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Yes, you are going to give it the Commissioners.

Allie, you wanted to speak on this issue?

**ALLIE SALLUVINIQ:** I am Allie Salluviniq, originally from Inukjuak, now living in Resolute Bay.

I would like to, first of all, talk about buying. Resolute Bay mayor wanted me to take my hat off, but I said no because I wanted to use it as an example because the label on the hat signifies that the High Arctic is now open for business, and we had a hand in establishing it.

I want to thank the Commissioners for giving us the opportunity to speak.

To return to the subject about buying of equipment, when our relatives returned to their original homeland, for example, my namesake, who is the father of Markoosie Patsauq, they raised their own money by carving with their hands. Because their own source of financing was too inadequate, they sold their equipment. I, myself, bought equipment off of them to help them finance their return. My namesake, who was Markoosie Patsauq's father, his wife said when I mentioned that I wanted to buy equipment, she said, "But it's very expensive. The price is very high." I told her, "It's okay. I am trying to help you." I wanted to mention this.

I would like to say something further later on, but that's it for now.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** We are going to have a closed meeting starting at 11. Perhaps Mr Erasmus wants to make a statement on this.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** I think we will have a short break now. What we will do is when we return we will go into in camera. We will not be using the equipment. We will be asking everyone to leave that are not witnesses and relatives and friends of the people who are going to be making the presentations to us.

The observers from the public and the media and so forth, we will be asking to leave for now.

We are hoping to begin again the public session at 2 o'clock. During this particular break, between 11 and 2, we will try to have both the in camera session and also try to have enough time to have a lunch break before we return at 2 o'clock.

I think what we will do right now is before we start the in camera meeting we will have a small break, allow people to leave, stretch and have refreshments and so forth. In a few minutes, five or ten minutes, we will resume with an in camera meeting.

— Luncheon recess at 11 a.m.

— Upon resuming at 2:45 p.m.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** We are going to resume the public hearings aspect that we had left off at around 11 o'clock. We will go through now until we are finished. We expect what remains of this afternoon will be sufficient to finish the public portion of our hearings.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you, Mr. Erasmus. First, I want to tell the witnesses, so I will speak in Inuktitut –

[Translation] The remaining people who haven't spoken yet, you can have a chance to speak. Even those who have come up and presented their testimony, you still will have a chance, if you wish.

The agenda item for discussion during the in camera session is not publicly available.



Would the remaining people who haven't presented their testimonies give me their names through Markoosie because sometimes I don't know who wishes to speak, so it is better if you tell me, whoever wants to be heard.

[English] I was saying that if they wish to speak, they should come forward and present their name to me and I will introduce them to the Commission. Everybody is welcome to speak here.

Our first speaker is going to be Markoosie Patsauq. He would like to talk a little bit more about the letters and some of the incidents related to the letters.

[Translation] In regard to the letters that you found, could you clarify that further, or elaborate on that?

**MARKOOSIE PATSAUQ:** The thing I mentioned about the letters, we used to want to communicate with our relatives and to let them know how we were. The only means of communication was by letters with our relatives. I wrote a letter to a friend of mine, to my cousin in Inukjuak, and I gave that letter to the police. Everything that had to be sent out had to go through the police officer.

One incident, I gave my letter to the police officer, on the following day when I went to the dump, I say them, they had been torn up and I recognized the letter. Right away, when I found the letter, I brought that torn up letter to the police officer, which I found in the garbage dump. Then, I had heard that that had happened to the other people, and it had happened to me, too, because the letter I had tried to send had been torn up and thrown in the garbage. As I said earlier, it was split in two – it was torn in two. I recognized the envelope and the letter. So, I went to the police officer and asked him why they were thrown in the garbage, which I gave you yesterday, I said that to the officer. His response was, "Maybe I dropped them. Maybe when I dropped them, the cleaning lady threw it away in the garbage." That is all he said. That was the answer he gave me.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Who was the letter to?

**MARKOOSIE PATSAUQ:** It was a letter to Abellie Echallook, my cousin in Inukjuak. I gave that letter to Doug Moody, the RCMP officer.

Before that, back in 1953, we were relocated and the following year I went away to the hospital. In the hospital I used to get letters maybe at least once a month. I used to receive letters from my parents. In some letters he indicated, "Did you receive the money I sent you?" He had asked me that in his letters. For almost three years, I was in the hospital. A lot of times in his letter he asked me if I had received the money that he sent me. Sometimes, there used to be \$2, sometimes \$6. Some of them used to get to me. That was not many times that I got the money through the mail.

I think there were four or five times that when my father wrote me and he asked me in his letters whether I got the money or not, that he had sent previously. I know – I think the money he tried to send me was stolen four or five times. The police officer was Ross Gibson. I am sure he was given those letters.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] I have one question. The other people that tried to send letters, do you have any idea who the people were who found torn up letters? Do any of you remember who else had found letters that were in the garbage dump?

**MARKOOSIE PATSAUQ:** I know of Samwillie. I don't know of any other people.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** When you received these letters, did you ever receive a cheque in there that might have replaced any money that was taken?

**MARKOOSIE PATSAUQ:** There was no cheques. In fact, cheques did not exist in those days in the Arctic.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Thank you.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Samwillie.

**SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** I will start over. I have found letters which I should talk about.

In 1957, I went to Resolute Bay with Bob Pilot by dog team. The officer in Resolute Bay was Doug Moody. I waited in Resolute for over a month. They were gone for a month on their vacation. While I was waiting for them to come back, I found letters in the garbage dump. That letter that I had written, I brought them with me to Resolute, and I was on that trip to Resolute Bay. Back then, there were no airplanes. The only means of transporting the letters from Grise Fiord to Resolute was by dog team. My mother had written a letter and sent pictures.

Doug Moody was RCMP Constable at Pond Inlet in 1952 and transferred to Resolute Bay in 1958

We brought those letters to Resolute Bay by dog team. While I was in Resolute Bay we were scrounging the garbage dump looking for some wood. I recognized an envelope which was torn up. I recognized a picture. They were torn up into small pieces. I was hurt in my heart and I could just imagine my mother who had written a letter and when I found that letter I did not save that letter because they were all torn up to small pieces, although the picture was not into small pieces, but still they were torn up. I didn't save them.

In another incident, there used to be letters opened up. I remember when the ship came, as I said, when my mother got a letter she cried, saying that my father had died. The letter had been opened up and read.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Samwillie, can you recall exactly what was said in the letters?

**SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** [Translation] Marjorie Hinds, the teacher, one time in 1953 said that this place is quite good, so you should come up here.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] I wonder if any of you would clarify what the letters contained.

**SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** [Translation] We did not receive the letters regularly. Sometimes only when the ship came did we receive letters. We have been saying that we didn't write positively about the place. Are we put here to starve? Because we were in a pretty desolate place. So, we couldn't write positively about the place. All we could say was, "We are lacking." That is the only thing we could have said. Did I answer your question?

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] You answered it okay. Would anyone else like to add Simeonie regarding the letter writing? Perhaps Elisapee.

**ELISAPEE NUTARAQ:** [Translation] I will speak. It is not concerning myself but my father's writing of letters. When we went there in 1955 he used to write every month, '55, '56, '57, '58 and '60. In these years, he used to write monthly. He did not get answers. He didn't know where his letters went. That's how it was.

He would ask the officer referred to, Ross Gibson, "Did you send the letters?", since he didn't get the answers. The officer would reply, "Yes, I did send them. They are probably in Ottawa by now." That is all he answered.

He had written a letter and he did not receive any answer. He write the next month trying to hear from his brothers. That is what I know.

Then, in 1961, '62 I think that is when he got his first reply. That is what I remember. That is how it was with my father.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you, Elisapee. Lazarusie, I would like to ask you, you mentioned earlier about receiving letters this morning. I wanted to ask, the letters that you received, are they still in existence, and what did the letters contain that were received from the High Arctic? Can you please try and explain?

**LAZARUSIE EPOO:** Yes. We did not receive letters regularly. They were the only means of communication. Perhaps in some years we did not receive any letters. Perhaps it was once a year. It was not very regular. It was from the elderly people that I received letters from. From my peers, we would receive recorded tapes and letters from them. They were not complaining about the place they were. They would talk about the animals, how it was dark. They would talk about the more positive things, the younger ones. But the elderly people would talk about their problems more.

I was later in Inukjuak and I received letters then.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] In which years; can you specify which years?

**LAZARUSIE EPOO:** [Translation] Around 1967, '70. The writing of letters stopped when we started receiving telephones. The letter writing was replaced by telephones. I may have saved some letters, but I cannot say I saved all of them. I may still have some of those letters at home.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Do you remember the letters written in 1957, or the letters written from 1953?

**LAZARUSIE EPOO:** [Translation] We remember, but before the relocation took place, they were talking a positive place that was to be the destination.

In 1953 to 55, in between, I have not received a letter personally. It was around 1956, near '60, I think a recorded tape was the first thing I received. It was just to let the others know back home, maybe they recorded these tapes when they had their shelters, when they had their houses. They did not mention any lack of shelter. That was directed to me. The tape was directed to me.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:**[Translation] Thank you, Lazarusie.

Do you have any questions in regard to the letters, or is it pretty well covered?

You wanted to speak to the subject, or Elisapee, did you want to say something on another subject, if the others have finished?

**MINNIE NUNGAQ:** [Translation] If the others have finished, we want to

Minnie Nungaq was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1955 at age 5

speak as survivors.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] The subject is pretty well clear. Samwillie, do you have something you want to add?

**SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** [Translation] No, it seems pretty clear now that when we landed in Grise Fiord, there were no shelters, no proper shelters, because there was nothing, nothing to build or make a box, no wood. I might not be speaking as much while we are here.

I wrote a document last year in July 1992. I wrote this document around June. I received a reply to that document. I tried to mention that I was from Grise Fiord. However, the response that I received, or the letter that I received, said you were from Resolute, and the letter said that I was from Resolute. The government letter. There is no date on it. I would like for the Commission to read this.

I am happy to have a chance to speak here.

I was not satisfied with the response. They said that I was from Resolute Bay.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] You were in the Armed Forces?

**SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** No, I was not. I was not dropped off in Resolute; it was in Grise Fiord instead. So I will hand this to the Commission. That is all I want to say. Thank you.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Go ahead and pass it to the Commission.

I wanted to ask maybe Simeonie or one of you can respond, or Lazarusie, just step back there.

Before 1953, the relocations we have heard stories about, relocations taking place concerning other Inuit before 1953, or in 1953. Simeonie?

**SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] My name is Simeonie Amagoalik. We first arrived there, we started realizing that there were other people relocated from Cape Dorset, were moved to Spence Bay. We thought, when they said that they were going to relocate us, we didn't expect that kind of a relocation. We were told that we could come back home after two years after relocation because Inukjuak people had boats. They had Peterheads and they lived in different places, different outpost camps outside of the settlements. When they got back to the settlements, they had lots of fox pelts and they were able to buy some boats, and they went back to their outpost camp to collect their furs again.

We expected to live like that when we were relocated. We didn't know that we were going to move there permanently. We figured that we would be home in a few years, in a couple of years. That is how it was.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Thank you. I understand. I think we are now ready to speak to the people who are survivors. Please introduce yourself prior to your presentation.

**MINNIE NUNGAQ:** [Translation] I just want to point out some things I remember. My father was not able to attend the hearing.

My name in Minnie Nungaq. My mother did not want to hear bad things. They followed my father's older brother. My father followed them. I remem-

There were many other relocations that took place throughout the Arctic, and particularly the Eastern Arctic during the 1950s. Some of these relocations were over relatively short distances (e.g. across or within Hudson Bay) or were temporary. Others were specific to wage employment (e.g. Churchill and Kuujuaq). One of the most devastating was the relocations of the Ahlarmiut, who were relocated five times between 1950 and 1960 from Ennadai Lake. The government's first major relocation was from Kinngait to Dundas Harbour on Devon Island in 1934 and later to Arctic Bay in 1936 and Fort Ross in 1937 before the series of relocations ended in 1948 with relocation to either Taloyoak (Spence Bay) or returning to Arctic Bay. This series of relocations is referenced by Inspector Henry Larsen in his April 1953 telegram relating to the promise of return to Inukjuak within 2 years. Relocation was phased out by the 1960s. For further reading, see Tester and Kulchyski (1994) and Qikiqtani Truth Commission (2015).

ber my mother was very depressed and not happy, and now she cannot be here.

My parents went back to Inukjuak, and they left all of their children in the High Arctic. The only child is Inukjuak and he is 23 years old now. He does not want to see Inukjuak, but he is there and the oldest son lives in Montreal, who has recently moved to Yellowknife. I think there is only four of us who are now living in Resolute Bay.

I can't think of any other place to go to, so I am living up there being supportive to my relatives. As long as I can remember, my mother had lived up there in a very depressed state. Although I really don't like living up there because it is dark 24 hours a day, it is very cold, extremely cold, and even my children do not wish to live up there, where not too many people live up there and we don't know any other place to go to. Therefore, we are just remaining there.

I wanted to hear my father talk about his troubles, but he has troubles so much. He had a stroke twice. No wonder a lot of people have started abusing alcohol. Even my brother was killed due to alcohol when they were drinking.

The sister, one of the sisters killed themselves, and one of them was shot. I can only talk – not live up there for a long time because I wanted to live there. Therefore, I didn't live there for so long, so therefore I had to move. I couldn't hack living up there, so I cannot talk too much about it for a long time. It is very hard in my memory to talk about.

I will tell you again, I just want you to know about the fact that my father was invited by his older brother and when he moved up there he was very depressed. Even up to today, he cannot adapt. His grandchildren say that when they get older, because they turn to bad things due to depression, he doesn't really mind about these.

I just want you to know of the struggles we had to endure up in the High Arctic. I will complete for now.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Thank you, Minnie. There are young people here. Please be aware of the fact that there are some children who were born in Resolute and Grise Fiord. The younger generation from the original people that were relocated. Who is next?

**ALLIE SALLUVINIQ:** I would like to talk a little bit about the tuberculosis disease. Most of us who had TB were responded to by the government. They recently responded saying, "Yes, it's true." Most of all the people who were relocated to the High Arctic had TB, but Markoosie Patsauq, they already knew that Markoosie Patsauq had TB prior to the relocation, and he was spitting blood. When we were being relocated, he had to follow for his parents were being relocated.

When we were living up there most of all of us had caught the TB disease. My mother was dead. I did not have a mother for over five years. Then my mother had died.

I was the eldest of seven of us kids. I had to take care of my younger brother who now lives in Pond Inlet. I would abuse him. I just recently found out and was told that I had missed my mother so much I had to be responsible for my younger brother, and we were hungry, we were cold because my father would be out hunting looking for food.

I would hurt him physically. I found out that I did it not on purpose. Just

last month I called him on the phone. I cried to him and explained to him why I did those things because I was hurting inside. Perhaps I will speak in English because I would like you to understand.

I asked him if he could forgive me for the way I used to treat him.

Without realizing they were my relatives, I would ask them their name, and we told them who we were and then we finally realized that, in fact, we were relatives. I really want to find out who were my relatives, and I see them for the first time. Jaybeddie Amagoalik, now living in Inukjuak, who was relocated to Resolute Bay had grown up with me.

Back then it seemed like we were smiling artificially and when we first saw each other when we came to Ottawa we embraced and cried and said that he was my long lost uncle.

I will stop for now.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Thank you. Please make your presentation.

**ELIZABETH ALLAKARIALLAK:** Co-Chairman, and members of the committee. My name is Elizabeth Allakariallak. The group of people you have been listening to has been referred to as the "High Arctic exiles". I prefer to think of myself as a survivor, a survivor of a vicious, cruel, human experiment by an uncaring federal government bureaucracy; a survivor of screaming winds, empty stomachs and life in a Polar desert; a survivor of a government so racist that it refused to recognize my name and gave me a number.

Elizabeth Allakariallak was born in Resolute Bay in 1957

I suppose it is easier to experiment on creatures with numbers than to recognize that we were humans with names and feelings. Other people will tell you of the lies and deceit used to move our parents to Resolute Bay. I want to tell you about the suffering of the children thrust into a cold-blooded experiment to test the survival of adults.

In the 10 years from 1953 to 1962 I was one of the approximately 27 female babies born to Resolute families. Of those 27 babies who could be mothers in our community today, one-third have died and one-third moved away. With a 33 per cent rate in my birth decade you can understand why I call myself a survivor.

For the male children the death rate is now 27 per cent. Over one-quarter of them have died.

I was born in a small shack built near the beach from scrap wood. There was no doctor or nurse present. As a young girl, I carried water to that shack for my mother.

I remember the excitement of waiting for oranges found in the army garbage to thaw beside our neighbours stove.

Mainly I remember being cold, going to sleep frigid and waking to another cold day.

When I was six, I began walking over a kilometre to school to learn English. For eight years, the teachers called me stupid, but I am short-sighted and couldn't see to the front of the classroom until I got glasses at 14.

My mother and sisters taught me our Inuit language. My father gave me deep belief in God, in spite of being taken to hospital in Edmonton when I was 10. He was there for three years and passed away after returning home.

I went to residential school to take grade 9 but left at the Christmas break to take a job to help support my parents.

My father was ill. I was 15 years old working full-time working at the Co-op store. I have been working full-time since then paying taxes for 20 years to a government that did not consider me suitable for a name.

I often wonder what my life would have been like if the bureaucrats had left us where we were. Would I remember my father all alone pulling a sled to the cemetery with a baby's coffin on it? Would my closest friend have lost hope and taken her own life? How many of the 33 per cent of the children who died might be with us today?

People talk about recognition and compensation. Then the federal government insults our integrity, refusing to recognize our suffering, our equality, as feeling human beings. If Resolute is such a wonderful place to live, how come we don't have a retirement home there for all the old RCMP officers who harassed us through the years? Money can't heal a scarred heart. It can't stop the tears of misers, and it can't give us our childhood. It might give us some hope for the future.

I hope that you here today can realize that the federal government policy for the north and its people has been practicing racism.

As I speak, not one Inuit resident of Resolute is employed by the federal government. There are federal jobs for others, but not for us. It was a racist concept to send our families to the Arctic, and criminal to conduct an experiment with our lives.

That racism is continued by poor health care and education. It is one thing to write quality into the Bill of Rights, but another to implement change in the system.

If things are so equal, why are there no Inuit doctors, lawyers, dentists and judges?

The fight for our rights will never cease. I will always struggle for them and will pass the torch to my children.

If you can accomplish nothing else, please stop the system of racism. We have suffered your ignorance long enough. Thank you.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you Elizabeth. Bobbie, you may have the floor.

**BOBBY PATSUAQ:** Thank you, Mary. On behalf of the second and third generation, I would like to thank the Royal Commission on Aboriginal peoples for giving us the time to tell our story.

The experiment failed from day one. At the prime of their lives, my father, my mother, the Salluviniq family, the Amagoalik family from Inukjuak and those from the Pond Inlet members were approached by the RCMP with the intention to relocate them to the High Arctic, the so-called promised land.

This was the beginning of the horrible fate awaiting them. As they boarded the *C.D. Howe* as recorded on July 25, 1953, the grief of separation began.

When they reached the High Arctic, their destination, Resolute Bay, my parents were dumped into a grey world and left behind, not to hear again from their families for a long time. If you can imagine with me, picture in your mind, how my parents, along with these few families that came with them from Inukjuak and Pond Inlet, I would like to reflect with you how they struggled in the desolation, struggling against the cold icy wind piercing their skin, malnourished, weak, tired from the long journey, as they scrambled to make shelter, and as the young children, the young women, the

Bobby Patsauq was born in Resolute Bay in 1960

new born huddled together in the boulders as they huddled amongst the dog team. It breaks my heart when I think back what happened.

As the RCMP went to its headquarters, comfortably sat on his chair, probably put on a radio, probably had a glass of rum, as these desperate people struggled. They became the poor and the destitute. They struggled, tried to help each other, while others sat comfortably in their seats, alone and abandoned in this desolate world. I can only imagine what my *ataataapik* (little father) must have felt, along with his friends, my brothers, and their fathers, heavy laden, isolated, cut off from the world, the anguish they felt, the disappointment they had, the broken hearts. I can only imagine what they went through, with the brutal force of the government, this cruelty to the Inuit people was going on.

They were brutal, cruel and cold-hearted. The RCMP always got his way.

I was born in 1960, September 27. My birth certificate states I was born in Resolute Bay, but according to my mother's words I was born aboard an aircraft on our way to Greenland. My mother was in labour. There were no medical facilities where I was born in Resolute. So, they had to take my mother, probably with a nurse, I guess, I would think, and take her to the nearest medical centre in the region which happened to be in Greenland. My mother said you were born high up in the sky.

The government also gave me a number (E5-1903). I remember my mother giving it to me, that little disk number. I kept it for awhile, but when I found out what it was used for, I threw it away. But that number, I cannot forget it.

The second generation, also the third generation, I feel very lucky. Today, we try not to talk about our life in Resolute or say we were born in Resolute Bay. The reason being that for fear some prejudice might arise against us.

Most of us feel we are very lucky, some of us, to have made it to our parents' homeland where no one will decide where we will live. We also thank our parents, our brothers, our sisters, our cousins, our uncles for enduring so much suffering, shock, trauma, disappointment and pain from this experiment, and to have had the courage to move back to Inukjuak before we all got married and decided to stay and not to go back to the original homeland, Inukjuak.

For some of the second generation, they miss the High Arctic. Anna Nungaq told you a few days back that her son wants to go back to Grise Fiord. She was devastated, but she had no choice. Her son was not happy, no jobs and he missed his friends, the only home he knew, so he had to go back. I am talking about Anna Nungaq and her son.

We also would like to address those who have died in Resolute and in Grise Fiord, who we have not seen since childhood. And that fear of not seeing our friends and loved ones, family members again lingers on silently in our hearts and in our minds.

When my father told me the first time that he was from Inukjuak, I never heard about Inukjuak. The only home I knew was Resolute Bay. When my uncle died, my father was determined more than ever to go back to Inukjuak because we had more relatives living there. So, he asked the government for financial assistance to return to Inukjuak. His request was downright turned down. They said, "We're sorry, we can't help you." Disappointed, my father was, but he was determined to go back home, so we sold everything we had, our possessions. I remember selling all that I had, the only toys that I had, so we started collecting money so that we could go back to Inukjuak. I didn't



want to go back, but I had no choice. I was only 13 years old back then.

Our journey back home began, the first time, in 1974. This coming May will mark the nineteen years since we moved back to Inukjuak from Resolute Bay. My cousin is here. I haven't seen him for the past 18 years. I still have cousins up there, up in Resolute Bay, whom I haven't since childhood, since we left in 1974.

When we moved back to Inukjuak, I had to make an adjustment to the community. It was difficult the first year. That was the most difficult part of the adjustment I had to make. I did not know the people. I did not know my relatives. But my father and my mother, I could see that they were finally feeling much better when they reached their home after over 20 years of staying up there at the High Arctic.

During that first year in Inukjuak, I began to learn who I was related to, my relatives, and at times it was difficult. My peers would ridicule me, saying that I was not from Inukjuak. "Go back to Resolute," they would say. I would ignore them because I know and I saw how my mother was happy, so I endured ridicule, shame, isolation, at times. But as the years went by the people of Inukjuak realized what had been happening, that this was not our doing, the relocation.

Today, the healing process is still going on, and I have become close to those that used to ridicule me. They are now my friends. They are sorry for what they have done. I forgive them. I call Inukjuak home, although my roots are up in Resolute. My roots were tampered with by the government. But my home is in Inukjuak.

So the healing process is still going on. But, for some other young people, the second generation, they miss their home up in the High Arctic, especially those who had recently returned to Inukjuak a few years ago. They are still confused. Their identity, who are they, they will ask.

Anyhow, that is how it is to the second generation and the third generation. I would like to thank the Royal Commission for giving me this opportunity to speak my mind on behalf of the second generation.

I would like to go on living and build my life. I got married last year. I am happily married to my wife. The healing process, my wife has a lot to do with it. When I speak about what happened before, I talk to her. I get comfort from her. When I kneel down and pray to my Lord, he comforts me.

I have two daughters, two boys, which are eagerly awaiting for me to go back home. I would like to build my life with my friends, my cousins, because we must go on living.

We would like to close this sorry chapter of our lives and open a new one and begin a new life hand in hand, side by side, and those up in Resolute and Grise Fiord who want to stay, I wish them well. I cannot look back. It is too painful. So, we must go on, close the chapter of the shameful past the government inflicted on to our lives.

I will arise with hope that the government will respond in our favour. As a closing remark, I would like to make a response, a reply, that was made by Tom Siddon in the year of 1990, right after the Hickling Report was published. He got up from his seat in the House of Commons and stated that these people went up there on a voluntary basis, and that these people were better off after a few years. He is sadly and terribly mistaken.

If that title, Honourable Member of Parliament, Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs, if that title is so, please, Mr. Tom Siddon, live up to that

title. Thank you.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Thank you for your presentation, Bobby.

Martha, do you want to go first?

**MARTHA FLAHERTY:** [Translation] This is Martha Flaherty. I was one of the relocatees to Grise Fiord from Inukjuak. What the people of Resolute Bay were saying, I used to pass by Resolute Bay – when we went to school in Churchill, we used to go through Resolute Bay. I used to have a lot of sympathy for them, all of them, especially the children. In Grise Fiord, there was no booze back then. But the ones in Resolute Bay, they had liquor there because there were a lot of *Qallunaat* in Resolute. I knew they were affected by the alcohol. It was not their intention, but the parents turned to booze and their children were hurting. I don't blame their parents. They have gone through a hard time, and they used to turn to their kids and abuse them.

The Halunaks<sup>13</sup> used to laugh at the Inuit and give them something to drink at the same time. No wonder the Inuit were not accustomed to drinking booze. They didn't know how to handle it. The Inuit of Resolute and others, not only in Resolute Bay, we have to start opening. We have to start getting together. Although we know we are related, it's hard. It is hurting too much.

I just wanted to bring those up, as in my case I talked about myself yesterday, the hardship I went through in regards to my father. I talked about my father yesterday. It was very short what I talked about yesterday, although there is a lot of details inside.

I did not speak about the fact that how mistreated we were by the RCMP officials. I know police officers had mistreated the Inuit people, especially the women. I was a child then. I have ears and I have eyes. I can see and hear, I was very articulate, but I won't speak of what they did. I was very aware of that because the *Qallunaat* people won't believe us unless we have evidence.

Our mothers have been abused, I know that. I am very happy about the fact that my mother is now starting to open up and she can talk about it today, and I really appreciate that.

I felt that I was unloved. I used to walk away because I used to be so fearful of my dad, that's why I used to go out for walks. He was a very hard man and he had turned to me because of all the pain that he was enduring and he used to abuse me. I even wanted him to die. Honestly, I wanted him to die because I was so tired of him. I just recently found out, after his death, I found out why he did that, because he was hurting inside, so that's why he turned to us. I am sorry for him. I went to his grave and we went to pray on his gravesite. I used to dream a lot about him because he used to be so scary. I used to dream of him in a skeleton trying to grab me, wearing a cloak.

My father, who is now deceased, I am very sorry for him, and I know that he went through hardship mentally and physically. Sometimes, I will get really angry at social services and the Department of Indian Affairs. They are trying to govern us without knowing how we live, and they are still governing us, without knowing how we live. Sometimes I think that that department should be abolished. If that department is not going to be abolished, I think that they should reconsider, the government officials, the government officials are making a lot of money and they are living comfortably. They have nothing to be worried about. They don't feel the pains and

13. *Qallunaat*, or "white people".

the struggles that we had to endure of the people in the High Arctic. If they would like to represent the Inuit people adequately, they should look at the people more and the way they live and they should start hiring native people as directors, and open their eyes without being shy. If they are going to be representing the Inuit people, and the aboriginal people so that when they go out of Canada so that they could talk proudly about their natives.

I would also like to point out a different thing in English.

[English] The price the High Arctic exiles have paid and continue to pay to this day cannot be measured in dollars. But if I can provide comparison to human tragedies and price, I would like to remind the Commissioners of our efforts in requesting a compensation package several years ago for approximately \$10 million. To date, we have not received a penny.

However, the tragic death of the 14 women in Montreal resulted in immediate of \$10 million to address the violence against women across Canada.

Do the High Arctic exiles not deserve the same type of recognition so we can start the healing process and rebuilding our lives and, without question, through this healing and building process save many Inuit lives?

Furthermore, in regards to compensation, the Canadian government compensated the Japanese for the suffering they endured as a result of war, a war that was waged against our country, plus numerous other groups. We are Canadians who suffered for Canadian sovereignty. Do we not deserve the same recognition and compensation as well? Aren't all the problems and issues the government has created serious enough to deal with?

Thank you.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Thank you, Martha.

Larry, would you like to make a comment?

**LARRY AUDLALUK:** [Translation] Thank you. I was at the age of three when we were relocated to Grise Fiord. If you don't mind, I would like to speak in English so that you can understand me. I want you to understand me very clearly, so that my fellow Canadians can understand.

My name is Larry Audlaluk. I was three years old – if my fellow exiles do not mind, I will speak English so that my fellow Canadians can understand what I am saying.

I was three years old when we were moved from Inukjuak. One of my first dramatic recollections was my father's death when I was just three months short of my fourth birthday. People were crying. This is going to be really hard for me. I haven't said this yet.

Some of my earliest memories of my mother were of her crying and my brother Samwillie telling her to stop and let my father rest in peace. You see, she had no one to console her for a long time. Almost a year she cried a lot because of my father's passing, no one to console her. Only one or two houses were available in our little camp.

I remember also being in a tent, very dark. Our walls were black, and years later I found out they were buffalo hides. Mornings were very cold.

I remember also my mother trying to read the Bible using a seal-oil lamp because we had no fuel besides the seal fat, and that was also used for lighting the inside our dark tent.

I still have my mother's old seal oil lamps in my possession in her memory.

One of my earliest memories are also of my mother and my uncle's wife,

Anna, Annie Novalinga and me coming along scouring the hills for valuable heather. Often, both of them would walk easily six miles a day return, scouring – and when I see those hills today I wonder how on earth they did it. They were very heavy burlap bags to carry those ethers. My mother must have been a very strong woman. Three bags she carried, and the other woman only could carry two. Maybe she was so desperate for us to survive and have heat. She must have been quite powerful.

When I was growing up and started going to school and I could read English and write English, I used to ask my parents “why are we here? Since I was growing up you always talk about Inukjuak, but we’re not in Inukjuak.”

I grew up speaking two dialects – Pond Inlet dialect and my mother tongue dialect, *Inukjuamiutitut*.<sup>14</sup> I questioned “why are we up here?” The only answer they used to give me, the only thing they knew, was they were moved so they could have better life, there would be plenty of game.

Then I started to do my own research on my own when I was only about 18, and I was finding out that my parents had been only told half-truth, if not an outright lie. In fact, we were moved for the name of sovereignty.

So I asked them, “were you told at all that you were coming up Grise Fiord area to assert sovereignty so that this will be Canada?”. They didn’t even understand the word “sovereignty”. They said, “we were never told such a thing. In fact, I don’t know what you mean.”

I wasn’t really going to talk very much about this, but I just have to say this. Deception was used to move my mother and my father. My dad was promised (native dialect) – plenty of game, and when he got there it was so different, not what he heard. He just gave up and died between eight and ten months later. Actually, it was ten months later, because we were moved in September and he died in July. All for this – I will show you – this piece of land (inaudible) so that we can proudly be Canadians. For this piece of land (inaudible) I’m proud to be Canadian. Why did you lie to us? (inaudible) I can’t go on. Thank you.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Thank you, Larry.

Paul, are you ready?

**PAUL AMAGOALIK:** My name is Paul Amagoalik. I live in Resolute Bay. I was born on that *C.D. Howe* ship on August 24, 1953, en route to Resolute Bay and was named after the captain of that *C.D. Howe* ship. His name was Paul Fournier. For that reason, I refuse to call myself Pauloosie, as a real Inuk name, just to keep a reminder that I was named after that captain, Paul.

When I was about two or three years old I was sent down to Brandon, Manitoba, to some kind of a sanatorium. They said I had TB. I don’t know how long I was there for, but I was probably back around maybe five or six years old. So I was there for about two or three years.

When I got back to Resolute I couldn’t understand where I was going because when I had left I couldn’t recall leaving, or maybe my brain was just developing.

Finally, when I made it back to Resolute, which I didn’t know where it was, how I got up there, but I remember being driven down to the village by the RCMP, saying that I was going home. When he brought me down there I didn’t know anything about the North. It was cold, lots of snow, and it was daylight, so it must have been somewhere pretty close to spring.

14. The dialect of Inukjuak.

Paul Amagoalik was born aboard the *C.D. Howe* in 1953 and was settled in Resolute Bay as an infant

At that time, as I was growing up in that sanatorium for about two or three years I guess they only spoke English there because that's how I got knowing how to speak only English and not a word of Inuktitut. So I had to start over again to learn a new language, and it was hard for my aunts and relatives, because they could hardly speak English. So there was a communication problem at that age already with me.

I guess maybe when I was about five or six, maybe six, I guess that's when they start school, hey? Our school was two miles north from our village, and we had to walk up there. I remember walking, sometimes in the cold. Always in the cold. Finally they built a school somewhere around 1961, 1962, in the Old Village – what we call the Old Village now – to be taught English.

By that time I had pretty well conquered the Inuktitut language back and almost forgot the English language. So it was a see-saw battle in the languages. There was a teacher there in the years 1962, 1963 and 1964 who was very determined to teach the young Inuit the English way of life, I guess. In that situation we were told not to speak Inuktitut in the school and if we did, we would be punished. Anyways, I had most of the strappings, I think.

Sometimes once I started understanding his rules I made sure I didn't speak Inuktitut in school. It was the beginners, kindergarten, that had the hardest, because all they knew was Inuktitut.

To ask questions, asking the teacher "what does he mean?", when that child asked what that teacher was trying to say in Inuktitut, that poor child would be warned or punished. Usually the second warning would be immediate punishment. As a result, I can understand English very well now. It was like a forced education.

I used to help my parents, my grand-parents, go to the dumps to help pick up food so that we can have something to eat. There were two dumps, one at South Camp, what we call the United States wheelbarrow, and one at North Camp, where the Royal Canadian Air Force was based. So we usually had a choice of which dump to go check out to see which one had the food in there, whatever could be eaten.

When I was a kid, that's in that area at that time, at the same time me and my cousin and all my friends after school, we used to run to Resolute Lake where somebody mentioned earlier that the fish over there are as big as sardines. But there were fish anyways. I remember the biggest fish being caught there was maybe 11-1/2 inches. And that was big.

We used to fish there by chopping a hole through the ice and do the jigging, because that was the only way we could fish, by jigging. We'd catch as many fish as we could before it gets too dark and we'd have to go back home because we had no flashlights at that time. That's my recollection of the beginning of my life in Resolute.

I'll just skip through my school years and just bring you pretty well up-to-date as to what Resolute is like now.

We feel that we inherited the troubles caused by the government's ignorance and we had a hard time trying to establish our community because there's a lack of people. Sure there's lots to do, but somebody else has to operate it, operation by meaning the councils, the co-ops, the wild life.

Just to clarify that, right now as I speak I'm with three organizations – actually, four – as a board member, with the Hunters and Trappers Association, the Hamlet Council, Co-op Board, also Baffin Region Inuit Association, just

so that I could help create a better life, better living conditions in Resolute, because nobody else is going to do it for us.

The opportunities are there, but with not enough people it's kind of hard to make those two ends meet, especially when you have lots of relatives in that community and trying to be within the law, the Canadian law, we're not supposed to hire our relatives to work in our organizations because it would cause conflict of interest, whereas if we were in our own self-governed situation, we could give the job to the people who need it, regardless of who they are. If I know that my brother needs a job, I'll try and help create it for him. And if I see a friend in need of work, I'll try and see where I can make it easier for him to find a job. And if people start seeing me helping my relatives, they're going to start thinking "this guy's only helping his relatives", but I'm trying to help the whole North.

Anyways, employment is creatable but the North is so hard to tame. When a government employee goes to work up North, he's very well provided for. He's got travel allowance, he's got isolation pay. They even give him cold pay, you know, in case he freezes. Just in case he freezes they give him cold pay. Whereas only the people up North, the Inuit, have means of, what, family allowance, welfare for the needy, but that's very, very limited as can be.

And it's expensive to live up there. Everything costs so much. We're so far away. But still we get this jet service coming straight from Montreal. It could come up there on a single day. Still they have to make the price higher 'cause it's too far away. It costs too much to go up there. So we're stuck with the burden.

I have no intention of leaving Resolute, since I grew up there. I feel for my relatives who want to go back, who wish to go back. I have relatives in northern Quebec. I only found that out when my parents start telling me stories about where they used to live. Sorry. I'm backtracking again.

Anyways, I intend to stay up there to try to create a better living condition and try to make life easier for my parents, for my brothers and sisters, for my friends, because everybody I know, or everybody in Resolute, I know them all, so they're all my friends. So we have to help each other out in this condition because nobody else, not even the government, wants to help us.

It's this beginning back down in the 1952-1953 era when my parents were told that they could go back home after two years because they were just going to go up there to do some trapping. It's that time that was hard for them. They sure do deserve the recognition of claiming the North from the Canadian government when they were told that they were just going to go up there for two years to better their lives.

Thank you.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** There are three more people. Larry, do you want to add a little bit with regards to what was being said here?

**LARRY AUDLALUK:** Yes. I'll try to be brief. This is going to be more or less my closing remarks because I don't want to take away too much of other people's opportunity to speak.

Paul is very right when he's talking about he has no intention of moving. Like I, from Grise Fiord, having grown up, I have a little bit of a community leadership there and I feel that I am welcomed back in Grise Fiord, and I am quite content today, but the point we've been trying to make across I'm sure

you have a bit of an awareness and the beginning and the price and the pain we pay for.

This is what happens when people are moved against their will, through deception. People, Inuit are no exception, live anywhere they want to in this great country of ours, this so-called great country of ours, we're reminded, anywhere they want to, and there are Inuit people who live in many different communities of one family, scattered, but they're content because they are where they are of their own free will. But for us it was different, the beginners.

We went up there through – obviously it was a deception. We've known that – I've known that since I was 18. I don't know how much more I can make an emphasis to our government of what we've been trying to say.

We're not just trying to get money. Do you hopefully will believe us now after these testimonies, because we have finally been able to get all the survivors in one place and talk about their story.

I want to especially at this time, if Akpaliapik is here, to recognize him for making this start. When he finally decided to go back to Pond Inlet he asked the government to take him back. Like all of us, he was refused, but he was able to make some kind of an arrangement. He went down cheaper than any of those people from Resolute who went to Inukjuak. I want to thank him for having finally getting our stories known to our fellow Canadians.

We have known for years that they were wrong, but we just never knew what forum to use to make our point across and make our story known. We have tried for years and tried to lobby the government to take notice. I want to start a healing process. It's time for me to start the healing process.

You have heard when the people finally got so desperate they moved back to Inukjuak like my brothers and sisters, after years of trying, and when they finally got back it was so different they felt like they had no country. Do you know what it's like to feel like you really don't have a sense of home? They tell you that it's not good. So I have decided my children will not know the pain I went through.

When I think about the issue of sovereignty and knowing how my parents were used, it's really painful. Though I'm proud to be a Canadian, but I am not proud how they used this to assert sovereignty for this part of the country. I really, really hope that we will finally be heard.

We have contributed, but at what cost? At what cost? You have seen some of the costs.

Thank you very much.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Thank you, Larry. We're starting to come to the end. You would like to speak again, Allie? After Minnie speaks there will be George and Allie. We'll go in that order.

Minnie, you go first.

**MINNIE ALLAKARIALLAK:** [Translation] I have a lot to say. As Minnie Allakariallak, this is the first time I have ever attended such a meeting, and I have a lot to say.

Something that made me very angry. Well, lack of food and the cold. I didn't even think much more of those, even though they were important. These are my relatives. Andrew and Jackoosie are my brothers. We used to be told by our father and we used to have him lead us in prayer back in our old country.

We were told that when *Qallunaat* and white people became much more populous, that there would be a lot of deception going on, and this is what we were told in our childhood. This is the biggest thing I have on my mind, and I'm about to say it.

My husband and I struggled. My husband Johnny and I. It was a big burden. And I have always wanted to say this to the government and to the leadership of the country. People who were responsible for relocating the Inuit, when they were relocating us, never told us what we were to do. They never explained to us. They never bothered to tell us the truth about what we could expect. They never give us any indication about what to expect.

Those of us who are in Resolute, and there's the 1955 group the 1953 group, when we in the second group came we came and there was already a lot of deception and lies and all sorts of bad things going on. They were being deceived into being happy in an artificial manner, not in the way God would have, and we've heard in the Bible about how the serpent deceived Adam and Eve, so we've always known that ever since we had knowledge of the Bible.

Because Inuit were not accustomed to alcohol or alcohol use, they never had any idea about this substance and how it was used or abused. This was the most burdensome thing that we had to contend with when we went there.

They thought first of all that it was not such a big burden, and they tried to be happy with it. They tried to enjoy it. They didn't think there was anything wrong with it. This is the devil's property, and God has said that drunkenness, riotous living, those who practice these cannot enter into the Kingdom of God. This is what our Bible tells us.

God has said those who practice drunkenness and riotous living cannot enter the kingdom of God. And this is a concern that we always had because in the Book of God we were warned against such things, and this is what my husband and I were so burdened with, because we feared God. We feared God more so in those days, so we are all creations of God, Inuit or *Qallunaat*, or whoever they may be.

When we came on the scene we noted right away that they were practising a lifestyle that was quite adverse and alcohol was the cause of many deaths because many people became addicted to it and they could no longer stop its abuse or its use. My husband and I received a letter from Mary Panigusi from Iqaluit about the fact that Indians used to be given alcohol to see if they could survive the effects of it. So we warned that Inuit were going to be tested by this substance, alcohol, and that they would do what they normally wouldn't do under its influence.

This is what my husband and I were most burdened with, more burdensome than any of the other inadequacies that have been described about the cold, about the lack of stones to pitch up our tents properly. There's somebody, an adult, who came with us, a third adult, who died there. And we were all weak. And it was no laughing matter.

I used to try to stop these people from abusing alcohol. I used to run after them. And I used to be surrounded by dogs. And I tried to prevent my children and my sons-in-law from abusing alcohol. This is the greatest burden that I've had to carry, and my late husband and I had to carry.

I want all those who hear that God is against the abuse of alcohol. Those who practice drunken and riotous living shall not see the Kingdom of God.



That's what our Bible says. This was my biggest burden.

My husband and I used to fear violence. They were in shock – our elders were in shock from the effects of alcohol abuse. They used to be fleeing their dreams.

Our mother could walk at the time, even though she was blind. She groped and felt her way to flee the effects of drunken people. This is the greatest burden that I had to carry. All the descriptions of the other burdens are pale in comparison to the effect that alcohol had on our people.

So now you see how they were deceived by all this. Now drunkenness and the widespreading abuse of alcohol is much more cleaned up from its former days. People lost their limbs, they lost their hands, they lost their lives. There are a lot of broken lives resulting from this, and Lazarusie and I share our grandmother and my late husband acted as a father figure to these people. Actually, he was an uncle, but he acted as a father figure. But they could not come along with us when we were being relocated because of the various separations that were caused by the relocation.

Even though they never moved like we were, they were, and I'm also related to Zebedee Nungak because he is the son of my aunt and he has been many years trying to struggle for justice for the Inuit people.

I was not going to mention alcohol abuse, but I had to mention it since it was brought up. It has ruined the lives of many people all over the world. This is against the will of God. If your physical well-being, while it last, you should not get drawn into alcohol abuse.

If we live right, perhaps we'll have a chance of getting a final reward. I am the matriarch of this group and Markoosie's parents were – his father was a younger brother of my late husband, Johnny. They are orphans now. They don't have a mother and father.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** Can you please make your speech shorter?

**MINNIE ALLAKARIALLAK:** [Translation]. Yes.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** You can speak, but make it shorter, please. I'm sorry to have to say that.

**MINNIE ALLAKARIALLAK:** [Translation]. Well, I've said what was most on my mind, so I think I will stop there for now. My memory is getting short, but I'm thankful that I've been given the opportunity to speak. Thank you.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Thank you. I know you don't want to stop, but you're going to help me, because we have to end this.

**MINNIE ALLAKARIALLAK:** [Translation] Thank you very much for allowing me to speak.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] We have two more speakers before George. If they can make their presentation short. Allie is first, and Susan.

**ALLIE SALLUVINIQ:** [Translation] My name is Allie Salluviniq, from Resolute Bay.

I too have a lot to say, but because I have to leave tomorrow morning I want to say all that – we have just a bit more time, and I would like to point at the map while I make my presentation. Can I go to the map?

I took part in the land claims of the Inuit. Tom Molloy did not believe

Tom Molloy was Chief Negotiator for the Government of Canada during negotiations with Inuit in the Nunavut Land Claim Agreement, which led to the creation of Nunavut in 1999

that all these Arctic islands had always been previously occupied. When we met at Rankin Inlet on the issue of land claims, Simeonie remembers that we should stop meeting.

I pointed out that he was not the boss and that I wanted to talk to the boss, not to some minor official. I threatened to leave and go back home, but somebody else convinced me to stay. Then after the meeting ended we returned home and Tom Malloy arrived.

He used to say that those Arctic islands had never been occupied, that Inuit had never gone there by dog team. So I said to him that my father and the others and their friends had dog teamed all over these islands, and before the *Qallunaat* were here there's evidence of ancient dwellings, *qarmait*, and you can go and see them if you care to make the trip. But perhaps he still doesn't believe it.

My father kept saying after he had married his second wife, who was Martha Iqaluk, who is the sister of Jackoosie, he expressed the desire to return to Inukjuak, but he said, and I heard him very clearly talking to his wife, saying, look, dear, if I don't get returned to Inukjuak by the government, perhaps we can set up an outpost camp in an inoccupied place. He said that, and now he's buried there.

On the day he was going to die he was being evacuated to Montreal from the High Arctic, from Resolute. He was flying this route south. It must have been at the time the aircraft was in the vicinity of Inukjuak that his breath gave out. He died when he had reached home.

Yes, I would rather have that happen to me. If I was going to die, I would have preferred that it happened in familiar surroundings.

Thank you.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Susan.

**SUSAN SALLUVINIQ:** [Translation]. I am Susan Salluviniq, from Resolute Bay. I am the youngest daughter of Joseph Idlout. I was one year old when we moved from Pond Inlet to Resolute Bay.

We are the caretakers of the pains of our parents, of the pains of our mothers and fathers, in the separations of the families in the move to Resolute and Grise Fiord.

My grandmother, after my grandfather died, I don't quite remember the other one, but my second grandmother who came with us in Resolute Bay, then my mother died before my father died. When my mother died my grandmother went to Gjoa Haven to live with our oldest sister there.

Those of us who were younger, many of us were told – my younger son – this is quite a burden to have to carry, with the responsibility to take to search out relatives. We have to really search out the relatives and figure out our family relationships and roots.

We are the caretakers of the burdens and pains of our fathers and mothers. We are saying what the elders want and what the elders are seeking are basically only two things, and they should be agreed to: Recognize them, give them monetary compensation. Ten million dollars is peanuts compared to the pain that they have suffered. Agree to it. Agree to their request to have this.

That's all I wanted to say.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Thank you, Susan.  
Simeonie?

Susan Salluviniq was born in Pond Inlet and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1955 at age 2

**SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** [Translation] I'm going to try to make it very short.

Some of what we wanted to say about the unravelling of family lines and family relationships I can address at some later meeting, but there was something I mentioned that was in the closed meeting that was requested to be said in the open.

The government has not paid for a boat that we lost in our relocation. I mentioned earlier it was \$30,000. Now it's \$130,000 in value these days, taking today's values.

We built shacks out of scrap wood. When we were told that a certain building – we were told that it was a police building and Grise Fiord Police personnel. Salluviniq and I built a building, with the police coming to supervise our work. We have never been paid for that.

And I mentioned earlier that we cleaned up a place that was filled with human excrements. We cleaned it up and we built it into a store. This has never been paid for, but it was done at the instigation of the police.

I used to do a lot of dog sled driving and the police used to take along some other white people. They used to catch polar bear. I used to have to build igloos for them. When I finished the igloo they would go in and drink their liquor and laugh, and these have not been paid.

I have never been paid also for the work that I did in taking people around by boat, at the insistence of the police. Then when Resolute finally got a school, the school was two miles away, and I used to transport the students by dog team, the smaller ones. I used to get drinking water ice for the teachers and transport for their fuel needs by dog team. I worked at this for many years and I was paid \$74 a month. This was much too small. The government should pay attention to that.

There's a lot of things that I was forced to do for either inadequate or no pay. Then the police initiated many things they did for free, or by not paying the people they asked to work. When people in the Police in Grise Fiord killed muskox and I had to transport muskox skins and I had to do it with Idlout, and at the insistence of the Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay RCMP we were forced to transport these skins with its heads attached, we were never paid for this work.

Sometimes if we are required to work or if we are asked to work, we should be paid properly. There are many incidences where I was forced to work for no pay. Thank you.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Thank you, Simeonie.

George Eckalook will be the last speaker.

**GEORGE ECKALOOK:** [Translation]. Thank you, Mary. I'll try not to make it too long.

I will basically say thanks. I am George Eckalook from Resolute Bay. Today our community is an established community, and now I am the mayor of Resolute Bay.

I would like to go back a little bit before I express my thanks, though I thank the Commission for giving us the extended assistance they have given us.

On behalf of my five sisters and my mother and my family I want to thank you, and I have seen many cousins, so this has made me feel much better.

George Eckalook was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1955 at age 9

Now I would like to go back a little bit to what was said yesterday about housing. My sister Lizzie mentioned about housing.

The shacks that we built out of scrap wood, at that time I used to have to help carry the scraps of wood to build those shelters. Those photographs of the houses that you see are photographs that we brought here. We used to add a little bit more every year and eventually some of these became quite extensive buildings, and they were quite nice actually in the end. Then the government started providing rental housing and we had to move into new locations and new houses.

We wanted to keep those buildings to preserve the memory of how we struggled to make shelter for ourselves. Only in 1975 we had to move the whole community, perhaps to a distance of four miles from the original location. And we had to move the community. And our community had to be moved. We were living in government houses at that time because the settlement was right in line with the air strip and if ever an aircraft accident took place, we were right in the way. So that was the reason for why the community was moved.

When the co-op started having lumber supplies for sale, some of these we bought. Although much of it was scrap wood, we wanted to preserve these houses but the government burnt them down without consulting us. We wanted to preserve them as a symbol of how we tried to shelter ourselves, because these buildings were added to every year and they eventually started to be very nice.

Now the High Arctic is part of Canada for sure. For this reason, in 1968 Queen Elizabeth made a visit there. When she was there it was certain that it was Canada. I wanted to mention that to the Commission.

All you have heard in these past four days is all true, very true. I was nine years old when my parents and family went through all these stresses and burdens, but because I believe in the words of our elders, I believe, and that's what I wanted to say. I hope it's understood.

Now I want to thank the Commission and the other Inuits. On behalf of the other Inuit I thank the Commission. Resolute is now a community, and I have been elected as the mayor. It's been several years as mayor.

I would like to thank the Commission for this and for helping us. We will continue to help the Commission by letters and representing the people of Resolute Bay. I want to thank you on behalf of them for your efforts to assist them. I will tell them when I go back – I know they are watching by television, but I personally have the responsibility to relay this message to them.

I thank you for helping us. I have other responsibilities too, so therefore I want to thank you personally, Mary, and the Commission.

Now Zebedee Nungak, we thank him very much for his tireless efforts in helping us. I thank all the others that I won't name. Being in politics, that's all I wanted to say. Mary, thank you.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** [Translation] Thank you, George, for your words of appreciation. I'm sure the Commission appreciates your words. Zebedee will have a say.

You all know that Zebedee has worked hard and he has represented you and he has worked very hard. It will be very appropriate for him to say the last word. Go ahead, Zebedee.

**ZEBEDEE NUNGAK:** [Translation] Thank you, Mary. I will try to make it brief and I want to inform the interpreters what I will be saying to the witnesses and if I will be here tomorrow to have a meeting, so don't worry about not saying all the words I will be speaking because I'm going to be speaking English.

[English] I would like to thank the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples for having availed the High Arctic relocatees of the opportunity to present their evidence and their testimony on the issue that we have spent four days on.

The Royal Commission is one of the few independent forums left to aboriginal people in this country where we can freely present our views. In this case I can say without overstating the fact that it was a God-send for the issue of the High Arctic relocation because over the years, as the organizations representing Inuit interests have promoted this issue and has strived to get government attention to seek solutions to it, the representatives and the relocatees themselves have been able to convince anybody who heard them, anybody who gave them an opportunity to tell their story, that their story is right and what they say is the truth.

We have had example of where they were able to convince an all-party non-partisan parliamentary committee of the facts, even though they were given only three hours to tell their story, and that committee which we had up to that time raised our expectations believed them and agreed that the Government of Canada should apologize to these people for the way they have been treated, that they should recognize this and thank their contributions to Canada's sovereignty and the national integrity, and that they should be compensated for all the wrongs that they have suffered as a result.

In the face of such a committee, whom we believe to be very powerful making these recommendations, the government yet insisted that it had done nothing wrong and has no reason to apologize. Yet again we were forced to search out another forum where the exiles could make their case.

The Canadian Human Rights Commission commissioned a study where an eminent professor was sent to all the widely spread communities in which these people live and take direct testimony from the survivors. Again, they basically agreed with the Inuit point of view that they should get compensation.

Having had the supposedly powerful agencies and groups and committees go to bat for the High Arctic relocatees and yet still in 1993 not have a solution acceptable to the suffering of survivors has been a point of frustration. This hearing has been a historic occasion, because for the first time you have heard the High Arctic relocatees tell their full story although, as we are saying in the closing remarks, there is much more to be said, but at least the basic facts have been established and you have heard them from the mouths of the people who lived this ordeal.

It has been four days of testimony which speaks for itself. The pain, the burden, the depression, the suffering, the hardship, the cold, the hunger, the material need, the breach of trust, the abuse, the neglect, the isolation, the anguish, the broken hearts, the pathetic state of lack of this and lack of that, the dark, the cold, the insensitivity of the bureaucrats who handled this dubious project, the broken promises, the broken lives, the broken families, the broken sense of order.

We had these people meet as a group for the first time in February 1986 in

Iqaluit. It was a meeting that cost over \$50,000. At the time we were able to convince a certain minister of Indian Affairs to finance part of the cost of that meeting, and we believed then that if the exiles were given an opportunity to meet face to face with the minister that has the legal responsibility for the welfare of aboriginal people in Canada, it will be simply a matter of time before justice was done and compensation was provided for.

Yet still since that time we are suffering the effects of denial. Every time we convene a meeting of the representative of the exiles, a meeting that consists of 10 to 12 people, we spend at least \$20,000. This is because they live in communities that stretch from the highest of the Arctic to the middle of Hudson Bay.

We have done all this to no avail up to date because the government has been very determined to resist and has resisted simply acknowledging a historic fact. We now leave these hearings and we look forward to the time that you have set aside for academics and researchers who have become very knowledgeable over the years on this issue.

I expect that the testimony given in those three days will corroborate and verify the testimony that you have heard from the Inuit who spoke here in the past four days.

We leave here with still a question in our minds, an unanswered question: When will justice be done? To what conclusion will this issue come? How long will the country wait for its government to locate its moral backbone to treat these people and right the wrongs that they have suffered?

This is a question that I hope the Royal Commission will help answer, and I am absolutely convinced that the testimony you have heard will help you reach a conclusion that will convince the government and the country that these people are owed. You owe them. And you have no right to resist and constrict the problem to the first year or to the bad planning.

Again, I thank the Royal Commission for what they have done to get this story receive public exposure.

In closing, I would like to say that I hope that when you issue your final report you will go to bat as others have done and finally resolve this issue to the satisfaction of not only the exiles but to the Government of Canada and the people of Canada.

Thank you very much.

**FACILITATOR MARY SIMON:** I was just going to say a couple of words before I turn it over to the Royal Commission.

As a facilitator, I just want to thank everybody for their co-operation, especially the interpreters, who have been extremely important, and also Zebedee's assistance in the interpretation. Without them the dialogue would have been very difficult.

I know that this week has been extremely difficult for the witnesses, and also for everybody else, but it has been a real honour for me to facilitate this very important special hearing. I'm very pleased that the Royal Commission asked me to do this and that I was able to help in the proceedings. So I will turn it over to you.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** This has been a very powerful event for the Royal Commission.

We have had a lot of hearings in many parts of Canada, and we have had a lot of special consultations also, but I don't really think that we've

Minister David Crombie. Bill McKnight took over as minister in June 1986.

experienced all in all any other event quite as moving as this.

We heard a lot of very emotional testimony. We've been in very large correctional institutes and we've heard from people who have spent a lot of time in different kinds of institutions, whether it has been foster homes, group homes, youth detention centres, prisons, and so forth. And we've heard a lot of different type of victims, survivors, whether it has been of neglect or sexual abuse or otherwise, but I don't think we've ever quite heard in total a picture like this before.

Even though some of the commissioners have had an opportunity before to hear part of the story, this is such a complete picture, and it provided us with an opportunity to hear a much more comprehensive picture of really what took place.

I really want to thank all the witnesses who took time out from their lives to travel this long journey. We know that many were not used to a setting like this, and it took a lot of courage to think about the pain, to remember, and then to go through the very hard times that you went through here to make it very clear to us what happened to you.

It was very, very hard to listen and not to be convinced that you are obviously telling us your own experience in your own words, and it is very much the truth in your eyes that you have experienced.

These hearings were a response to a suggestion from both the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada and the Makivik Corporation. They came at a time when the Royal Commission was already wondering what we should do about the hearings that we had already had in Inukjuak.

While we were still thinking about that the Government responded and stated that more or less it was a closed book. So when the formal response came for us to do something more, we agreed after considering what would be the proper course of action for ourselves.

There will be a second leg to this, as Zebedee just mentioned. In late June, starting on the 28th, we will be inviting other people, primarily academics and researchers who have looked into this issue, have looked into the files, have written reports for one reason or another, and we will try to decipher why there are differing opinions on the evidence they have found.

At some point after that we will be coming out with a report on this particular issue. We will try to do it fairly quickly so that there is a response from us which the Government of Canada will have to address relatively quickly. Obviously this issue has been around long enough already.

Like Mary, I want to thank a number of people. The witnesses, obviously, for having endured with us and giving us the evidence they have. I also want to thank Zebedee Nungak for the important role he played in assisting us with the translation and so forth. His assistance was very much appreciated by the commissioners.

In addition, I want to thank all the other translators that have shared this week with us and have helped us understand what was going on through their skills in translating from one language to another.

It has been a very emotional week and we understand how painful this still is for people, so we really appreciate very much what was going on.

I want to also thank Mary Simon for the excellent role she played as the go-between, the facilitator. We felt that we needed someone to do this type of particular job for us in this case. We don't normally use a facilitator, but because we knew that the language of preference and obviously in many

This report, *The High Arctic Relocations: A Report on the 1953-55 Relocation* was published in July 1994 by the RCAP.

cases it was the language of daily use of many of our witnesses, we felt we needed somebody who could first of all be known to explicitly understand what people were saying, first all.

In addition, we felt that since the commissioners wanted to concentrate on listening and hearing and understanding what people were saying, we felt that if someone else played the role of facilitator in asking most of the questions, that the commissioners could really dedicate their time to trying to comprehend what we were listening to.

It has been a very, very useful exercise. Mary has done a wonderful job for us, and we're extremely pleased with what she has done.

I'm going to now ask each of the commissioners to in their own words make some closing comments. We'll start with Mary, then we'll ask Paul to proceed.

Mary Sillett.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** I too would like to join Georges in thanking everyone who travelled for so many miles to be here. I know these days have been very, very long. They've been very tiring for many of you.

I know that for some of you this is the first time you publicly told your story, and for others I guess you've told this story many, many times. I think that when we first went to Inukjuak, Mr. Dussault, Mrs. Wilson and I, and we heard about the High Arctic exile issue, we were very, very moved. I think we thought about it very, very hard at that time.

The presenters said you have to go back and don't forget what we've said. So we've been discussing this issue that long and I'm really grateful that we were able, in co-operation with ITC and Pauktuutit to provide a forum for Inuit to tell their side of the story.

For so many people of so many generations, from people from Pond Inlet and Grise Fiord, Inukjuak and Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord, and I thank you all for that.

I give particular thanks to Mary Simon. She provided, like Georges said, a very valuable role to this meeting. I would like to thank Zebedee very, very much, and the translators and interpreters. But I also have to thank ITC very, very much, because when we finally made the decision to have this they wanted to make sure that we did everything right so this could be a good meeting, and for that I thank you.

[No translation]

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Paul.

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** It certainly has been a memorable week. Who have we heard from? We have heard from people who have been called relocatees. We have heard from people who have been called the High Arctic Exiles. We have heard from people who were called today by Elizabeth Allakariallak "survivors".

We certainly have heard directly from what were called in the first day decent, hard-working, God-fearing people. And what have we heard?

We have heard I think stories about what happens when power is exercised in circumstances where the usual demographic safeguards that are assumed to exist are not there. Were there MPs in the 1950s to represent the interests of these people? Were there lobbyists? Were there judges? These are the safeguards that Canadians today take for granted in the protection of their own interests.



Mixed in, in addition to that, stories which tell us what happens when paternalism is added to the exercise of governmental power in these circumstances. Those are the kinds of stories we have heard about.

We have heard of stories also that tell us about involuntary removals, what happens when power is exercised with paternalism to remove people. We have heard stories that have told us what the social consequences are in these circumstances.

There are still things to do for us on this Commission. It's already been said. We still have to hear those who have written about this most shameful episode in Canadian history. There's no doubt about the justice of your cause.

What will the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples do? I do not know, but I will urge it to do what is right. I will go to bat and I think I can do no better than to quote Titus Arnakallak who said today: Let us close this sorry chapter of our lives. Let us go forward. Let's close the sorry chapter of our lives and open a new one.

Who will join him? I think Canada must close this sorry chapter with honour, and I think Canada must close this sorry chapter with a spirit of generosity.

This has indeed been a very significant event of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. As Zebedee Nungak said at the beginning of the session, we have been able to give voice to the Inuit people by listening.

So I finish by thanking all of you for coming to this forum. I thank all the people who so ably assisted us, in particular Mary Simon, the facilitator, who did her usual excellent job, and Zebedee Nungak, a most well known Canadian and most gifted linguist who put his own personal twist on the interpretation and certainly did give it a most memorable gloss.

Thank you very much.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Bertha.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** No one who has heard your story can fail to be outraged by the injustice that has been done to you, or not be grieved by the pain and suffering that you and your relatives have been exposed to. And for what? This is the question which only the government can answer.

Personally, I can think of no possible justification for such a cruel and inhumane government policy. I can only hope that these public hearings will help to raise public awareness of this tragic episode in the history of your people, and that the public in turn will bring pressure to bear on the federal government to make reparation to you and your families for all that you have endured over the past 40 years.

Thank you very much for coming and talking to us. I know it has not been easy for you, and that it took a great deal of courage.

Thank you very much for that, and thank you to all the people who helped to make these hearings possible. I wish you all a safe journey back to your homes.

Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** René.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you. First of all, I would like to thank Mary Simon for accepting a very difficult and delicate job. Inter-cultural communication is the heart and centre of the work of the Royal Commission.

Titus Arnakallak was born in the High Arctic after his family (headed by Samuel Arnakllak) relocated from Mittimatalik to Grise Fiord in 1953. Titus is a translator and interpreter who now lives in Mittimatalik. He does not speak during the public portion of the Special Hearings.

I think, Mary, that you did a tremendous job to help us to really get the most out of this historical week.

Lorsque le gouvernement a créé la Commission royale sur les peuples autochtones il a fait le constat suivant, constat que malgré les efforts louables du passé, malgré les programmes en place, malgré les sommes investies, le problème autochtone, indien, inuit, métis, demeure entier.

Personnellement, depuis 18 mois j'ai été énormément touché par la gravité du problème et la complexité des solutions à y apporter si on veut qu'elles soient vraiment durables. Il s'agit, à mon avis, d'un problème humain unique dans la société canadienne.

Je pense que les événements qui au cours de cette semaine nous ont été relatés pour la première fois, sinon dans tous les détails du moins de façon substantielle, en font foi.

J'ai aussi beaucoup appris à propos de la notion de guérison. Il s'agit là d'un concept difficile à saisir pour les non-Autochtones. Dans ce sens-là je pense que sur le plan de l'éducation publique cette semaine, et je l'espère, apportera énormément de compréhension à cette dimension de toute recherche de solutions durables.

Je suis personnellement convaincu que ce concept de guérison est fondamental et devra se situer au coeur de toutes nos recommandations. C'est la raison pour laquelle nous en aurons fait l'un des quatre éléments clés de notre récent document de discussion qui vient, au fond, des audiences publiques de la Commission. Nous faisons écho dans ce document à ce que nous avons entendu depuis un an dans les communautés à l'effet qu'on ne pourra pas vraiment progresser si on n'associe pas de façon centrale cette guérison personnelle et collective des populations autochtones.

Je voudrais simplement en terminant dire que la Commission a fait le pari de la rigueur, pari de la rigueur pour arriver à une compréhension du problème autochtone, arriver, cheminer avec les peuples autochtones mais également avec le public canadien. La démarche que nous avons entreprise à l'occasion de nos audiences publiques générales à Inukjuak le 8 juin dernier devait connaître un dénouement comme celui-ci.

Nous avons pendant longtemps examiné la façon d'être le plus efficace. C'est la raison pour laquelle entre autres nous avons demandé à Mary Simon et à Roger Tassé de regarder l'ensemble du dossier, la conclusion fondamentale de leur rapport et, au fond, on le sentait bien, était que les Inuits concernés n'avaient jamais eu l'occasion de faire valoir de façon équitable leur point de vue. La démarche de cette semaine visait à palier cette lacune considérable sur le plan de l'équité.

Toute solution future, toute recommandation future de la Commission devra, à mon avis, tenir compte des règles d'équité de notre société moderne. Dans la même veine nous allons, à la fin du mois de juin, poursuivre la deuxième étape de notre démarche et, par la suite, comme Georges Erasmus l'a mentionné, nous allons procéder le plus rapidement possible, mettant ensemble à la fois ce que nous avons entendu cette semaine, ce que nous aurons entendu lors de la dernière semaine du mois de juin, nous allons procéder le plus rapidement possible à faire des recommandations au gouvernement.

Je vous remercie d'être venus de si loin. Comme ça a été mentionné, réunir toutes les personnes concernées, on le voit par la dimension du territoire exprimé par la carte, n'était pas une tâche facile. Nous avons convenu de

part et d'autre qu'Ottawa était le meilleur endroit pour réunir les gens de toutes les communautés.

J'ai été, pour un, et mes collègues Mme Wilson et Mary Sillett, frappés par le fait que lorsque nous étions à Inukjuak...nous comprenons la difficulté des distances mais nous avons été frappés par le fait que les médias n'étaient pas là. Ce n'est pas un blâme. Au contraire, c'est simplement pour exprimer le fait que souvent sur la route depuis un an nous avons été témoins, nous avons entendu énormément de choses qui sur le plan de l'éducation publique aurait eu intérêt à être rapportées au grand public.

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Je pense que l'objectif commun que nous avons, la Commission et les Inuits, de permettre l'audition de la version essentiellement orale de ceux qui ont vécu cette situation de réinstallation en 1953 et 1955, je pense que cet objectif commun a été largement atteint.

Nous allons procéder à la deuxième phase du processus que nous avons engagé pour remettre un rapport le plus rapidement possible. Entre-temps, je voudrais souhaiter à tous un bon voyage de retour dans le nord du Québec, de retour à Pond Inlet, de retour à Resolute Bay, ou encore à Grise Fiord. Et sans doute que j'en passe. Merci, et à la prochaine.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Earlier today we started our in camera meeting. Those of us who were involved in it were fully aware that when 2 o'clock came we were not yet finished. We will conclude that, beginning at 7:30. We will do that upstairs, at the next level, in the McDonald Room. Just remember the first prime minister of the country – McDonald Room.

Before we go I would like to thank Rogers Cable for having covered this live. One of the goals of the Royal Commission is to try and educate the Canadian public on issues that are important to aboriginal people. This particular issue of the Arctic exiles we thought was extremely important. So we are very, very pleased with the fact that Rogers has covered us from the beginning to the end of our public process.

In addition, this week we have had a lot of media coverage of the testimony of the witnesses. Both the written press and the electronic media have covered us and covered the witnesses very, very well. I want to thank them.

Broadcast media were present throughout the four days of Inuit testimony. They were invited for the second session in June/July but chose not to broadcast.

We're going to close with a prayer now.  
I'll ask Lizzie to close the meeting with a prayer.  
All stand, please.  
(Closing Prayer)

**Royal Commission on Aboriginal  
Peoples Testimony: June 17, 1993**

ROYAL COMMISSION ON ABORIGINAL PEOPLES  
 LOCATION: OTTAWA, ONTARIO  
 SPECIAL CONSULTATION VIA TELEPHONE BETWEEN MR. N. SCHULTZ  
 AND MR. R. GIBSON  
 DATE: THURSDAY, JUNE 17, 1993  
 EDITED BY: ROSS GIBSON, JULY 7, 1993

(Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, "Testimony," June 17, 1993, *The High Arctic Relocation Special Hearings*, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada))

— Telephone conversation between Mr. Schultz and Mr. Gibson on Thursday, June 17, 1993

**MR. SCHULTZ:** Good morning, Mr. Gibson.

It is Nick Schultz calling from the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

As we had arranged, we are taking your evidence over the telephone today, June 17, 1993, and you are in Victoria at the moment. You are going to be speaking about your involvement in the relocation as a result of your being posted in the High Arctic as a member of the RCMP, and you are speaking to us today as a retired member of the RCMP in your private capacity.

Perhaps you could begin by introducing yourself and stating your full name and so on just so the record is clear and then proceed with whatever statement you would wish to make. Then I may ask you some questions when you have completed it, if that is all right with you. Mr. Gibson, would you like to carry on now.

**MR. GIBSON:** Thank you. I feel privileged to speak out on the movement of the Eskimo in 1953 to the High Arctic. I believe something should be known, the background of myself.

I was born in Gibsons, British Columbia, raised in southwestern Ontario until the age of 14. I was raised on a farm and experienced the Great Depression. At the age of 14, I returned to British Columbia with family.

I joined the Royal Canadian Navy and am a veteran of the North Atlantic. I travelled extensively and I have visited people in Peru, the Falkland Islands, British West Indies and I joined the Hudson Bay Company for a short time, but due to allergies, I had to leave the company.

At that time, I was stationed at Telegraph Creek among the Tahltan Indians, Fort St. James among the Carrier Indians.

I wrote and passed my exams for the provincial police and was stationed in Prince Rupert aboard the PML-15 which took me to all the Indian villages and the Queen Charlotte Islands where I was in charge of the detachment of Queen Charlotte City and Masset.

I have always been most interested in Native conditions and have gone out of my way to increase my knowledge and understand why such things should exist.

In 1950, the B.C. provincial police were taken over by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. In 1952, I was posted to Port Harrison at my request to serve in the Arctic. At the age of 30 and with the experience and interest, I was most happy to receive this opportunity to see how the people in the High Arctic lived.

Port Harrison is some 100 to 120 miles north of the tree line, very barren country and rocky. I was very interested in the ways of the Eskimos and made keen observations.

Nick Schultz was a member of the RCAP staff during the Special Hearing on High Arctic Relocations

My first observations were appalling – the housing, the cleanliness, the lice-infested people and poor source of equipment, *r.e.* guns and other necessary things to survive. I couldn't understand how people were making out in such circumstances.

Canvas tents were in poor shape. I wondered in August how they lived but waited until Winter. A big surprise. Igloos made of snow. No variation of same. No square igloos. They were all round in architecture.

Who is listening have been in the Arctic to witness the change of seasons from fall to winter or from spring to summer?

Moving from a tent to an igloo takes at least one week. A large igloo is constructed first. The bed the Eskimo moves in with her stone lamp, stone pot, primus stove and whatever equipment she might have and she takes over the large igloo and a bed platform is made.

Next, there is another smaller igloo attached which houses food and clothing. Then a third igloo is attached which contains dog harnesses and hunting equipment, *et cetera*, seal meat and so on.

Igloo No. 4 houses a mother dog perhaps, with pups. Her reason for being there, I believe, is to guard the entrance to the igloo or igloos and, of course, being a mother dog, her milk could freeze and she would die. The loss of dogs is a great loss to the Eskimo people. So all in all, we have a long tunnel with a series of igloos.

They make a length of about 40 feet. I had to crawl on hands and knees. I am six-feet tall. The Eskimos are much shorter. As a result of my crawling in and out of the igloos and other activity in the Arctic, I now have two artificial knees attributed to this action.

The Eskimo women regulate the temperature in the igloo by moving the wick of the stone lamp up and down and, therefore, causing the temperature to rise and fall to prevent dripping and melting of the snow.

Sanitary conditions left much to be desired. I never slept in an igloo occupied by the Eskimo. I always built my own trail igloo as I could not bring myself to live under or sleep under such circumstances as these people were enduring. However, that was their culture.

Male Eskimos are the outfitters and they are the ones who make a camp good or bad. They have the great influence. They travel by dog sled or komatik where mud was put on the runners to prevent sticking and causing hard-going for the dogs.

To my surprise, the komatik that I witnessed one day coming to the detachment was none other than a large piece of walrus skin pulled by two dogs and a smiling Eskimo coming along over the snow. Now, this would indicate that this man did not have access to wood for a komatik and he was using the land availability and the availability of the walrus skin for his means of transportation.

This gave me food for thought and, of course, increased my interest in how these people existed even prior to the coming of the white man.

Kayaks were used greatly for transportation. These are little skin boats and, of course, the Eskimo travel in the summer time from their outlying camps. Families were left behind on the land, but if perhaps the Eskimo woman wanted to come along and do her shopping, then she lay facing the Eskimo as he paddled his kayak. These were the things that created more interest.

Hunting for food and so on is their way of life and their only occupation

up until this time. There is plenty of food in caribou, but not readily available in the Port Harrison area and walrus had to be hunted from the Sleeper Islands, some 50 or 60 miles off into the Hudson Bay.

Travel to hunting areas were outfitted by the RCMP and Hudson Bay Company. Movement to the Belcher Islands in the early 1930s and to Cow Charlie (PH.) to the Sleepers in the late 1940s was an indication of the shortage of food on the mainland of the province of Quebec.

An RCMP boat, Sioolee's boat, Inookpuk's boat and a boat from Povungnituk were the only ones seaworthy to proceed to the Sleeper and the Belcher Islands. There was plenty of fish and small seal, but a shortage of Arctic fox. Low prices, et cetera.

Eskimos depended on the family allowance and welfare. They even gave their children away to other unfortunate people who didn't have any so they could be registered and be able to draw family allowance as a family income and support.

Child allowances were issued by ledger and voucher, a message through RCMP and Hudson Bay Company with details going to the Department of Northern Affairs for final bookkeeping. Eskimos appeared to accept the welfare as a way of life and slowed up on their own Native ways and became dependent on white man. This was quite obvious to me.

No money was involved at the Hudson Bay Company. Tokens were used as trade and disks for individual identification of the Eskimo. A disk method of registration proved most satisfactory.

Patrols were made for people to settle in the High Arctic after receiving a message from Superintendent Larson. Tommy Palliser, a Hudson Bay Company interpreter, born in Nain, Labrador, was employed by the Hudson Bay Company and understood white man's ways and Eskimo ways perfectly. I used him to make sure that the Natives understood all aspects of the move, including the dark period, et cetera.

I made no promise of the return to Port Harrison.<sup>15</sup> Margery Hinds, Rheub Ploughman of the Hudson Bay Company were helpful in selecting the people for the move. Margery Hinds supervised the necessities for women and families. New rifles were supplied, et cetera. Plenty of volunteers were available when the time came to leave Port Harrison.

They were told that if they were interested to contact the Hudson Bay Company or the RCMP. Tommy Palliser was used as the interpreter so there was a clear understanding of what lay before them and of the possibilities of a better way of life in the High Arctic.

I could see where there was not going to be much change from my observations and knowledge of the High Arctic. While the Eskimos in Port Harrison lived in igloos in the wintertime and tents in the summertime, I could see whereby it was going to be no great hardship as far as that was concerned.

They were told of the dark period and of its probable implications, but they seemed to accept this at the time of the interviews and shrugged their shoulders and said, "It can't be helped." Their Eskimo word is "iamnamut" (PH).

I did not know when I was picking these Natives that I was going to be the member who was going to be picked to accompany them into the High Arctic, Resolute Bay. However, I believe the new detachment was going to open at Cape Herschel. I refer to it as Twin Glaciers.

RCMP reports from the late 1940s and early 1950s suggest that those Inuit located within the Port Harrison Detachment Area but living on the Sleeper and Belcher Islands within Hudson Bay were less reliant on scarcer food resources, such as caribou, and therefore less susceptible to hunger. The reports also noted that there were fewer white fox on the islands, leading to a trade-off between hunting and trapping resources.

Gibson is here referring to the Eskimo Registration program, or numbered disks that were used for government administration in the Arctic. These disc numbers were discussed during the SCAA hearings. For further reading, see Dunning (2022).

Larson's telegram of 14 April 1953 outlines what was communicated to RCMP stationed at Port Harrison. See, Document 39 in S. Grant (2016).

15. This is an interesting statement, as Larson's telegram instructions mention that this was to be part of the discussion about the move.

This was the new detachment that was to open at Alexandra Fiord, which was not completed as part of the relocations.



The C.D. *Howe* left Port Harrison and proceeded to Churchill on its eastern Arctic patrol, and I refer now to Northwest Territories postal cancellations 1907/1986 by Ken O'Reilly. This is put out by the Postal Department and this is what I have. In 1952, it had been decided to establish for sovereignty purposes an RCMP detachment in Eskimo settlement on East Ellesmere Island with two relocated families from Pond Inlet and Port Harrison, Quebec. The new settlement was proposed for Cape Herschel.

The CGS *D'Iberville* arrived off Cape Hershell on August 15, 1953 but was unable to reach it or the abandoned RCMP post of Bache Peninsula. A new site on the south side of Buchanan Bay below Twin Glaciers was selected and the supplies landed on August the 18th. That is just for passing information as to how this location on Alexander Fjord came about and also later reference I will make to the sovereignty.

The *D'Iberville* had to change plans, et cetera, and it was decided who and where the people were to go. We tried to keep the families close together.

Craig Harbour had had a successful walrus hunt when the ship arrived. Larson and I had a disagreement on the dog food. If I was to go to Resolute Bay, I knew there was nothing there for me, only the Cornwallis Island. Larson assured me that there would be plenty of country food available, but due to the late arrival at Resolute Bay, the walrus had all gone south and there were seals available and some birds, ducks, which winter there all year round.

Resolute Bay had established an ionosphere station, an RCAF station, a U.S. weather bureau station and then another weather DOT station.

The Eskimo camp was established some three miles away. Henry Larson and I picked the site.

I understand that scientific people who had been in the Arctic prior, such as Dr. Roots, Dr. Thorsteinsen, Stewart McDonald, recent Massey Medal receiver, had made close scrutiny of the availability of country food in the area. This I was satisfied with and their observations were keen and well tabulated.

The site was picked by Larson and myself. A fresh water lake was at the rear of the camp. Excavation by scientists revealed that nearby a Native camp some 200 years ago had been there. No known reason for its demise was available, but there were signs of plenty of food which had been available during that time. It is now believed that perhaps it was the dark period that took the people from the area.

Upon arrival with the Native people on the shores of Cornwallis Island, tents were erected, dogs were tethered and hunters had to get out and hunt for seafood for dogs and people concerned. My greatest concern was the present shortage of country food and the supply for the coming winter.

Several weeks before darkness, Eskimos went every day to hunt and they were constantly reminded of the forthcoming darkness. Igloos were built the same as in Port Harrison under my supervision. Cleanliness was to be of great importance. Pride took over as visiting parties were frequent to the Eskimo site under my supervision. Visitors probably never had witnessed people living under these conditions. Great interest was shown by the majority of people who visited the camp and very little comment was made to me at that time.

With the arrival of the large diesel engines to give power to the entire settlement, the weather station, the ionosphere station and so on, large store

There was intent to establish a new RCMP detachment at Alexandra Fiord, specifically to promote sovereignty. There was also intent to establish a new Inuit community at Alexandra Fiord as part of the 1953 relocation program. This was not completed in 1953 due to poor ice conditions upon arrival. Although the establishment of an RCMP detachment was for sovereignty purposes, there is no indication that the Inuit settlement was intended to fulfill sovereignty goals. Documentary evidence makes it clear that Inuit were to be relocated only to areas where there was a detachment available to support them, and therefore sites were chosen on the basis of where RCMP detachments were located. Importantly, the RCMP and the DRD/DNANR had different objectives and purposes within the federal government that influenced their decision-making.

The RCMP detachment does get established at Alexandra Fiord with construction taking place predominantly in 1954.

There was some general knowledge of the wildlife available throughout the High Arctic, though CWS was careful to note that the sustainability and longevity of wildlife resources was not clear. Better information existed for Resolute Bay than for Grise Fiord due to the permanent presence of the RCAF and the DOT.

boxes, containers were sent in, containers of valuable wooden boards, et cetera. A check of the wood waste – at the RCAF station, I requested all boards, plywood, et cetera, be separated from the disposables. All establishments complied – the RCAF, the ionosphere, et cetera. I would say that this was probably the start of recycling which we are all faced with at this time.

Insulation of fine quality was obtained left over from the RCAF construction. Windows, et cetera, were obtained from discards from the other projects. Paint was also available. The cable was obtained from ionosphere. The late Jack Wyatt was instrumental in assisting here.

The power was installed by RCAF electricians. A one 60-watt light bulb to each dwelling was supplied. No outlets were allowed due to safety reasons and my concern for the ways of the Eskimo. I did not want to bring them into the white man's way too soon.

A phone line was extended to one dwelling, that of Sadluvenich, with a direct line to the RCAF where I had my detachment. This was installed for emergency purposes only – one long ring.

My refusal to allow Eskimos on the RCAF and other white establishments has been greatly criticized and I had my reasons. There were some 50 men stationed there, white men. I refer to them as white men. In the Eskimo side were these young girls and so on. Canteen was available. White man's way of life was quite prominent and they had all the amenities that one would want from the south.

All this was new to the Eskimo and I did not want – and I was instructed from the Commissioner of the Mounted Police that my purpose was to keep the people on the land, not to allow them on the base because they were afraid of perhaps being exposed to the white man's way of life, prostitution, alcoholism and so on, because all of this could be quite readily established if they were allowed to go on the base.

This was a great concern of mine and I had the utmost co-operation from the RCAF. Their men never went to the Eskimo camp and the Eskimo camp people never visited, as such, to the RCAF or did they ever enter the building.

There was, however, a large dump some distance from the Air Force base which I told the Eskimos they were not to bother with, that I had things under control. I used to foot patrol periodically to see if I could catch them. I suspected that they were visiting this dump.

Now, this large establishment of the RCAF, of course, created a lot of disposable things. However, I am satisfied and am very pleased to know and for people to know that I feel that I was on the right track by not allowing these people on the base. I think further investigation years later will reveal that we did have prostitution, we did have alcoholism. One well-known Idlout was intoxicated when he went down over the bank to the Eskimo camp, out onto the sea ice in his ski-doo and was killed.

I feel that I prevented this type of thing. Perhaps there was some hardship to the Natives. I don't know, but I have a clear conscious with regard to the way I handled this. They wonder what type of a person I was to deprive these Canadian citizens of this privilege of going to the RCAF camp. I felt it was for the good of the Native people.

Accusations of starvation, theft of mail, sexual acts, lack of interest and being deprived of their religion, medical help and so on – I felt a great responsibility to these people.

Ross' description of the Resolute dump differs significantly from the descriptions given by Inuit. It seems Ross is referencing a later period, closer to the end of the 1950s, when electricity and more permanent housing was constructed at the Inuit settlement.

This incident occurred in 1968 after Joseph Idlout had been drinking at the Arctic Circle Club at the RCAF base. Alcohol consumption was an ongoing concern of government officials throughout the 1950s and 1960s. For Inuit discussions of the effects of alcohol on their community at Resolute, see Iqqaumavara (2011).

I understand that this matter has probably been overlooked. I have never been properly clarified. They had their own catechists and when visiting clergymen came to the RCAF, he was introduced to them and he performed some ceremonies for them. Being Anglican, they were able to follow him quite well with their prayer books that were written in syllabic.

The late Reverend Lord was greatly impressed by what he did see and how the Eskimos conducted themselves during these services and was most pleased that they were carrying on and were not being deprived of their religion.

Medical help was also available. I had access to Churchill and Tuli in case of emergency, aircraft help. The RCAF had a sick bay medical man available with some drugs if necessary and I myself had had some training and used some common sense and close observation on anything I might see out of line with regard to the peoples' health.

I feel that they were not neglected in this matter. I think my observations were to myself, not to them. They didn't know what I was really up to and I wanted to keep it that way.

I think if the Cape Herschel settlement had gone ahead as planned, the two Eskimo families and or four Eskimo families and myself could have starved and faced great hardship because we would have been stranded on Ellesmere Island. There was little time for administration or anything, but I probably would have died with them if this was it because it was my responsibility.

With regard to sovereignty rights, the flight over the Pole of the late Brooke Claxton, Vincent Massey, Mr. Stewart Hodgson – I don't know why these flights were made. I accompanied the late Honourable Brooke Claxton. He was the first Cabinet Minister to fly over the Pole. Vincent Massey was the first Vice Regal party to fly over the Pole. Stu Hodgson, Commissioner of the Northwest Territories, landed at the Pole, I understand, and had some difficulty getting off. If this had anything to do with sovereignty rights, I don't know. Sovereignty was never, never discussed with me.

This was the first flight over the North pole by a Cabinet Minister, occurring in March 1954.

The report of Professor Gunther, the Hinkley Report, press reports across Canada, Marcus of Cambridge University – they were very critical with their reports but no Gibsons' report until now. I completely co-operated with these people and gave them any information I might have, but I was greatly disappointed in the manner in which I was presented and what really took place where I was the person involved.

A generation has gone beyond. These people are doing an investigation. I think it might be most interesting to do such research. I was never really brought into the picture for the other side of the story. Their criticism seemed to be one-sided as though they picked my brains and they pulled no punches in expressing their own ideas.

I appear to have supplied food for thought for them – their inexperience and lack of knowledge of the firsthand facts. RCMP have failed to take much interest in the program. The Commissioner's internal investigation into the allegations made toward the Mounted Police during this period were quite inconclusive to my way of thinking. I have never been cleared of any theft of mail. I have never been cleared of any sexual acts that I might have had with the Eskimos. I have never been cleared of any other thing that I might have done. No apology, no nothing has ever come from the Mounted Police and I feel this is quite inconclusive.

However, if this is the way it is, I have to live with my conscious regardless of what other people might think. I have never been cleared of any wrongdoing or did I do anything wrong, but I do think that an apology should be forthcoming from some angle because these accusations made by the Eskimo people are quite damaging to myself, and the press reports that come out are also frightening.

My friends from across the country phone me long distance to find out what kind of things really did happen up in the Arctic.

Two cultures. Food for thought. The white man's culture and the Eskimo culture. I believe the first arrival of the whalers and the Hudson's Bay Company and the trading and contact with the Eskimos altered forever the way of the Eskimo way of life as such, and I think it is going to continue to alter and I feel that the Eskimo perhaps are the benefactors in the long run.

I have here a document I received taken from the paper which I am going to quote which I think is rather startling. The Times Colonist Tuesday, June the 1st, 1993. "Cost of compensation stalling agreements with wronged groups. 'This offer is far too little far too late,' Gary Yee, head of the Chinese National Redress Committee, told Weiner during meeting on Monday. The Chinese Canadian National Council says Ottawa collected \$23 million from 81,000 Chinese immigrants in the discriminatory head tax between 1885 and 1923. The money would now be worth about \$1 billion, the Council says, but it wants only a symbolic sum to immigrants and relatives.

The Ukrainian Redress Committee says between 3,300 and 5,000 Ukrainians were wrongly interned during the First World War and their losses were about \$10 million in current dollars. Other groups have similar claims for wrongful internment in the Second World War. The refusal in 1914 to allow a ship of 300 Sikhs to land in Vancouver and the Second World War rejection of a boat load of Jews who returned to die in the Holocaust. The government apologized in 1988 for the internment of about 22,000 Japanese Canadians during the Second World War and paid about \$300 million in compensation."

Now, I say, as I read some of these reports, if these people were moved under such circumstances as the aforementioned, do we classify this Eskimo project in the same category? Are they out for compensation some 50 years later? Are they going to be compensated? These are things that I wonder about and the things that I am concerned about because I was the one person who was with these people and understood the situation. I cannot agree that they should be compensated. They were never abandoned.

Did the Eskimo way of life change? Of course it changed. It was bound to. Participants such as Jim Cantley, Margery Hinds, Henry Larsen, Commissioner Nicholson and all department heads were dedicated people and were wanting for the betterment of the better way of life for the Eskimo people, especially in the Port Harrison area.

The Province of Quebec did not and would not administer any assistance to that portion of the province north of the tree line. Again, I stress that these Natives were never abandoned, never abandoned, nor were they ever exiled. I think this has been greatly overrated, greatly over-emphasized. I checked my dictionary and I am convinced that they were never abandoned because I was always present. There was always an RCMP member present at Craig Harbour for their supervision.

I must say here that what I am telling you is my experience at Resolute Bay. The late Glen Sargent was the capable man in charge of Craig Harbour

and Grise Fjord. We had constant radio contact and were always able to have a good understanding. I never felt that even the people at Craig Harbour or Grise Fjord were abandoned because we had the radio contact and in case of emergency, again, the RCAF was available and it would only have been a matter of a few hours and these people could have been airlifted or an air drop could have been made for whatever their wants might be.

The Eskimo have come a long way under supervision of government agencies, but I had the opportunity to sail on the *C.D. Howe* with one Mr. Christianson who later became the Governor of Greenland. I believe they were on the right track because everything came under the Danish government with regard to the operations of the development of Greenland, even to the church.

This impressed me very much and I think perhaps here is where we made a great mistake in Canada. We have all of these various people, the Anglican Church, the Roman Catholic Church, the Hudson's Bay Company, the Mounted Police, the Department of Northern Affairs, the Commissioner of the Territories and all. If we were under one head, I think we would have a better understanding and perhaps a closer-knit feeling to bring a successful conclusion to anything that might be undertaken. Certainly, this has been proven in Tuli in Greenland.

I always suspected perhaps, while Northern Service officers become a necessity and again another department from the Mounted Police – the Mounted Police were given the responsibility, but these Northern Service officers did a lot of good work. They were fine men, dedicated men, but I always felt that some of them had had contact with Eskimo people. They understood the language. They were able to correspond in writing.

I always suspected a pipeline to the Department of Northern Affairs of which I knew nothing. They were on their own and they never told me what was what or what was going on. I was a low man on the totem pole and I feel a lack of communication between the various departments was something that might have hindered the better progress of this particular movement of the Eskimo people. I think we have all suffered from this. However, maybe something has been learned.

The Canadian approach to this is quite startling and yet the end result, I think, has been a great success. I was most interested and, as I said, followed up very closely with Mr. Christianson the development of Greenland. I discussed this with Superintendent Larson and he agreed, but it was never carried out or was ever acted upon.

Also, with the movement of more Eskimos into the High Arctic, I suggested that perhaps they be rotated from time to time and give them all a chance for the Arctic fox and the better way of life, to get them established. If they wanted to go back, that would be entirely up to them, but I thought a rotation process would be good, not only settle them at Resolute Bay, Assistance Bay, Dungeness and even Beechy Island (PH.) where game was most plentiful. I thought that would be quite in order. They would still have easy access to any supervision that would be required by the Mounted Police.

I feel that this whole project has been a complete success. Food for thought. I expect no compensation for anything that I might have contributed to the better way of the Eskimo and I feel that the Eskimo should not be compensated for what happened.

I liken them to the early settlers of Canada, how they were deprived. They

Niels Otto Christianson joined the Greenland Office in the Danish State Department in 1947 and visited Inuit settlements throughout Arctic Canada in the early 1950s. He served as head of office in the Ministry for Greenland and became Governor General for Greenland in 1962

didn't know what they were coming to and so on and look how the white man has adjusted. There were some adjustments that had to be made. The dark period was, I think, a big thing and the Eskimos' close-knit community was another, their visiting, their cups of tea and so on.

I feel that perhaps there was some anxiety, some change, but to my way of thinking, the Eskimo were never abandoned. I think that the project was a complete success and I think they should not be compensated. Certainly, I feel no need for compensation. All I want is an explanation with regard to the accusations that have recently been made by the Native people.

I refer to a book which I think will sum up the whole thing and perhaps throw a different light on whatever the thoughts of the investigators might be. The book is "Northerners: Profiles of People in the Northwest Territories" by Douglas Holmes. It was put out by the James Lorimer and Company Publishers, Toronto, 1989, and I am sure it is available to people through the library.

Now, on the very first chapter is one of the crippled lady who appeared in April before the Royal Commission and how she moved to Craig Harbour and how she was treated. The headline is "Anna Nungaq relocated to total darkness".

Now, if you people would kindly take the time and make available this article, I think perhaps we will see here, which will substantiate what I have told you, that I am still most interested and I still feel my contribution to this project was great and perhaps quite misunderstood because I had other duties to perform.

There was a weather station at Isaacson and Mould Bay, Eureka and Alert that had to be patrolled. I was a Customs and Excise officer. I assisted with the Postal Department. I kept game controls. I kept my eyes on the Eskimo. This was no easy job for me and I want no compensation. I want no pat on the back. It was my duty as a Canadian and an RCMP officer to do these duties and it was expected of me.

The late Commissioner Nicholson said, "You must make this a success. You must keep these people out onto the land. This is what they are. This is what we want. We don't want to bring them into the white man's way of life too quickly. They belong to a different culture and you must understand them."

My last conversation with Henry Larson when he was making his trip to Europe – I was in Halifax. He and I discussed this quite freely. After his retirement, we became very close. We were discussing this and the only comment that I have ever received from the Mounted Police was – he patted me on the back and he said, "Commissioner Nicholson and I think we picked the right man to take these people into the High Arctic."

I will never forget this and my great appreciation. A great privilege it was and I await any outcome of what this final investigation or comment will be.

Thank you very much.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** Thank you, Mr. Gibson.

I have a couple of questions. If you were at the hearing, the Commissioners would ask questions.

**MR. GIBSON:** Oh, I am sure they would.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** Perhaps we will be able to arrange that opportunity. When we spoke yesterday, you had mentioned that it might be possible to get in

touch with you during the course of the hearings if the Commissioners do have questions.

**MR. GIBSON:** I will make it possible.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** And I will bring it to their attention.

**MR. GIBSON:** Right.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** In the meantime, though, just to complete and clarify the transcript that will be made of this, I have a few questions that I would like to ask and if you find that you don't have something that you have to say on any of these questions, feel free to let me know. You are under no obligation –

**MR. GIBSON:** No. I understand.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** You had talked about the conditions of Port Harrison and talked about them as being appalling and had also talked about some relocations to the islands in Hudson's Bay because of the food shortages there.

I am wondering if perhaps you might elaborate on your observations that you made in the 1952/53 period about the availability of country food and whether people were doing well or whether they were facing difficulty in getting adequate food.

**MR. GIBSON:** Yes. This was what took the settlements out onto the Sleeper Islands.

Caribou are not readily available in the Port Harrison area. They had to travel down to the tree line. They have no large migration of caribou. They are just small scattered herds. Some large migrations that take place over on the Fort Chimo area do not exist in the Port Harrison area.

In the summertime, boats had to be taken down about, as I say, 70 or 80 miles to hunt caribou and you didn't always find the caribou. Maybe a few more ptarmigan down at the tree line, but certainly not the caribou.

The walrus were not available at Port Harrison. They never came into the Port Harrison area. They were only available out on the Sleeper Islands. Of course, that was, again, some 70 miles, 80 miles out across the open ocean and there are just a bunch of rocks out in the Hudson's Bay.

Nesting birds, the ducks, the geese and so on all went out to these islands to nest. This is what took the people there. Of course, the Arctic fox in the wintertime travelled out in search of food.

So trapping and so on – and it is interesting again that the conditions under which they lived out on the Sleeper Islands – Cow Charlie (PH.) was the name of the Eskimo man and I was utterly floored from what I was able to see. They got out there in the old Peterhead boat and it broke down and they were really abandoned out there over the winter. The geese came into nest and when geese lose their feathers, they can't fly.

So the Eskimo would herd the geese together and take their harpoon and harpoon a goose. They were eating the sculpin. They were able to trap a seal in a bay and the conditions under which they were living were – I just couldn't understand how they were living and yet they seemed to be happy. They shook your hand and of course the first thing they wanted was a cup of tea. The old women even ate the tea leaves. This seemed to be something that was at every camp, but they were most anxious to get the tea leaves, to eat the tea leaves and, of course, to smoke their cigarettes. They had been out of tobacco.

But the overall conditions and how these people adjusted to survive, to supply food, which, of course, was all they had to do – it was supply food for themselves. But if there was any illness or anything, of course, the whole camp would have died. The aggressiveness, the keen, willing to make do with nothing appalled me and I can see where anyone coming into the country just at a glance would wonder what and how these people existed over the years without some assistance from somebody.

Have I made myself clear?

**MR. SCHULTZ:** Indeed. You had talked about your impressions. Was it your sense that people were short of food at that time or that there was any starvation?

**MR. GIBSON:** I never felt that they were starving or that there was ever any danger of them starving. In this project, when they were moved to the Arctic, there was never any danger of them ever starving. There could never have been because of the availability to the RCAF and the promise of Air Vice-Marshall Ripley to me that in dire necessity, he would come to our assistance and make air drops to the outlying places.

Now, Ripley took a dim view of this move in the first place, but I think in the end I received his utmost co-operation and could see after his own observation of what was happening that perhaps it was not a bad idea. I got nothing but co-operation from his successors, Air Vice-Marshall Carscalon (PH.) and Air Vice-Marshall Carpenter and all the RCAF officers in charge of the Air Force base, the head of the U.S. weather bureau from Washington, J. Glen Dior, and other members of our own government, heads of the Department of Transport, Jack Wyatt who was in charge of the Arctic. I got nothing but full co-operation and I never had any fear of starvation. If anything went wrong, I had all this backing and the Eskimos had this backing. Whether they were aware of this or not, I don't know, but it was with this confidence that I felt that I could improve on the way of the Eskimo way of life.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** Before you got to Resolute and you were in Port Harrison in 1952/53, did you have any sense of whether people were short of food or there was any starvation?

**MR. GIBSON:** I felt that there was a shortage of food and I think I expressed their dependency on the family allowance and any welfare that might be happened.

In closing, this sovereignty – I must go back here. Sovereignty, you know, to me was a thing that perhaps reared its head and it did rear its head with regard to the Northwest Passage and so on.

Now, the only sovereignty connection that I can even recollect was that the Canadian Rangers, an organization which is across Canada, was organized and rifles were supplied, old rifles from the army and certain rounds of ammunition all across Canada, the settlements. There was a captain of the organization as a member of the *C.D. Howe* crew – not crew, passengers – and he visited all of these places and he gave the eligible Eskimo – not only in Resolute Bay and Grise Fjord, but other settlements – rifles and certain rounds of ammunition. They wore a badge on their arm that they were a ranger.

Now, is this part of sovereignty? Was this part of it? I think not because my observation was that the Eskimo were not happy with the rifles that the



rangers brought them. As a matter of fact, I have several hundred pictures depicting the way and life of the Eskimo.

On one, it startled me to see that one of these rifles was used as a tent pole. Therefore, I don't think that they were overly impressed with the rangers and I don't think sovereignty ever entered the Eskimo's mind. I think survival is foremost in the Eskimo's mind. I really and truly believe in my heart that survival, of course, is the main thing, not only for the Eskimo but for all humanity.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** You had mentioned that you received instructions from the then Inspector Larson in connection with recruiting people for the relocation and had gone out to see them with an interpreter and that you had made no promise to them.

Were you aware at that time in any way of any promise being made to return people if they were unhappy, or did you have any understanding of what would happen if people got to the High Arctic and weren't happy with what they found?

**MR. GIBSON:** I felt that this was certainly out of my hands. I was aware that there was that possibility, but I felt that in due course the matter would be looked into and investigated and acted upon not only by the RCMP, but also by the Department of Northern Affairs.

Certainly, you must remember that I am very small on the totem pole which sort of grew up with the whole thing. I never thought of the return. I think it was the fact that this was a project. It was a challenge and I felt that those plans that were laid and so on were quite satisfactory and if they were going to return, then the matter would be looked at when it reared its head.

Now, never in my time was I ever approached by any Eskimo that was relocated in the High Arctic saying that they were unhappy, saying that they ever wanted to return. They were anxious to bring more people in and this was when Henry Larson and I discussed the possibility of having small settlements across the islands under supervision of Northern Affairs or Mounted Police and settle these people in.

Now, game is in pockets in the Arctic and, therefore, people cannot all live with 500 or 600 people in one bunch if they are going to live off the land because of the migratory bird, the runs of the fish in the spring and in the fall, the activity of the seal and the walrus and so on. It is just a great, great, great thing that I think should be taken into consideration. All of this thing enters into the thought that went into resettling these people.

As we went along, certainly I submitted the late Henry Larson some proposals. He didn't always listen, but then again he was the officer commanding. I wasn't. I think, though, in due course that he would have listened a little more. He was a very understanding man of whom I had great respect.

My co-operation or their co-operation with me, the departments and all concerned I will never forget and the thing could never have been a success if they hadn't worked, but I felt that there was a lack of communication to a greater degree to the man who was in the field which I think is always the case.

It is the man in the field who – and I was given a free reign. I just verbally reported to the Commissioner which was a privilege. Henry Larson and I were able to talk freely. I visited at his home and so on in Ottawa and we discussed this freely. It wasn't all written out on paper and so on.

I wonder if the communication between Jim Cantley and other heads of the department – Mr. Sivertz and so on – if they really discussed everything with Henry Larson or did they go off on their own ideas and perhaps these things never appeared on paper, were never tabulated? But certainly intelligent people can reason, I think, and understand – and perhaps misunderstood to a degree – that as long as things are going well, then we are doing all right.

Do I make myself clear?

**MR. SCHULTZ:** You do, sir. Thank you. Is there anyone who was there with you in Port Harrison in 1953 who might have been in a position to make a promise to the people about coming back?

**MR. GIBSON:** Yes, there was. The late Corporal Webster. I think you will find that he was there and Corporal Webster and I didn't always see eye to eye.

When this project came up, he handed me the message and said, "This is going to be your problem. You can screw it up or make a success of it." Now, that is exactly what he told me.

Therefore – but he also took patrols and was interested in co-operating with me. I had his utmost co-operation. There was no animosity between the two of us, but we just, as I say, had differences in religion, differences in upbringing and our ethnic background and all of it just all entered into it which – I don't think we were very evenly matched if I might be a little easy on my explanation here.

Fred would go out on a patrol and I would take over the detachment. Then he would come back and I would go out on patrol, but we always worked together. We had a good working relationship, but the rest of it went by the board. So as to what Fred told them, I have no idea, but I would like to think that his ideas were mine, that he was in no position to make them any promises or did we know at that time that any promises would be made, as far as I was concerned.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** Were there other people from the department around at that point in time who were helping you or helping with the relocation?

**MR. GIBSON:** Yes, the late Margery Hinds who was a school teacher.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** Was Mr. Stevenson also in the community?

**MR. GIBSON:** No, he was not in the community. He only arrived at boat time.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** I see.

**MR. GIBSON:** Of course, Rheub Ploughman who was a Hudson's Bay Company was most co-operative with his interpreter and so on. The interpreter was always paid through the Mounted Police voucher, mind you, for any services rendered.

We also had a very capable nurse Mrs. Reynolds who played a very important part in her criticism and understanding of what was going on and of the people who should be picked. She was an elderly lady with a complete understanding of the ways of the Native people and her contribution was invaluable.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** Could you perhaps tell us a bit about how you did go about picking people to approach for this project?

James Cantley was a former administrator for the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) and worked as an Arctic Administrator for the Department of Resources and Development/Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources from 1950 to 1956. Cantley authored the 1951 "Survey of Economic Conditions Among the Eskimo of the Canadian Arctic" which was influential in determining the Department's approach to Inuit welfare in the 1950s. Cantley was also Secretary to the Eskimo Affairs Committee, which discussed the development of the Department's Inuit policy.

**MR. GIBSON:** Well, yes. I took the dog team and it was late winter. I took the dog team and proceeded north to all of the camps.

Now, you must remember that there are several camps and these camps – their location is determined by the summer hunting and perhaps move inland 10 or 12 miles to the lakes for the summer fishing and so on, which sort of sets them apart. Transportation into the main settlement is quite difficult. In fact, we sometimes don't see any of the Eskimo women from one season to the next.

However, I took Tommy Palliser and my special constable and we proceeded north to visit the Eskimo camps, some of it being that of Johnny Echalook, Sadluvenich, Johnny Inookpuk and Sioolee's. Just off the top of my head, these are – Nellie the Witch was another one. They had a campsite and upon arrival of these camps, I immediately constructed my own igloo because, of course, the conditions under which I was witnessing I felt I couldn't expose myself to. It is not that I felt that I was any better, but I certainly didn't want to become lice-infested. Furthermore, I was allergic to raw fur, the smell of the raw seal and I never could eat raw fish or seal liver. You see, I had to look after myself as well as being interested in the Eskimo.

The first thing was that as soon as my igloo was erected, there would be a line-up of these people. They never offered me a cup of tea, but they expected me to make them tea. So my special constable would put on the primus stove and we made a great big pot of tea. They would line up with their tea cups and come into my igloo and I told them the purpose for this patrol. There were other patrols, but this was a patrol that had never been made before. This proposition had never been put to these people. They never ever thought of moving – only from ten-mile distances, I would say, in the spring or in the fall to build their igloos or put up their tent to do their fishing and to do their hunting.

These campsites were regulated, I think, perhaps by word of mouth areas. We will say Johnny Inookpuk probably had a given area which no other Eskimo would trap or hunt or so on. This was just his area. It was not registered in any way, shape or form, but it was just their way of life. Each one in order to survive had to have a certain area to do this.

So, anyway, we went on to all of these camps and all the explanations, and I used Tommy Palliser. I was most cautious because I was afraid, knowing how that these could be misconstrued even at that early date. Little did I know that they were going to be so misconstrued at a later date.

I was most cautious and even after my arrival after the initial contact with these people, with the co-operation of the Hudson's Bay Company and where the interpreter was always available, I left word and instructed the Native people that if they were interested, that they felt free to come and discuss with the Hudson's Bay Company and myself and the interpreter so there would be no misunderstanding of what was about to take place, and if they were interested, their names would be taken and certain ones would be selected.

Now, I feel that this was a success because when it came time for the Native people to sail away on the *C.D. Howe* with me and their dogs and their worldly possessions, I was surprised to see or surprised to know that other Eskimo families – we could have taken the whole darn settlement aboard the *C.D. Howe* and settled them into the Arctic because they wanted to get away.

This is a reference to "Old Nellie," Simeonie Amagoalik's grandmother who accompanied him and Sarah Amagoalik to Resolute Bay in 1953 at 80 years old.

Whether it was curiosity, whether I had sold them a bill of goods or whether they could see perhaps that it was going to be better, I don't think the return ever entered their minds so long as they were getting away from what they were and it was going to be better. Anything was better than what they had.

Now, they are intelligent people. They are not foolish and their way of life was not going to be altered that much from my explanation of living in igloos and so on.

Then there was no great problem or was it ever greatly questioned by them.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** I have a picture of you sitting near an igloo in the spring of 1953 at an Eskimo camp and I am wondering if you can describe for us how the conversation might have gone.

**MR. GIBSON:** If the Eskimo were around, I would probably tell them that it was obvious that the prices of the Arctic fox, the scarcity of the Arctic fox, the scarcity of country food, the unavailability of the walrus and the caribou and so on, that Port Harrison and northern Quebec had always been a very poor area. But with the increase in population and so on and the cycle of the animals available, certainly it was rock bottom. It was absolutely rock bottom. The price had gone out on fur. The availability of trading goods was not available and this was stressed on this people.

I made them aware of the probability of the survey and I was completely assured that the surveys had been done on the availability of walrus and seal and so on, and I stressed again the dark period which did not seem to – so they thought, “Well, so it is going to happen, but it is not going to stay dark forever,” type of thing. because – and I didn't go unprepared for any questions I might have been asked. After all, I have a bit of education and understanding and again my interest in the Arctic and so on, what would be about to take place.

Again, I must stress that had I known that I was going to be the one who was going to accompany these people, I don't think I would have approached it any different because I realized what lay ahead and yet I could see where they were going to be better off.

Of course, as I say, the Eskimo have only one thing to do – to hunt and trap – and the better the hunter and the trapper, the better the camp and the happier they are.

As I say, from my world travels to far distant places and so on, I found the Native people always gave me the impression of being happy regardless of the circumstances under which they were living, and I don't think it is a false impression either. The Eskimo always greeted you with a warm handshake and a smile. I never have ever had so many handshakes. That's like royalty.

This gives me the confidence of the people or whether it is confidence that they want in me, I don't know, but it is the way of the Eskimo. It is the way of most Native tribes to present themselves in a favourable manner under extreme circumstances.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** When you were out there talking to them and then explaining what was involved, how did it come about then that they communicated to you that they would be interested in participating in the project?

**MR. GIBSON:** By them coming back to the Hudson's Bay Company during their trade or maybe a patrol back; contacting the interpreter; contacting

Rheub Ploughman; contacting Ms Hinds, the school teacher; contacting the nurse and, of course, I would always be – a runner would be sent for me to participate in whatever this was.

Therefore, while I had the co-operation of all these people, the utmost co-operation, it fell on my shoulders to make the complete understanding to the Eskimo of what lay ahead.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** So what I understood, just so that I am clear of what you said, you went out and talked to them and left the idea with them and then they were to come back and get back to you and they did that.

**MR. GIBSON:** That's exactly right.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** When you were talking to them, did you know where they would be going to? How might you have described that to them?

**MR. GIBSON:** As I say, my interpretation was to go to Bache Peninsula, to Twin Glaciers. This was it and this was going to be the new detachment. This was going to be up off Greenland and it was going to be where Eskimo – I explained the whole thing.

There hadn't been any Eskimo there for 200 years, that there was good hunting, trapping, fishing and so on. I just sold them a bill of goods. I was a salesman or a real estate man, whatever you want to call it, and it was my responsibility to get across to these people the advantages which, of course, they would either take or leave.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** The Commission heard evidence in April that the Inuit impression of what they would be getting when they got to the north was different from what they found and that their expectations in terms of game and so on weren't met and there wasn't as plentiful game as they had been led to believe and that, for example, muskok was restricted from hunting.

Is there any comment you might want to make on that?

**MR. GIBSON:** Yes. I believe in our earlier conversation I stressed that I don't know what they expected. They were still going to have to hunt. The game wasn't going to come to them. They had to go and hunt the caribou. They had to go and shoot the walrus. They had to go and get the seal and so on, but, again, I must stress that I don't think the Port Harrison Natives, to be perfectly frank with you, were the best of people to move into the north because they had become too dependent on the white man's way of life with their welfare and their child support and so on.

I think that the people from Pond Inlet, Cape Dorset area and Pangnirtung – now, these were the people and earlier settlers – when Bache Peninsula, Craig Harbour and Dundas Harbour originally settled, these were the people who were taken. It wasn't the people from northern Quebec. A different way of life, a different culture. They could hardly even understand one another.

In my reading and knowledge here, even the people who went into Grise Fjord – the families didn't get along. The Port Harrison Natives and the Pond Inlet Natives, while they tolerated one another, they certainly never had too much regard for one another because I think the Pond Inlet man was much more aggressive. He knew how to set seal nets under ice. He knew how to hunt a polar bear. He knew how to dress a polar bear. He seemed to know the country better and they were much more aggressive.

The Natives of Port Harrison seemed to have lapsed into a bit of a decline, if I might use that word, and I am not being disrespectful when I say this. Again, I blame the influence of the white man and the scarcity of country food and so on, the conditions under which they existed.

I think a lot of research has to be done if we are going to unearth this thing and bring it to the open. I think we have to go much, much deeper than we have ever gone and what it brings up I am willing to accept.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** When you talk of going deeper, is there something specific you have in mind that you would –

**MR. GIBSON:** Not really, I suppose. I think the facts are before us and we have to accept them. How we interpret them is another thing.

My interpretation of the conditions are such, but somebody else might come along – and I understand that there are going to be people at this hearing, some Air Force people and so on that – well, they were utterly appalled at what was done at Resolute Bay and it was none of their business what was being done at Resolute Bay. I didn't know how to run the Air Force and I didn't expect that they were going to tell me how to run the Eskimo camp.

The people involved – it was probably their first ever visit to the Eskimo people and they knew nothing about them, and now they are coming out as experts and criticizing what was being done and they don't know one end of it from the other.

This bothers me and this is why, unfortunately, due to health reasons, I am not able to be in Ottawa, but I have lived for the last 35-40 years just waiting for this opportunity to express my own personal opinion and my own personal experience from having been there.

So much of this – as I say, the Natives who are now complaining are not the original Natives that are complaining. These are generations that have gone on. These were babies. Some were born afterwards and so on. This is what startles me.

Also, I might add to what I have already said that there was a report that came out – the Eskimos, what they left at Resolute Bay when they returned to Port Harrison some 30 years later or whatever. The worldly possessions are startling. They had electric radios. They had carpets. They had bedroom suites. They had two ski-doo's. They had two or three rifles. They had all of these worldly possessions.

Now, this is all tabulated in this particular report which I will just check here. You should see my mess. "Aboriginal Affairs" and this is issue No. 22, Monday, March the 20th, 1990. The Chairman was Ken Hughes.

In this report, it gave all of these things that were taken or left or whatever they had obtained over the years, but in this report or any other report, I never see any tabulation of what they went in there with, with poor rifles, poor tents, poor equipment and so on, what they had prior to their going in there. There was nothing ever done about this and I think that all of this investigation – and with all due respect to everyone involved – perhaps the other side of the story is that this is the first time this has really been revealed, that nobody – I have tried to get my point across.

I have co-operated with these professors and people who have contacted me from long distances and short distances and so on. I have submitted some of my slides. I have an invaluable collection of slides which I only wish

we had the time and so on to explain. I think it would make for a better understanding.

Unfortunately, I cannot be there in person to meet these people eye to eye because I wonder what these people look like and I am sure they must wonder what kind of a person I am.

If their recollection is that I am overbearing, belonging to the old school, perhaps to a degree, but I also had a duty to perform and it was my responsibility and I took that responsibility not lightly. I took it heavily on my shoulders.

As a result of my patrols and so on in the Arctic, I have severe skin cancer. I have a heart condition. I have a lung condition, two false knees and I am getting no compensation and nobody gives a damn. I am on my own. I have earned my pension. I have made my contribution to Canada and what lies ahead or what the outcome will be, I don't know. A hundred years from now – I don't know. Perhaps it will be all opened up again, but I won't be here. Henry Larson isn't here, Nicholson isn't here, Mr. Cantley isn't here. None of these people are here to answer these questions.

Therefore, this investigation must go on and I am sure that people will use their intelligence and perhaps feel that everything didn't fall between the cracks.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** You had talked about the facts being what they were, but it was a question of interpretation and I just have a small question.

You had referred to your role as a salesman in selling the project to the Inuit and referred to selling "a bill of goods" which is a phrase that sometimes is used in a derogatory way to refer to buying a lemon or something like that.

I would just like to clarify with you how you would wish us to take the –

**MR. GIBSON:** I would think selling them a bill of goods would be something to their advantage.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** Thank you.

You had also talked about how your understanding was that everyone would be going to Twin Glaciers, but it turned out that the people went to different locations and that the division, if I understand it correctly, was made on the ship near Pond Inlet.

I am wondering if you have any observations about that?

**MR. GIBSON:** Well, I don't know – Constable Moody was the man in charge of Pond Inlet. I don't know what his instructions were, although I know Doug personally. He took over the detachment at Resolute Bay for me.

I am afraid that I don't quite know what was presented to those people, but I do believe that the Pond Inlet people were given the idea that they were going to be the ones that were going to show the poor people from Quebec what to do. That, I think, is where the animosity arrived at and even exists to this day, I understand.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** Do you have any impressions of what took place on the ship when the families were –

**MR. GIBSON:** I was there.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** Was it your impression that this was a shock and an upset to people?

**MR. GIBSON:** I don't know because, again, Eskimos don't reflect too much shock or upset whether it is to their advantage or the white man's advantage or disadvantage. I have never figured that one out. I am sure they were concerned, but there was also every thought given to the people on where they were located.

The families, as near as we could regulate them, the people who went to Port Harrison were all interrelated. Old Nellie, the oldest one of the whole lot – and I have been severely criticized for sending her, but she later became the great contributor to the life of the camp and lived for about four years to enjoy every bit of it.

So, therefore, I suppose there was an upset. Distances – these people are quite community-minded. They visit for a cup of tea and so on. Well, they get to Resolute Bay and they find that the person from Pond Inlet can hardly understand them. So they only can visit between the two of them and the gossip and whatever conversation they might have or whatever they might want to talk about is quite limited.

Under their Native way of living in northern Quebec, these people would travel from camp to camp just for a cup of tea, hook up the dog team and just go for a cup of tea and twist their fingers and a little visit, as they called it, and return to their camp. So, therefore, they are a close-knit, a very close-knit people.

I think that this – and with the dark period, I think that this did have an impact. I have no doubt for what this was, but I think it is a very minor thing because, as I say, what startled me and what has upset me most was the fact that these people said that they faced starvation which they never did, that they were sexually abused which they were never, and that Gibson was being able to read syllabic. I don't know one note of syllabic from another and any mail that went out certainly went out under mail restrictions.

I did my best to distribute this mail and you must remember that the mail at the other end – while it went from Resolute Bay and from Craig Harbour once a year or twice a year perhaps by dog team, the mail into Port Harrison or wherever it might have gone, it might have been only every three months or six months.

So there were time lapses there which I think perhaps have been greatly exaggerated to a greater or lesser degree. If a person doesn't write, it is going to be a year or two before they – if they got around to writing, it might be six months or a year before they got that additional letter. So I don't think this is any great issue.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** Do you have any thoughts about how you feel the people fared, particularly, for example, in the first winter? You talked about having to hunt every day and to build up supplies of country food to get through the dark period and so on. Can you comment on how the first winter went?

**MR. GIBSON:** Yes, I can. If it hadn't have been for Amagoolik, again a Pond Inlet man who was the only one from Pond Inlet who settled at Resolute Bay initially – he made seal nets. He showed these people from Port Harrison, but the Port Harrison people were quite willing to accept what Amagoolik had to offer.

How to hunt a polar bear – they didn't know how to hunt a polar bear. They didn't know how to dress a polar bear. They didn't know anything about this way of living.

Gibson refers to Jaypettie Amarualik, but says Amagoalik. Jaybeddie Amagoalik came to Resolute Bay from Inukjuak.



The Pond Inlet man was able to adjust to this and I felt that the people from Port Harrison resented that. Again, I must relate misunderstandings and that story of a lock and my special constable, I think, sums the whole thing up. I wish it to be tabulated.

The Anglican church had to be closed and it was my responsibility to see that there was a lock and hasp put on the door at Bishop Marshers's request.

So I was busy and I gave my Special Constable Josie Nowra a lock and hasp to be put on the mission house door or the mission door. So he took it and I explained how I wanted it put on and so on. A couple of hours later, I went across and had a look and he had done a fine job, a very find job of putting that hasp on. I couldn't have done anything better myself, but, low and behold, the lock was unlocked. It was hanging open in the hasp and so I wondered why he didn't lock the lock.

Anyway, I proceeded on to the Hudson's Bay Company where Josie was and, again, the interpreter. Josie met me with a smile and a handshake and I said, "Josie, why didn't you lock the lock?" He looked at me for a minute and he said, "You just told me to put that lock and hasp on the door. You didn't tell me to lock it."

Now, this was a lesson to me. Did I make myself clear? How much did they understand me?

To this very day, when I misinterpret or try to get a different angle with my wife who occupied the Arctic with me for one year in Port Harrison, she said, "Oh, you're trying to think like an Eskimo." Now, you see the impact that this has had on us.

Did I get my point across?

**MR. SCHULTZ:** Yes, sir.

Do you have any general observations you would like to make about your relationship with the people in Resolute and how you feel things went in the community in the time you were there? When was it that you were posted out of Resolute?

**MR. GIBSON:** I was posted out in 1957.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** Is there any sort of general observations you might want to make about –

**MR. GIBSON:** I could certainly see the improvement with the – they no longer lived in their igloos. They had their little houses and they say they scrounged material from the dump.

I think this presentation is far, far, far out. I don't know whether it is to impress the readers or the people who are interested. It has made good reading, but the press, our Canadian press, I find – and I don't know whether there is any legal approach one could make or not, but I get very uptight. My blood pressure goes up and so on when I read some of these articles that appear in this paper and how they express themselves and so on. It is nothing – one side of the thing is always – and this is what has bothered me and will continue to bother me until I get this transcript and I find out what the final outcome of this Royal Commission is going to be.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** You talked about how you carried out the orders that you were given and so on. Did you sense at any time that people might have resented the orders that you were carrying out or that kind of thing?

**MR. GIBSON:** I never felt any resentment toward me at all. As I think I told

Media coverage of the April Inuit hearings was extensive, including many newspaper articles and the media broadcasts of the hearings themselves.

you earlier, my association with the Natives and my working with them was indeed a pleasure, as far as I was concerned, and I thought I was helping them.

As a matter of fact, Allie and Edith named a baby after me, Rossiapic, and this is just a great privilege. I thought it was a great privilege. I helped to deliver one of their breach births and I thought that I saved a life. I attended their every want and need.

I never felt – while I never ever – my culture, my upbringing could never bring myself to their level – and I don't like to use that word "level", but is the only way I can explain it in English or any other language. I don't think I am superior. I don't think they are inferior. There is room for us all and we are all God's creatures, if I might use that expression.

So, therefore, I never felt that they resented my being there. I felt that they had become quite dependent on the white man and perhaps had lost some of their natural instincts of surviving or dying which they seem to accept as easily as life.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** There was a comment made in April about people going to the dump to look for food because they were hungry. Do you have any observations on that kind of thing in Resolute Bay?

**MR. GIBSON:** I am not saying that they didn't. Now, I would not say they didn't, but many a night I took patrols – I suspected this. I must say that I suspected it and in all probability they did, but there was no reason for them to do this. Whether this was just something for them to do or what, they were certainly in no position of starving.

Now, I will tell you that the Air Force base at Resolute Bay – they used to get in their supplies. Well, it was mostly dehydrated fruit and it was pears and peaches and apricots and things like this, excellent trail food, but the men from the south – they didn't want all this stewed up stuff and so on. So there were cases and cases and cases of this stuff that would normally have been destroyed and then they would have gone to the dump.

My instructions to the officer commanding the Air Force base was – and I got his co-operation – that things be completely destroyed as near as possible by the use of a bulldozer to cover this up to make it not available to the people. Again, even during the dark period, they went out with bulldozers to cover up anything that might be there.

But back to these cases of food which were not too popular with the occupants of the Air Force base, I was asked if, rather than dispose of this, which was perfectly good food – it was still in its original cases – if would be of any assistance to the Native people. Of course, I said "yes".

So these people had access to this and I made it available to them. Sea biscuits and things like this that would never, never be consumed by the RCAF, but yet was part of their "victaling" situation

I did take advantage of this, but I felt that it was not a hand-out. It, again, was a case of utilizing what might have otherwise gone by the board.

Now, wasn't it better that I do the supervision of this type of thing than have them go to the dump and pull it out all half burned and run over? Do you not think that my intervention there and the understanding and the acceptance of the good will of the Air Force was foremost?

**MR. SCHULTZ:** I appreciate what you are saying.

I have exhausted, I think, the questions that I have identified as arising

Likely Alex and Edith Patsauq.

from what you have told us. I don't know if you have any final comments that you would want to make. If not, then we would end the interview at this point and a transcript will be made and I understand that you would wish to have a copy of that. I will pass that request along.

**MR. GIBSON:** Very good.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** You have mentioned a number of Inuit names. It may be that we will need to get back to you in transcribing this to just ensure that we have the names right.

**MR. GIBSON:** Very good.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** I don't know if there is anything by way of final observation you would like to make.

**MR. GIBSON:** No. I think we have covered it pretty well and, as I say, I await our next conversation from members of the Commission or whoever might question my transcript here. I am willing to answer any questions and we will set a date to make myself available by phone.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** Thank you very much. I will get back with you another time to talk about that and I would like to thank you on behalf of the Commission for your co-operation and assistance in making yourself available.

**MR. GIBSON:** Thank you very much. As I say, I await your call and if you don't get me the first time, don't give up.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** Thank you.

**MR. GIBSON:** Thank you very much.

— Whereupon the interview concluded

**Royal Commission on Aboriginal  
Peoples Testimony: June 25, 1993**

ROYAL COMMISSION ON ABORIGINAL PEOPLES  
LOCATION: OTTAWA, ONTARIO  
SPECIAL CONSULTATION VIA TELEPHONE BETWEEN MR. SCHULTZ  
AND MR. DOUCETTE  
DATE: FRIDAY, JUNE 25, 1993

(Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, "Testimony," June 25, 1993, *The High Arctic Relocation Special Hearings*, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada))

— Upon commencing at 3:10 a.m. on Friday, June 25, 1993

**MR. SCHULTZ:** This is Nick Schultz calling and I am counsel for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. We are speaking to Mr. Wilfred Doucette who is unable to attend our hearings next week but has asked that his evidence be recorded at this time using a telephone hook-up.

Mr. Doucette, I am going to pass it over to you now and ask you to identify yourself and then carry on with your statement, please.

**MR. DOUCETTE:** My name is Wilfred Doucette

My occupation was a photographer and I worked for the Halifax Daily Star and then was offered a job and moved to Ottawa and worked for the National Film Board. I then became a freelance still photographer/motion picture camera man based in Ottawa and in 1955, I joined the CBC and worked there for 35 years. I am now retired.

After the Parliamentary Committee reported on their meetings to the House of Commons, there started to appear in the Toronto papers where I was living articles and editorials about the relocation of the Inuit or Eskimos, as they were called at that time, to the High Arctic. I noted in these editorials that certain Canadian civil servants were being named and the whole movement to the High Arctic of these Eskimos seemed to be misrepresented by the facts that appeared in the editorial and in the articles that appeared in the paper.

The first editorial and the first letter was in the Toronto Star that really got me riled up because the editorial was called "Arctic Self-Exiles: Canada's Shame". Then there was a large half-page article by John Amagoalik called "Human Flag Pole".

Some of these statements in both the editorial and in the letter disagreed with what I saw and what I knew about this relocation. In the 1950s, I spent considerable time in the eastern Arctic as a freelance photographer.

In 1951, I was on the Eastern Arctic Patrol of the Canadian government ship *CGS d'Iberville*. In 1952, I went to the Arctic again to visit the Canadian/U.S. joint weather station at Resolute Bay, Mould Bay, Isaacson, Eureka, Alert, then on to T-3 (PH.) and down to Tuli, Greenland.

In 1953, I was on the maiden voyage to the Arctic of the new Canadian ice breaker *CGS d'Iberville* and one of our tasks on the *d'Iberville* that year was to rendezvous with the *C.D. Howe* and take four Eskimo families to their new homes at Cape Herschell and Resolute Bay.

In 1954, I was on my second visit to the Canadian Arctic joint weather station at Resolute Bay, Mole Bay (PH.), Isaacson, Eureka and Alert. In 1956, I had the honour to be with the Governor General on a visit to the Arctic and the highlight of the trip was to fly over the North Pole from Resolute Bay. We also went down and visited the Eskimo settlement at Alert.

I found that these letters, these articles and editorials that were based upon facts and work of a history professor from Trent University<sup>16</sup> and John Amagoalik's article were not correct from the facts that I knew, and they

Wilfred Doucette, a photographer and videographer with the National Film Board (NFB) and the Canadian Broadcast Corporation (CBC), travelled with the Eastern Arctic Patrol on the *d'Iberville* in 1953 and visited Resolute Bay in 1954

16. This likely refers to the research completed by Shelagh Grant as part of the article published in 1991 for CARC, but may also reference the various newspaper articles written by Grant and others during the period 1991-1993.

were claiming that the editorial and the article – about the inaccuracies of the Hinkley Report.<sup>17</sup>

Professor Grant and Mr. Amagoalik claimed that the reason the Eskimos were moved was for sovereignty and I could not remember anyone on the ship ever having mentioned that these Eskimos were being moved for sovereignty. Clearly, it was always mentioned that they were – and we all talked about them being moved for reasons of a better lifestyle and being able to go back to their Inuit way of life in the High Arctic – the hunting and fishing – and regain some of their lost culture and to take them off the welfare that they were living on at Port Harrison.

That was the first letter in August and in September, The Globe & Mail came up with a large article. It seems that whenever the Star did one, The Globe & Mail had to do one. They did a full-page article called “The Arctic: Internal Exiles of Canada” and it was a very, very – it was by Andrew Picard and it was very misleading and again it was based upon an interview with John Amagoalik and Professor Grant.

Both of these letters weren’t – my answer to the articles and both of my letters were not published by the Toronto Star or The Globe & Mail.

I proceeded to call the Press Council of Ontario to find out if I could do anything about these one-sided editorials and articles and any way I could get my letters published. They said I should deal with the ombudsman at the paper. I did. They published a little letter on the editorial page. The one in The Globe & Mail left out all references to John Amagoalik and only printed my references to Professor Grant, and immediately I got a call from Professor Grant and she was very annoyed. She said she didn’t say all of these things that were in the paper. I said that I would retract my comments when she made the newspaper retract theirs.

The next thing that got me stirred up was a Toronto Star editorial. I am getting mixed up. Are you listening?

**MR. SCHULTZ:** Yes.

**MR. DOUCETTE:** Did I deal with the Toronto Star “Inuit Exiles: Swept Under the Carpet”?

**MR. SCHULTZ:** No, you didn’t speak to that yet.

**MR. DOUCETTE:** All right. The next item was an editorial in September in the Toronto Star and this one was the “Inuit Exiles: Swept Under the Carpet”. It went on to deal with the sovereignty issue. I said: “The claim that 87 Eskimo men, women and children could furbish, sustain or strengthen Canada’s Arctic sovereignty claim to the Arctic is a joke. Canada’s Arctic sovereignty was not the reason why these Eskimo families were moved north to Ellesmere Island and Cornwallis Island.

To seriously suggest that the Soviet Cold War or the U.S. military interest in the Canadian Arctic could be in any way influenced by 87 Eskimos being moved to the High Arctic is difficult to believe.

The motivation for this move was a sincere humanitarian concern to help these families improve their standard of living and preserve their traditional way of life.

Your editorial says: ‘Alex Stevenson of the RCMP Eastern Arctic Patrol hatched an idea that expanded into a bizarre experiment which turned Eskimos into exiles in their own country.’

17. Hickling Report

This article appeared April 8, 1993 in the Globe and Mail.

I am not aware of any historical, archival or anecdotal evidence to support this allegation. Actually, the facts are quite different. Alex Stevenson was not nor was he ever a member of the RCMP. The Eastern Arctic Patrol was not conducted by the RCMP. The Eastern Arctic Patrol was the name commonly given to the annual resupply and inspection of the settlements. The weather station, the RCMP posts in the eastern section of the Canadian Arctic conducted under the auspices of the Department of Resources Development would ship supply by the Department of Transport.

Mr. Stevenson was the officer in charge of the Eastern Arctic Patrol and was a senior official with the Department of Resources and Development of the Arctic Division, not the RCMP. Your reference to 'compelling evidence' unearthed by Trent University Professor Grant and her 'painstaking research' fails to show anything to support the conclusion that sovereignty was the prime motive behind the relocation of these Eskimo families.

I would be very interested in learning the source of the information attributed to Alex Stevenson by Grant since other archival researchers have not been able to find any support for either this argument or these materials.

The editorial by the Toronto Star has unfortunately bolstered this false and unsupported claim put forward by Grant for her own unstated reasons. The Honourable Tom Siddon is not the only challenge to Grant's allegations. I challenged these claims in a letter to the editor of the Toronto Star dated August 5, 1991 which was not published.

There were no Inuit exiles. The Eskimo families were moved for one reason and one reason only. There is ample archival evidence about the poor hunting conditions at Port Harrison in the 1950s. The Eskimos agreed to the move because they wanted a better life for themselves and for their families which could be offered by the rich, untapped hunting areas in Cornwallis and Ellesmere Island.

There was no secret government decree or plot to force these families to leave Port Harrison. They were not banished or forced to leave their country. There was no 'Inuit exile'.

The Canadian government is not sweeping the story of this move under the rug, nor is it attacking a 'respected historian'. It is the responsibility of the government to ensure that its public servants act within the laws and the policies set forth by the Parliament of Canada. There is no evidence in the historical or archival records to suggest that the relocation of the Eskimo families from Port Harrison to Ellesmere or Cornwallis Island was motivated by anything else than a sincere humanitarian concern to help those involved preserve their traditional lifestyle and to help them move to areas where there was adequate game for this to be possible.

The efforts of the Toronto Star and Professor Grant to misrepresent these actions is the real tragedy here. The people of Canada have nothing to be ashamed regarding this move and nothing to make amends for."

Now that was the letter to the Toronto Star. Then the next letter was again to the Toronto Star and it followed in a program on the CBC on September 28th called "Quirks and Quorks" where a Montreal lawyer named Andrew Orkin was interviewed about the similarity between what took place by moving these Eskimos to the High Arctic with the principles of the Nuremberg trials and compared this to a Nuremberg type of experiment.

This was more than I could stand. So, again, when the Toronto Star did an editorial, I called the CBC and I spoke to the producer and told my side of

the story and thought they were misrepresenting the facts. The only thing I can is that they didn't ask me to come on any "Quirks and Quorks" program to answer the charges made by lawyer Andrew Orkin from Montreal.

However, when the Toronto Star published an editorial called "A Bad Experiment with Human Lives", I, again, decided to write to the Toronto Star. I wasn't getting much in the paper, but I was writing anyway.

"The recent series of editorials alleging that the migration of the Eskimo families from Port Harrison to Ellesmere and Cornwallis Island was an exile or a bizarre human experience is tragic misrepresentation of the truth and the events I witnesses personally as a documentary photography and journalist.

The suggestion that these events represent an experiment of human lives or that any of those affected were put at risk or these events were in any way comparable to those envisaged by the Nuremberg Convention is insulting.

I was a member of the Eastern Arctic Patrol in 1953 and I strongly object to Andrew Orkin's insinuation that myself or any other members of the patrol were neo-Nazi 'experimenters' taking helpless Eskimo families north in some bizarre human experiment.

This editorial, like the previously published ones, were based on the research of Trent University Professor Grant and appears to be shoddy research, ignores the historical and archival records and overlooks the actual conditions prevalent in the Canadian Arctic in the early fifties.

The facts are that these Eskimos who participated in the move consented to the move, received assistance both from the government and the RCMP and no one was greatly affected by the move and, most important, no one died because of the move.

They were not dropped on the beach in rags, as Mr. Orkin alleges, and they were not locked in an experiment in which there was no way to escape. All the participants were offered the choice to return to their original community.

The government officials who sponsored the move knew that the Eskimos could survive, even thrive, in the new hunting areas. They made efforts to ease the transition and the adjustment to the long Arctic nights. In fact, these new communities were actually so successful that for the first few years of their existence, those who had taken advantage of the move, encouraged their friends and relatives also to move north into the High Arctic.

Mr. Orkin alleges that these immigrants experienced hardships, hunger, privation and cold because of the move. As anyone who had been to Port Harrison in the early fifties could tell Mr. Orkin, these individuals had plenty of experience with hardship, hunger, privation and cold at Port Harrison. That was why they agreed to move from Port Harrison because they wanted a better life for themselves and their families that could be offered by the virgin hunting regions of Ellesmere and Cornwallis Island, reasons not unlike why thousands of southern Canadians moved hundreds of miles to remote communities in the early fifties to find work and a better way of life.

I would be very interested in learning who was the client who sponsored Mr. Orkin's research. The Toronto Star neglected to provide its readers with this important detail to help us assess his research.

Dr. Arthur Caplin (PH.) of the University of Minnesota also seems to know very little about the RCMP's Arctic duties and clearly does not understand the role that the RCMP played in the Arctic in the early fifties. There

This seems to be a reference to Arthur Caplan, a bioethicist.



is no evidence to suggest that the RCMP tried to use their position in the community to create an element of coercion.

The reason for the move was a sincere intent to improve the standard of living of the Eskimo families involved, to help preserve their traditional culture and language and way of life by helping them move to areas that could sustain their traditional hunting lifestyle and restore their pride and dignity by not having to rely on government welfare.

It does not matter what the people say today in 1991 what the reason was for this migration, but the issue is: What was the reason for the move in 1953? Sovereignty was not behind the decision of these families to move to the High Arctic.

In my 40 years as a journalism recorder of world events, I have not seen any similar campaign to rewrite history that I have witnessed. To me, this is an attempt to exploit our national guilt complex uninhibited by the facts. The people and Government of Canada have nothing to be ashamed of in this case."

Now, next was the big story in the magazine section of the *Boston Globe* Magazine and this was sort of a review section that went with the Sunday paper. The story was about 31 pages and contained many coloured pictures. It was published on August 9, 1992 and was entitled "The Lie at the Top of the World" by Will Haygood.

It was such an exaggeration. There were so many errors in the article and I just happened to be in Boston and saw it or I probably would have never seen it. But a lot of people, I am sure, in Boston did and I don't know what reply they got to it and I don't know whether they ever paid any attention to my letter.

The letter is as follows: "Reference: *Boston Globe* Magazine article of August 9, 1992, 'The Lie at the Top of the World' by Will Haygood.

Dear Editor: The above referenced article is misleading, flawed, inaccurate and may even contain lies. This article based on interviews with Eskimos is biased and seriously misrepresents the events I witnessed.

As a journalist with over 40 years of experience and a winner of two national awards for excellence in documentary film making, I find your article did not meet the minimum standards of journalistic impartiality and objectivity.

It appears that Haygood made no attempt to check the accuracy of what he was told by a group of Eskimos who are trying to embarrass the Canadian government into paying them \$10 million.

I do not claim to be an Arctic expert, but in the early fifties I spent considerable time travelling extensively in the eastern Arctic as a freelance photographer. In 1951, I was aboard the Eastern Arctic Patrol vessel, Canadian Government ship *CGS C.D. Howe*. In 1952, I travelled to the Canadian Arctic Weather Station. In 1953, I was aboard the icebreaker *CGS d'Iberville* for the maiden voyage to the Arctic where we were involved in moving Eskimos from Craig Harbour to Resolute Bay. In 1954, during my third visit to the Arctic and the Canadian/U.S. Weather Station, I also visited the Eskimo village at Resolute Bay. In 1956, I had the honour to be present on the first tour to the Arctic of a Canadian Governor General Vincent Massey. We flew over the North Pole from Resolute and, once again, I visited the Eskimo village at Resolute Bay.

1) Tip of the Arctic Circle: 'This place at the tip of the Arctic Circle across

from Russia'.

There is no tip to the Arctic Circle. Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord are not across from Russia but are on the Queen Elizabeth Islands several thousand miles south and east of Russia.

2) Suits and thick coats: 'In 1953, Canadian government bureaucrats, men in suits and thick coats, fanned out through northern Quebec in search of the Inuit.'

The primary architects for this plan were Inspector Henry Larson, officer in charge of the Arctic Division of the RCMP, and Alex Stevenson, officer in charge of the Eastern Arctic Patrol, in 1953. These two men, along with many other Canadian civil servants, were involved in advising and planning the Canadian government's relocation program for these Eskimos.

Inspector Larson's career was spent mostly in the Marine Division and in the G Division of the RCMP, generally in the Arctic among the Eskimos. As a Sergeant, he was Captain of the RCMP supply ship *St. Roch* (PH.) which sailed through the Northwest Passage from west to east and from east to west and he also circum-navigated the continent of North America in the RCMP boat *St. Roch* (PH.).

Alex Stevenson was with the Arctic Division of the Northwest Territories Administration, Department of Resources and Development. Before joining the Department, he was employed by the Hudson Bay Company for about 15 years and worked and travelled in the Arctic.

Both these individuals were noted for their knowledge and concern of the Eskimo way of life and culture and were very, very familiar with the psychological impact of the long Arctic night. When I first met Larson and Stevenson in 1951, I was struck by their knowledge of the Eskimo culture and language. They knew many Eskimos by name and the Eskimos seemed to know them and greet them as old friends whenever we arrived at an Eskimo community.

They did not fan out through northern Quebec in suits and thick coats. They knew the location of the Eskimo settlements. They knew where to find the Eskimos for the relocation.

### 3) Human Flag Pole

The Eskimos were not then nor now called human flag poles by the Canadian government. Human flag poles is a term now used by the Eskimos in their campaign to get \$10 million compensation from the government. Their relocation was for humanitarian reasons to avail them to find a better life for themselves and their families. They were not moved as human flag poles in order to claim Canadian sovereignty. The RCMP were in the Arctic for sovereignty, to show the flag and to represent the Canadian government in the Northwest Territories.

### 4) A Promised land

'They promised us a promised land' is hard to believe as John Amagoalik was a five or six-year old boy at the time and seems to ignore or can't remember what life was like in Port Harrison in the early fifties. Port Harrison was not a promised land. It was a very harsh land.

On my assignment in 1951 on the CGS *C.D. Howe*, personally witnessed the living conditions of the Natives of northern and western Quebec, at Fort Chimo and Port Harrison. In Port Harrison, I visited the Eskimos at their hunting camp where they lived in very poor canvas tents, some with bits and scraps of wood chipping cases for doors.

This is a common criticism of Inuit recollections of the relocations, despite attempts to address the concept of collective memory early in the Special Hearings. Oral History generally was under extreme scrutiny during the early 1990s, particularly as it pertained to Aboriginal Rights and legal cases.

In 1953, I was not surprised to learn that one of the tasks of the CGS *d'Iberville* was to take a group of Eskimos north and resettle them to the unpopulated lands of Ellesmere and Cornwallis Island. They were told that their new land was better and that game was more plentiful and they were not told that the settlement would be 'a promised land'.

The reason that Amagoalik and his family moved was that living conditions at Port Harrison were very poor and many families were on welfare. His family wanted an opportunity to seek a better life for themselves, reasons not unlike why Canadians today are still prepared to go down the road for a better job and a higher standard of living.

#### 5) Eskimo Exile

There was no force used to get these Eskimo families to board the ship as they all had agreed to the move. These Eskimos were not banished to another country. They were not then nor now exiles. As they were then and now are still Canadian citizens and still living in Canada. They had been told that if they did not like their new land after two years, they would be moved back to Port Harrison, Quebec.

For many years, there was no rush to return south. As they aged, some of the older Eskimos returned for visits at their own expense. Then some of the older Eskimos wanted to return and stay in Port Harrison. They also paid their own way and left their belongings in the North.

In the 1950s, an Eskimo lobby started, a campaign saying that the government promised that after two years, if they wished, they would be returned to their old home in the south. The question was: Did the promise end after two years or did it mean that the Eskimos could return any time after two years?

For whatever reason, the federal government in 1987, 1988 and 1989 agreed to fly any of the Eskimos with their belongings south at government expense. They also reimbursed those who had paid their own way south and paid to have their belongings returned from Ellesmere or Resolute Bay. They contracted with the Quebec Government to erect wooden houses to meet Quebec building standards in the area the Eskimos returned to.

The expenditures in 1987, 1988 and 1989 by the Canadian government to relocate these people back to Port Harrison has caused the Canadian taxpayers in excess of a million dollars.

#### 6) Eskimo Women Violated by Mounties: Sex for Food.

This is a very serious charge against all the Mounties who served at Grise Fiord. Mr. Haygood did not name the Mountie nor the year these events were alleged to have occurred. This indicates to me that Mr. Haygood shows very poor journalistic integrity when he repeats unverified hearsay without checking the facts when he knows that this type of sensational reporting will influence his readers into believing what he is writing.

In July 1991, the RCMP released a report: "Internal investigation into the alleged RCMP misconduct at Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay, circa 1953".

1) Trading food for sex - unfounded. Martha Flaherty made these allegations before a standing committee. During a telephone conversation with the RCMP investigator, she elaborated on her allegations stating that when she was five years old she saw an RCMP talking to three Inuit women while their husbands were out hunting and later overheard the women refer to 'the arrangements they had made with the member'. Ms. Flaherty now interprets this to mean an arrangement to exchange food for sex although she never

This is an important phrasing of the question, which became a significant part of the government responses throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Larsen's initial instructions in April 1953 do not specify any duration. See Documents 38 and 39 in S. Grant (2016).

witnessed any such exchange.

She named the RCMP officer alleged involved but would not make a formal statement or name the victims of the alleged misconduct. Ms Flaherty's refused to meet with the investigator in person for an interview."

I am not going to read all of this. Then the next item mentions a couple of other Eskimos including John Amagoalik who alleged the sexual misconduct and they admitted that they had no firsthand knowledge of the event and were repeating what Martha had said.

"7) Destroying and theft of Eskimo mail.

Mr. Haygood writes that bending down John Amagoalik came across letters, first one and then two and then a whole batch. The article continues about money being taken from the mail. The RCMP internal investigation questioned both John Amagoalik and Musane (PH.) and found that their charges were unsubstantiated and pointed out that 30 years had passed since the allegation of misconduct. Much of the testimony was second and third hand and it was difficult to establish specific times, identify specific members responsible or ascertain other facts to prove these allegations.

8) E is not for Eskimo

The article states:

'To the Canadian government, the sub-Arctic camps and the villages surrounding Port Harrison were no different from the barren land thousands of miles to the north.'

And then there is some – "'In 1952, they sent a small man across the tundra to make a census of the villages.'

The article goes on to state that he handed out circular numbered medallions. These numbered identifications like E51598 meant E for Eskimo. The statement by Mr. Haygood is completely inaccurate and misleading. The E numbered medallions were distributed in 1948, not in 1952 as stated in Mr. Haygood's article.

On the medallion, the E did not stand for Eskimo. The Arctic administration had two sections. The eastern Arctic and the western Arctic. The Eskimos in the east received a medallion starting with E numbers, while those in the west received medallions with W numbers.

About the same time southern Canadians were given cards with numbers and they were called social security numbers. These numbers both in the north and in the south were used to keep records of payments of family allowance. These medallions did not guide Larsen and Stevenson to find the Eskimos for the relocation. They already knew where these settlements were as they had been there many times in the past. Inspector Larsen and Alex Stevenson knew the difference between northern Quebec and the High Arctic and they had made plans to assist the Eskimos in adjusting to the hunting and living in their new villages. They both were aware of the long dark nights as both had worked for many years in the Arctic.

Many of the Eskimos interviewed by Mr. Haygood seem to have forgotten about life in Port Harrison in 1953. Mr. Abraham Okpik was sent across the tundra in 1972, not in 1952, and his job was to record the surnames of the Eskimos and not to give out the E numbered tags as stated in the article.

9) Craig Harbour not Grise Fiord

Mr. Haygood says that the families were told that they would be dispersed in three remote areas: Resolute Bay, Alexandra Fiord and Grise Fiord. Like so many other things Mr. Amagoalik does not remember too well is the

The RCMP committed to investigating the allegations made during the March 1990 testimony in May 1990, and forwarded their report to the SCAA in December 1991. There is no publicly recorded discussion of the report.

For further reading on the disc system of Inuit administration, see Dunning (2022).

fact that the families were to be landed at Resolute, Craig Harbour and Cape Herschell. There was no settlement at Grise Fiord in 1953.

#### 10) Official testimony

The article tells the readers that Eskimo women looking for the supply ship that sometimes never came, of the crew members selling supplies and, thus, the ship never continued on its journey and that these goods were sold on the black market which the article states:

'It is all coming out in official testimony.'

Mr. Haygood should have done some research to verify the facts about the vague stories he was told. His writing about the ship, the crew and the selling of supplies and the part about the black market is untrue. If he has any proof of these statements, I would like to see it. I think he is lying to the readers of the *Boston Globe*.

#### 11) Wrong direction, wrong ship

'When the *C.D. Howe* left Resolute Bay, it sailed 125 miles to Alexandra Fiord which was the site of the second established village' is another mistake by Mr. Haygood. The *C.D. Howe* brought all the Eskimo families north to Craig Harbour and did not go to Resolute Bay or Alexandra Fiord. The Eskimos were transferred to the icebreaker *CGS d'Iberville*. I was aboard the *d'Iberville* for passage to Twin Glacier Valley, later called Alexandra Fiord, and Resolute Bay.

It is true that the ice was impenetrable and that the ship did not proceed an additional 175 miles to Grise Fiord to the north, 'across the ice to another place where neither men nor women had ever lived.'

The *CGS d'Iberville* returned south to Craig Harbour where there was an Eskimo post, an Eskimo Special Constable and his family and the Eskimo families landed there by the *C.D. Howe*. The Eskimo families were unable to land at Twin Glacier Valley. They were put ashore there.

This can hardly be described as 'another place where neither man nor woman had ever lived before'. For Mr. Haygood's information, the *CGS d'Iberville* sailed south and then west to Resolute Bay with John Amagoalik's family and the other Eskimo families to be settled at Resolute Bay. The *C.D. Howe* sailed south to Baffin Island and in 1953 there was no settlement of any kind at Grise Fiord.

I visited the settlement at Resolute Bay in 1954 and 1956 and found a settlement that was a thriving, healthy and a happy community. With me on the 1954 visit was a writer/photographer from the National Geographic Magazine. My observations about the new settlement were the same as those of the National Geographic team which were described in detail in the National Geographic article entitled "Weather from the White North", April 1955.

At this time of the year, the Eskimos were still living in their traditional winter igloos. In the igloos I visited, I saw sleeping (inaudible) with new skins and blankets, large chunks of red meat which I was told was polar bear, outside many fox pelts. In the enclosed picture that was taken during this visit, you can see a Native named Amagoalik showing his young son a white fox pelt that he had trapped. The young Amagoalik who is dressed in a good caribou parka looks healthy. He does not look like a boy that had to go to the Air Force dump to get something to eat.

#### 12) Government Critic

Mr. Haygood writes that Professor Grant of Trent University is one of

This is a relatively minor dispute over the differing names of the RCMP detachment sites and the location of the Inuit settlements. This statement also does not acknowledge the movement of the settlement or the RCMP detachment to the Lidstrom Peninsula during the first decade at Grise Fiord.

the outspoken critics of the government's resettlement of the Eskimos. I have challenged her writings about these Eskimos and my letters were not anonymous and I am not a retired Mountie.

Professor Grant is working on a book about sovereignty in the Arctic. She is working very hard to prove that sovereignty was the reason for the move of these Eskimos north to Resolute and Grise Fiord. She is often incorrect and misleading when she tries to prove sovereignty was the reason for the relocation.

The claim that 87 men, women and children could furbish, sustain or strengthen Canada's sovereignty claim to the Arctic is a joke. Canada's sovereignty was not the reason the Eskimo families moved north to Ellesmere Island and Cornwallis Island. To try to seriously suggest that the Cold War with Soviet Union and the United States' interest in the Arctic could be in any way influenced by the presence 87 Canadians Eskimos in the High Arctic is hard to believe. The motivation for the move was a sincere humanitarian concern to help these people improve their standard of living and preserve their traditional way of life.

Anyone living in the Canadian Arctic aided Canadian sovereignty rights to the land – the Canadian Armed Forces at Alert and Resolute Bay, the RCMP Detachments in the Northwest Territories representing Canada by flying a flag and enforcing Canadian law.

The Canadian weathermen, the Department of Transport Radio Operators and finally all the Eskimos at such places in the Arctic as Port Burrough (PH.), Cape Dorset, Lake Harbour, Pangnirtung, Clyde River, Pond Inlet, Arctic Bay, Frobisher Bay and also the 87 Eskimos now established in Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord, all contribute to Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic.

13) No school, no doctor, no nurse

In 1953, there were 22 people at Resolute Bay. The article states "No School, No Doctor, No Nurse". They forgot to tell Mr. Haygood that there were medical personnel at the Canadian Air Force station just three miles away and the RCMP was instructed to make arrangements for any Eskimo to be treated there or to arrange to have the patient flown south for hospital treatment.

The article states: 'Six years after the Inuit arrived, the government started the school at Resolute Bay. The goal was to drum English into the teacher and when we were young, we went to school and we weren't allowed to speak our own language.'

The article states: 'There were schools at Port Harrison and the Inuit waited six years for the government to start one in the High Arctic.'

There were no schools at Port Harrison, but there was a school welfare officer who held classes when the Eskimos were in Port Harrison and even travelled to the hunting camps to teach the children. It was not until the late fifties that there was a government policy to set up schools in the Eskimo settlements. One was set up in Resolute Bay in 1958 and Grise Fiord in 1962 teaching English. They were taught English so that the Eskimos with ability could be sent south for secondary school, technical school or university. Those with the abilities went south and advanced their education entirely at the expense of the Canadian government.

Many of the Eskimos you interviewed were products of this educational system and I am sure that even Mr. Haygood noticed, although they were not allowed to speak their own language in school, it did not cause them to

lose their language or heritage.

14) Poor hunting The article tells the readers how difficult it was at Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay, the living conditions, the poor hunting, the no food, the no fuel for the stone lamps in the Igloos. In another paragraph, he says: 'It was something to see the huge vessel barrelling through the ice sending polar bears and walruses and seals running into the distance.'

I have spent considerable time aboard these vessels and I can assure Mr. Haygood that they must proceed at a very slow pace, three to five knots at the best, through the ice. They do not barrel through. I am sure that there are many others besides myself who would be interested in seeing seals and walruses running in front of the ship.

I have tried to point out to the *Boston Globe* some of the mistakes and incorrect statements in Mr. Haygood's article. This article does not meet my minimum standards or journalistic impartiality and objectivity. It appears that Haygood made no attempt to interview any representatives from the Canadian government or researchers who did a report for the government about this move to the Arctic, nor did he bother to double-check any of the facts or dates given to him using archival documents or records. He relied entirely on the data given to him in an interview with the Eskimos and, thus, the article is one-sided, biased and misrepresents many of the events that occurred during the period.

Is this article an example of the type of journalism that the *Boston Globe* can be proud of? I think not. I know more about this relocation than most Canadians and considerably more than Mr. Haygood. The relocation of these Eskimos was carried out in 1953. At that time, it was much more difficult travelling or living in the Arctic with tents, igloos, dog teams than it is now.

In 1950, the Arctic was a harsh and sometimes very unpleasant. Studying the move of these Eskimo families today through archival documents and records, we find that perhaps this move was not well executed or implemented as it could have been. It is so easy to look back and criticize.

The Canadian government has done much to appease these Eskimos, first, by providing approximately a million dollars to relocate them back to northern Quebec and, secondly, the government has publicly apologized to the Eskimos for any mistakes that were made by Canadian civil servants in 1953 which may have caused them hardship.

The Canadian government must say 'no' to the claim for \$10 million and hopefully John Amagoalik and the other Eskimo lobbyists will stop thinking about the past. There are many problems today in the Arctic that need their attention such as why so many Eskimo youth are committing suicide.

Yours truly"

That was the letter to the *Globe*. They are not all that long and I only have a couple more to do.

The next thing that came to light was, again, an editorial in the *Ottawa Citizen*, the *Ottawa Citizen* editorial of November the 27th, 1992, "Inuit Relocation: Adding Insult to Forced Exile".

"Dear Editor: Your editorial with its irresponsible and gross misrepresentation of the facts is nothing more than untruths, commonly called lies, about events which I personally witnessed in 1953.

The Canadian government is correct in its refusal to pay \$10 million to the Eskimos who moved to the Canadian Arctic in 1953. Your editorial's statement 'Adding Insult to Forced Exile' is absurd. It is impossible to insult

It is unclear what apology is being referenced here. An apology was considered throughout the period 1990 to 1994 by the SCAA, but was not acceptable to the government. A formal apology was not made to Inuit until 2010. The "million dollars" is also unclear: The government provided approximately \$91,000 to Inuit for return to Inukjuak in addition to building 10 housing units.

someone over something that never happened. There was no forced move and certainly no exile. Your fictitious statements 'RCMP officers using pressure tactics, frog-marching Inuit to planes, hanging metal dog tags around their necks', 'dictating where people got off', 'nor were families warned of the separation dark days, flimsy tents, new food, in some cases no food', are probably the most imaginative parts of your editorial since these statements are not true.

I did not witness any pressure tactics, any force of any kind used by the RCMP officer to get these Eskimos aboard the ship, keep them on the ship or get them to embark from the ship. In fact, all the RCMP officers and the Eskimos were very friendly on the ship.

Your editorial says "frog-marching Inuit to planes'. This is both a lie and an insult to myself and the government officials who were present during the relocation. The Eskimos were moved by ship, not by plane. There is no instance of frog-marching. That is ceasing and pitting of arms behind one's back and pushing to get these Eskimos on the ship or off the ship.

What you call dog tags were numbered identification medallions and were issued to the Eskimos back in 1948, not at the time of the relocation. These tags were all numbered and were specific to where the Eskimos lived – E for the eastern Arctic and W for those living in the west. The medallions were used for the same purpose as our social security cards distributed to the people living in the rest of Canada. The reason behind the metal identification medallions was that paper was much more fragile and susceptible to loss and damage in the Arctic.

I was aboard the Canadian ship *CGS d'Iberville* in 1953 and witnessed the Eskimos as they came aboard from the *C.D. Howe* which transported them from Port Harrison to Craig Harbour. The RCMP did not use any force or any pressure and certainly there was no frog-marching to move the Eskimos to the *d'Iberville* for onward passage north to Cape Herschell, nor was any force or frog-marching used to land the remainder at Craig Harbour.

There are several reports, archival documents which state that the Eskimos were aware that they were to be resettled in two different locations. Also, they were informed of the dark period each year and plans were made to help them adjust.

The flimsy tents referred to in the editorial were the same tents used by these Eskimos at Port Harrison before the relocation. If they were flimsy, they were the only tents they had and all their personal possessions were moved north.

'New food and in some cases no food'. This statement is contradictory to the information in the archival documents. Your conclusion that the consent was not free or informed is incorrect as it is based on your fictitious and non-true statements. These Eskimos freely consented to the relocation and were informed about their new home sites.

Forced exile. An exile is a forced removal from one's country. There was no force used and these people never left Canada. I certainly did not witness any force, frog-marching being used to make them board or disembark. There was no need to use force. These Eskimos had already agreed to the relocation. No exile.

Your editorial writer does not understand what an exile is. He should study Canadian history from 1755 to 1763 Nova Scotia about the Acadian exile. The Eskimos relocated aboard a three-year old ship in a new ice-breaker



on its maiden voyage north and did not compare in any way to the hardships and death endured by the Acadians during their exile and life in another country. Both these ships were all equipped and built for the rigors of Arctic travel. The Eskimos were not mistreated nor did any of them die as a result of the relocation.

The motivation for this move was a humanitarian effort to improve the living and hunting conditions of these people. I visited the Eskimo settlement in 1954 and 1956 and observed great changes in these people, their dogs, their equipment. Trapping and hunting seemed to be good. The Eskimos were dressed in good clothing. Their dogs looked healthy and there was more equipment around. Polar bear meat and white fox pelts were seen.

This was a great improvement to the living conditions I witnessed at Port Harrison in 1951. No one with any knowledge of this relocation could call it an exile.

Tom Siddon's report 'Exile deserves a meaningful settlement' is a totally incorrect statement. No where in the report is it stated that these Eskimos which you continue to call exiles deserve a meaningful settlement. The report states that the Canadian government would not contemplate payment of compensation to these Eskimos.

It is regrettable that your editorial completely forgot to mention all the things that the Canadian government has done to appease these Eskimos since 1953. There was no mention of the approximate \$1 million already spent to move the families back to Port Harrison and build them new homes.

The *Citizen* states: 'The fair treatment has not yet started.' Well, I think it has started. The Canadian government through Tom Siddon is treating the Eskimos of the eastern Arctic very well as can be seen by the recent land claims agreement - \$580 million to be paid over 14 years plus resource royalties plus \$13 million training trust funds along with their new territory Nunavut.

It is shocking and sad to think that the Eskimos and the *Ottawa Citizen* have forgotten about the millions of dollars spent in the Arctic to assist these Eskimos since Canada took over responsibility of the Arctic from England. There is no mention of all the work done in the Arctic by the many dedicated Canadians who worked long and hard to help the Eskimos. This is sad. These Canadians, not just a few Eskimos who were relocated, all deserved to be mentioned on any memorial erected in the Arctic to honour Canadian nationalism. Yours truly."

The next letter was December the 6th and it was to *The Globe & Mail*. It refers to "Using Inuit as human flag poles" by Andrew Orkin. Andrew Orkin is the Montreal lawyer who claimed that the move was in violation of the Nuremberg Convention or the Nuremberg Treaty proposals.

"Dear Editor: The headline "Using Inuit as human flag poles" is incorrect as most of the statements made by Andrew Orkin in his article. Mr. Orkin's comparison of the Eskimo relocation in 1953 to a Nuremberg crime indicates his limited knowledge of Canada and the Canadian Arctic.

The article is another misrepresentation of the facts starting with the first sentence. He writes: 'To Craig Harbour, now Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay'. Craig Harbour is not Grise Fiord and never was. These are two different places on Ellesmere Island.

Another statement: 'Archival records appear to confirm that they were used as human flag poles to assert Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic.' Do

This seems to reference the response Minister Tom Siddon tabled in the House of Commons on November 20, 1992.

The creation of Nunavut and the Land Claims Settlement Agreement that contributed to its creation are not part of the settlement for High Arctic Relocation. Although there are many overlapping issues and individuals involved, the processes are distinct. For further reading on the creation of Nunavut, see Amagoalik (2007) and Duffy (1988).

the records confirm this or not? In order to make his Nuremberg crime paper more believable, Mr. Orkin makes statements based upon what he thinks the records appear to confirm. The records do not confirm that sovereignty was the reason for the relocation. There are no incidents in the records of the Eskimos being referred to as human flag poles or that they were relocated for reasons of sovereignty.

If Mr. Orkin had taken the time to research the archives on the Canadian Arctic, he would know that if there were human flag poles in the Arctic, they would be the Royal Canadian Mounted Police who were there to show the flag and represent the Canadian government.

I was a member of the Eastern Arctic Patrol in 1953 and when I heard Mr. Orkin on CBC program "Quirks and Quarks" on September 28th, I was insulted and strongly objected to his insinuations that myself or any other member of the patrol were neo-Nazi experimenters taking helpless Eskimo families north in some bizarre human experiment. Mr. Orkin's appearance on the program was nothing more than a university lawyer professor trying to make academic points and publicity for a paper that contained incorrect facts and very little knowledge of the Canadian Arctic and the Eskimo relocation.

In reference to *The Globe & Mail's* article about his appearance on 'Quirks and Quarks', Mr. Orkin writes: 'I clearly stated that I implied no parallel whatsoever between the relocation experiment and the horrendous experiments of the Nazi concentration camps.'

I listened to that program and he did not make that statement on the program. I was so disturbed that I procured a transcript of the program and nowhere in it does Mr. Orkin make the statement clearly or in any other way. Mr. Orkin has a tendency to forget what he says and leaves out any facts that are not useful to his article.

The archival documents show that the Eskimos who were selected to participate in the relocation consented to the move and received much assistance from the government, including caribou skins for clothing and bedding and help from the RCMP providing equipment and organized hunted parties so the Eskimos would have a sufficient cash of meat to last the winter.

Materially these Eskimos were not affected by this move and most importantly, unlike the Nazi experiments, no one lost their life as a result.

Mr. Orkin alleges that these migrants experienced hardship, hunger, privation and cold because of the move. If Mr. Orkin had any understanding of the Canadian Arctic and the Eskimo living conditions at Port Harrison during the fifties, he would have known that these people had plenty experience with hunger, cold, privation and the main reasons they gladly agreed to the relocation to an area that provided a better life for themselves and their families.

I visited these settlements in Frobisher Bay in 1954 and 1956 and there was a tremendous improvement in the welfare of the Eskimos, their equipment, their dogs compared to life at Port Harrison when I visited there in 1951.

In my 40 years as a journalist and recorder of Canadian events, I have not witnessed any similar campaign designed to rewrite history that I witnessed or make a legal presentation based upon rewritten history as Mr. Orkin is trying to do. What was done in 1953 – the relocation of these Eskimos was not a Nuremberg crime. Mr. Orkin should rethink his paper.

Yours truly."

That is the extent of the letters that I have written. There probably were many more newspaper articles about the move that I didn't see and there were probably many that contained what I would consider to be errors or misrepresentation or facts that I did not agree with, but I didn't see them and I wrote and answered the ones that I saw and I stated the things that I knew and what I had seen because when I was at Craig Harbour in 1951, I made a flight over the valley in the helicopter taking pictures and I saw or heard of muskox. I saw caribou and I saw foxes.

On the way into Craig Harbour, we saw an island with several hundred walrus. We saw seals and as far as I was concerned, there were quite a few animals in the area and much wildlife.

Also, at Craig Harbour in the valley, there were remains of previous Eskimo dwellings that had been there from many, many years ago. I guess in all my letters I wasn't privileged to – and I could only write about the things that I knew and heard about. I wasn't talking to any of the Eskimos about what happened after the ship left and this sort of thing, but I really and truly expressed in the letters to the newspapers what I really felt and I could not sit by and let them say the things that they were saying and the things that they were implying about the civil servants that I had met in 1951, 1952, 1953 and 1954 and 1956 pertaining to life in the Arctic.

I was really impressed about how sincere these people were in what they were doing and for all this to come up after they were dead and were unable to answer these charges themselves, I took it upon myself to answer them with the little knowledge that I had.

That is the end of my statement and if there are any questions, I am ready to answer them.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** Thank you very much. Since we don't have the Commission here, I will play the role of the Commission and ask a few questions by way of clarification and to perhaps elicit some elaboration of some of your points.

In the statement that you have made, you talk about a variety of things, some of which seem quite clearly to be based on your own personal observations because of the time you spent in the Arctic and some of which seemed to refer to archival documents and so on.

I would like to just be clear as to the things that you saw yourself and the things that you have added to your knowledge since, because of your interest in this. Let me begin this way – and I am coming into it a little bit backwards perhaps.

When you have referred to the archival documents and the debate that has taken place in relation to what the documents do or don't say, are you referring to your own examination of those documents or are you relying on reports of what are in those documents that you have seen that have been prepared by others?

**MR. DOUCETTE:** The only thing that I wrote about my trip on the *d'Iberville* was in the 1980s and I was a member of the Postal History Society. I wrote a short article on the post office that never was. We were to establish a post office at Cape Herschell. The ship never got to Cape Herschell.

We established the detachment at Twin Glacier Valley which later was renamed Alexandra Fiord. They used this Cape Herschell post mark for almost a year. I wrote an article on the trip of the *d'Iberville* north and I was

trying to get information for my article, and I did some research mostly pertaining to the *d'Iberville*.

The other facts that may appear in my letters were based upon the report that was prepared for the government in response to the Parliamentary Committee. Then Professor Grant sent me a pile of documents with yellow streaks through it and everything else on things that she was trying to prove that I had said that were wrong.

Most of it was based upon the same reports that you are going to – the ones that you have that were prepared for the government.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** The Hickling Report.

**MR. DOUCETTE:** The Hickling Report.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** The Gunther Report?

**MR. DOUCETTE:** Who was he?

**MR. SCHULTZ:** Magnus Gunther was the most recent report done by the government.

**MR. DOUCETTE:** Is that the big, big thick book?

**MR. SCHULTZ:** The big grey book about 400 pages.

**MR. DOUCETTE:** Yes, I saw that. I have read it.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** Right.

**MR. DOUCETTE:** I have also read the report done as a Ph.D. paper by some university type from the States.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** Alan Marcus?

**MR. DOUCETTE:** Alan Marcus. That's right. I have a copy of that that I read.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** You have referred already to the material that Grant has –

**MR. DOUCETTE:** And the stuff that Professor Grant has sent me.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** Right.

**MR. DOUCETTE:** I have a whole pile of documents of my own, a log of my notes on the *C.D. Howe* and my notes on the *d'Iberville* and various reports that were presented as a result printed in various papers and things on those two trips.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** Were you finished?

**MR. DOUCETTE:** Yes.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** You had talked about your trip on the *d'Iberville* in 1953 and at one point you had talked about being on the *d'Iberville* in 1951. I take it –

**MR. DOUCETTE:** Oh, no, no. The *d'Iberville* was not launched in 1951. If I said 1951, it was a mistake. In 1951, it was the *C.D. Howe* and in 1953 I was on the *d'Iberville*, but they met each other at Craig Harbour.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** All right. And in 1953, you weren't on the *C.D. Howe* on its trip from Port Harrison up to Craig Harbour?

**MR. DOUCETTE:** No.

Note: The original StenoTran transcripts have incorrectly labelled the Hickling Report as the "Hinkley Report"

For copies of the Gunther Report (second edition) and the Hickling and Soberman Reports, see Lackenbauer (2020).

This is a reference to the master's thesis completed by Alan Marcus, an American, which was later published as "Out in the Cold: Canada's Experimental Inuit Relocation to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay" (1991). The relocations from Inukjuak to Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord also formed one case study of Marcus' dissertation work, which was later published as *Relocating Eden: The Image and Politics of Inuit Exile in the Canadian Arctic* (1995).

The documents Grant sent to the RCAP are reproduced in S. Grant (2016).

**MR. SCHULTZ:** The conversations, then, that you had with Stevenson and Larsen in 1953 would have been on the *d'Iberville*.

**MR. DOUCETTE:** Larsen was on the *d'Iberville* all the time and at Craig Harbour, we took aboard the Eskimo families and the officials of the Eastern Arctic Patrol because we were going north to establish the two families of Eskimos at Twin Glacier Valley and then we were going to go on to Resolute. Stevenson and the rest of the government party joined us, but Superintendent Larsen was with the *d'Iberville* when we sailed from Montreal.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** The impression you had as to the purpose of the relocation was gained from the conversations you had with Stevenson and Larsen at that time?

**MR. DOUCETTE:** Yes. I did not hear anybody talk about the fact that the Eskimos were going for any other reason than because they had been on government welfare. The game was very scarce at Port Harrison and they were being relocated to these areas where there was game and they could pursue a life of traditional Eskimo style.

I did get the impression that they were being moved to these two locations because there were experienced RCMP who spoke the language and they could kind of help them adjust in the new areas.

Also, it appeared – I seemed to have got the impression that it was vital that there would be no Hudson Bay Company to force them to go fur hunting rather than pursue their Native way of life. That's why the three places had no store other than the trading post which was really a co-op owned by the Eskimos and administered by the RCMP.

The furs that – the RCMP was told how much he should credit them for their furs and the Department took them south and sold them and was supposed to return the profits back to the store and to the Eskimos which was a better arrangement than they had with a flat price from the Hudson Bay Company because if they got more than they were paid, they were supposed to get – this is the way I understood it was supposed to work anyway.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** When you were with the Eastern Arctic Patrol in 1951 and the ships went to Craig Harbour, I believe, was that when the Craig Harbour Detachment of the RCMP was reopened?

**MR. DOUCETTE:** Yes, that's right. But before we got to Craig Harbour, we went to Dundas Harbour on Devon Islands and closed the RCMP post and moved the two constables and the special constable and a lot of their gear from there up to Craig Harbour.

We had been told on the ship that they had made several winter patrols over to Craig Harbour and had seen game and seen signs that the Greenland Eskimos had been there and they were re-establishing that post just to show Canadian presence on Ellesmere Island.

We arrived and took the shutters and boards off the building. I didn't do this. I took pictures of them opening the building, putting a sign up saying "Post Office" and taking the shutters off them. I went inside and looked around and the place looked pretty good. It just looked like it needed a good coat of paint and a cleaning, but nothing was damaged. Nothing was broken. The furniture was there and it wasn't going to take much to get the place open again.

The stones that marked the pathways between buildings were just stones. The flag pole needed a painting. It was just weather-beaten. It had been closed since some time in the forties, I think. I am not sure. I haven't got my little note as to when it closed, but the buildings didn't look too bad.

It was decided that we would have an official ceremony to mark the opening of the detachment and Alex Stevenson asked the Captain if he would come ashore and present a flag for the new detachment. Captain Chenier flew ashore in the helicopter and we were all lined up around the flag pole: Alex Stevenson and the minister that we happened to have, Superintendent Larsen. The two constables were by the flag pole.

The helicopter landed and the Captain came over and presented the flag to Superintendent Larsen, I think, and he presented it to the two Mounties and they hoisted the Union Jack which was the flag that they were flying at that time at the RCMP detachments.

The Minister said a prayer and we sang "God Save the King" and we gave three – Alex Stevenson said that we should give three cheers for the Mounties to be left at the post. We gave three cheers for the Mounties and the Eskimo families of the two special constables were standing around in the background and other people who were on the ship came ashore for the little service.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** When you talked about the post being put there for the purpose of showing the Canadian presence, what did you understand that to relate to?

**MR. DOUCETTE:** It related to the fact that Greenlanders were coming over and hunting and not paying attention to Canadian hunting laws.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** In any of your other trips to the Arctic, was there any discussion of sovereignty as an issue or things that were being done about sovereignty?

**MR. DOUCETTE:** But it was easy to see sovereignty at the joint weather stations. There was a flag pole and the two flags. The Canadian and American flag were flying.

It is kind of – the Canadian flag wasn't flying any higher than the American flag at these weather stations and as a Canadian and proud of our Arctic, I thought that was strange. But then when I did research and found out how these weather stations came to be, it turned out that it was an American idea and the American government paid for most of it. Then I read Professor Grant – she sent me something about Pickersgill saying at one of the Cabinet meetings that we should have more Canadians present in the north and should have more people working up there.

I don't know whether he meant that we should not have the Americans up there, but they were pretty hard to dislodge since they were paying so much of the expense of these joint weather stations. Until such time as the St. Laurent government wanted to pay for the whole thing, the Canadian Department of Transport Map Service was quite anxious to keep them there.

So the Canadian was the officer in charge and the American was the senior executive officer and the crews were 50/50, usually four Americans and four Canadians.

That was the only time that I thought sovereignty might be or could become an issue, but then when you land at Alert and you see at the end of the runway the cairn and the grades of the crash that occurred when they

Cabinet-level discussions about Canadianization of the Arctic in response to the presence of the American military are commonly cited as evidence that the High Arctic Relocations were principally a sovereignty exercise. The Cabinet's concerns (primarily stemming from Lester Pearson, Minister of External Affairs) were discussed at the ACND in 1953 but there were no broader concerns expressed, nor is there any documentation that it was ever discussed during the planning of the relocations.

were scouting out and planning the weather station at Alert where the head of the American meteorological service died in the crash of the Air Force plane and the Air Force Canadian crew are buried there, you kind of sort of say, "Well, I guess they deserve some recognition up here. They contributed so much to this weather system which is going to provide better weather for Canadians and Americans down south."

These weathermen went up there and lived at these stations for a year and every year, they could either sign up again or come out, but that was it. The re-supply was every spring and at that point the staff was changed if they wanted to come out.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** When you were on the *d'Iberville* in 1953 and the ship was taking the Inuit up to Cape Herschell and you couldn't get through, what was your understanding at that time of why the community was being set up on Cape Herschell and why a police post was being set up?

**MR. DOUCETTE:** There was no question about why the police post was being set up. The police post was being set up – when we left Ottawa, we were going up and the press release said that it was for Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic and we were going to travel waters that had never been travelled by a Canadian ship and that we were going up to establish the most northern RCMP post at a point of land the closest to Greenland to show Canadian sovereignty and to fly the flag up there.

The Eskimo settlement, as far as I was concerned, was again the reason for it going there – the RCMP was there. There was no Hudson Bay. They could get – there were signs at the Bache Peninsula post when we got to it that the place had been opened and had been used by somebody. Since there aren't many travellers up there, we assumed that it was Eskimos from Greenland who were over and they used the place and they stayed in it and closed it up again when they left. They didn't touch the boat and all the supplies and they didn't break any furniture and they got in without making too many signs of the break-in.

So I knew from what I heard that there were people coming over from Greenland. After all, if you are chasing a polar bear across the ice, the polar bear may decide to go to Greenland and he may decide to go to Ellesmere Island. If you are tracking him to hunt him, you are going to follow him and the Greenland Eskimos did this.

Now, they didn't pay any attention to the fact that maybe the Canadian government had a restriction that you couldn't kill them or you could only kill so many or whatever. So they were hunting over there and the idea was that that RCMP post was to establish with the big Union Jack flying that it was Canadian territory.

I doubt – and this is my personal view from my experience of visiting these Arctic places, including many Eskimo tents, igloos and, in some cases, run-down self-made dwellings. You were always welcome and I am sure when the RCMP were there when we left them at Twin Glaciers, later known as Alexander Fiord – I am sure if the Eskimos came across from Greenland that they would be welcome and invited in for a cup of tea. If you went anywhere, you got a cup of tea.

So they were hospitable. You just can't imagine any RCMP saying, "No, go back to Greenland." They would invite them in for tea. They would talk to them. They would try to find out what was happening in the outside

The RCMP's role in the North was multi-faceted. High Arctic detachments were responsible for "showing the flag" and affirming sovereignty as an arm of the federal government through their presence and enforcement of Canadian laws. They were also tasked with providing services for Inuit. Location selection for RCMP detachments in the North was based on sovereignty requirements. Location selection for Inuit relocation was based on the presence of RCMP detachments.

world. What did the Eskimos know about what was going on that they didn't know about? The isolation gets to you.

Even on the ship after several months, you ran out of – I can remember on the *C.D. Howe* that we ran out of milk before we got to Churchill. When the ship arrived at Churchill, the biggest thing and the most important thing was to go down to the store for milk and icecream. That sounds funny now, but it was a real big treat when that ship – we didn't go to the bar and we didn't go up to the Air Force station to the bar and have a big drink. You could get a drink on the ship, but boy when we ran out of milk, that was a real – we had to wait until we got to Churchill. Then we ran out again. We couldn't carry enough.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** Did the sovereignty purpose that you have talked about that you understood to be the reason for setting up the police post on Cape Herschell relate in any way to your perception of why the Inuit were being moved?

**MR. DOUCETTE:** No, I perceived that they were being moved because there was hunting available there for them and that they would be very good company for the Eskimo special constable and his family who must have been very lonely.

There were two white men and an Eskimo special constable and his family. To have two more Eskimo families coming in there would have provided that Eskimo family with some company, but I didn't think – no, I didn't think that they were being moved there for sovereignty, nor did I think they were moved to – I understand that they were moved to these locations because they provided the environment that certain people who were involved thought were a good idea to get them to become more independent and to get them off of welfare and to get them back to their Native way of life.

Now, whether this is right or wrong, in 1953 it seemed like a good idea.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** We talked previously to this present recorded conversation and that time you had talked about the comment about the Inuit being dumped on the beach and I don't recall it today.

**MR. DOUCETTE:** No, I do say – oh, dumped on the beach. Yes, that is in the first letter that I didn't deal with, the letter to the *Toronto Star*.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** All right.

**MR. DOUCETTE:** I think that is in that letter and I think it is John Amagoalik who goes into great length to say how they were – I am just going through my pile here trying to get back to that letter. Yes, here it is. August the 5th.

"Mr. Amagoalik made some statements that the families left at Craig Harbour were literally dumped on a rocky wind swept beach and left to fend for themselves."

First, they weren't landed on the beach at Craig Harbour at all and my notes indicated that they were – because it was low tide, because of the flow of ice and growlers on the beach – growlers are chunks of ice that have been washed ashore and are just in the moving water. They roll around and make funny noises and they are referred to as growlers. These were on the beach – made it impossible for the ship's barge to get in there.

So everything that day at Craig Harbour in 1953 was landed down the coast line several hundred yards from where the post was. Everybody had to



walk over these rocks to the RCMP detachment where the Eskimos coming ashore were greeted by the special constables and their families. The two RCMP constables were there, everybody. They all came down and they all started carrying stuff back up to the post.

Then, as I recall it, the Eskimos went into the special constable's building and before long, everybody had tea.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** Can you comment on what happened at Resolute when people were landed?

**MR. DOUCETTE:** Yes. Resolute was a completely different thing in that we – where is my little note on Resolute. Resolute was September the 7th and it was a cold day. The temperature varied between 40 and 42. There was a north-east wind and it was overcast and it began to snow before we left. There was very poor visibility that day from less than five miles.

The people were loaded on the barge which was the way everybody and everything went ashore from the ship, and the beach there was quite gravelly. In fact, it was gravel and the barge just runs up until it gets grounded and lowers down the front and people step off. The crew carries the stuff and the crew's responsibility was to put the supplies ashore above the high water mark and they would carry the supplies up the gravel. So it was above the high water and they would leave it there and the Eskimos came ashore there with all their possessions and they were left.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** Would you say that they were left to fend for themselves?

**MR. DOUCETTE:** No, I wouldn't say that because as far as I was concerned, they had Constable Gibson who, we understood, was going to be responsible for them and he had the supplies which had been left at Resolute the first time we went to Resolute on our way up which was – we were there about four days in August, about the 6th to the 10th of August.

We put ashore the supplies for the new RCMP constable and the supplies for his Eskimo co-operative store that he was going to have control of and we put supplies for – I think we landed supplies for a prefab building that was later to become or should have been his residence, but I understood that until that was going to be constructed, he was going to live up at the RCAF station.

But, no, I didn't think they were left to fend for themselves because there was an RCMP station there. The RCMP post was being reopened because the Eskimos were being landed there and his main responsibility was to look after this Eskimo settlement. The RCAF had their own people up there. There was no need for the Mountie and the radio operators at the weather station had no reason for a Mountie to be there.

His main purpose, as far as we were concerned, was to look after the Eskimo families that were being landed to see that they adjusted to the High Arctic.

He was the one who helped select the families that were to be asked to go north and he had been in Port Harrison. He came up on the ship with them and he was being left with them to look after them as we understood it.

But, no, I didn't think they were being abandoned on the beach and I didn't think they were – the equipment they had did not look great, but it was what they had in Port Harrison. Most of them had been on welfare down there. We understand that they —

When I saw them in 1951 – I have to go back to that – I had been told that the Eskimos, when the ship came in, got all dressed up with their best clothes just as we get dressed up when we go out or when company is coming. I was told that they would be looking pretty good and I had gone through the files at the Film Board before I felt.

Two previous cameramen had gone up on the *Nascopie* and did the Eastern Arctic Patrol, and I had been given some briefing papers and some material from the Department to read, both Transport and Resources and Development. I must admit that I was really disappointed in the Eskimos in northern Quebec. They didn't look too good.

Now, on the *d'Iberville*, our first ports were along the coast of Labrador when we dropped off ballot boxes. They looked quite different in 1953 on that side of Quebec – well, that's Labrador, not Quebec – in Labrador than the Eskimos at Fort Chimo and Port Harrison. If they had on their best clothes to be dressed up for ship time, then I don't know what – their poor clothes must have been terrible because what they had on did not look like their Sunday best.

I was told and from what I saw of how they looked, I was convinced that things weren't very good at Port Harrison.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** And you are referring now to 1951 when you –

**MR. DOUCETTE:** 1951, yes. The next time I saw them in 1953 was in Craig Harbour.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** What was your impression then?

**MR. DOUCETTE:** They looked – the clothes weren't all that great. They didn't look as good as the Eskimos that I had seen on Baffin Island and they looked very excited about the ship. Every time the helicopter took off, they all crowded up on deck to see it land or take off and this kind of activity.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** When you saw them again in 1954 and 1956 in Resolute, did you have any impressions of how –

**MR. DOUCETTE:** Yes, I thought things were much better. I thought the dogs looked better. They had better equipment lying around the igloos. Inside the igloos things were much better. They had lots of furs on the sleeping platform. They had meat in the corner of the igloo. They had furs drying. They had – and as I say, the picture I sent with my letter to the newspaper was a picture of Amagoalik who was featured in the National Geographic story showing his young son a white fox pelt.

So they had quite a few white fox pelts. The young son looked pretty good in his caribou parka and the father looked like I expected an Eskimo to look. The parka was a little – it had signs of wear. It wasn't a special Sunday best, I don't think. I don't think he had any better Sunday best or anything else. I think he was wearing what he had and he looked better than they did back at Port Harrison the first time around.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** You talked about the game observations you made at Craig Harbour around at that time.

**MR. DOUCETTE:** I wasn't making game observations. One of my first duties when the ship landed was to go up in the helicopter and go to the various points of land and photograph from that point of land out to the ship's anchorage.

So when the ship arrived out of port – and this was on the *C.D. Howe* in 1951 – I would take off and I would do this kind of aerial coverage of the area. In some cases, the government ship *C.D. Howe* had only been there once before, once or twice before, and they didn't have as good a records as they wanted. So that was one of my chores for the Department of Transport.

So at Craig Harbour I took off and we did our usual circuit – one side of the valley, the other side of the valley, up to the other end of the valley and around, always looking out towards the islands and the anchorage of the ship. Then we went to the other side and got the ship looking in so as to show these points of land and things in the background.

In doing this flying around at Craig Harbour, I photographed some muskox and then some other animals we could get close enough to. Then I made several walks around the valley and photographed the ruins of these previous Eskimo settlements that had been there. The stone remains of where their tents were and where their – you could see where they actually did cooking and things.

Now, these may not have – not being an archaeologist, I don't know how old they were. They looked good and so I took pictures of them and wrote a caption that they were remains of previous Eskimo settlements. They could have been maybe ten or fifteen years old from Greenland. They could have been the remains of the previous Eskimo special constable. I don't know, but somebody had been there other than the RCMP.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** I didn't mean anything, by the way, by the word "observations". My question was going to be this and I will rephrase it –

**MR. DOUCETTE:** Okay. I am sorry.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** You talked about the game you saw at Craig Harbour and my question was going to be:

In your trips to Resolute, did you have an opportunity to see much in the way of game or what were you able to see there?

**MR. DOUCETTE:** I didn't see anything.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** All right.

**MR. DOUCETTE:** My stay at Craig Harbour was – it was quite a long haul from the beach up to the weather stations where we had to transport the stuff, the supplies. As I said, my main task on these trips was to do this for the Department of Transport. They were my client and really and truly I wasn't – I did not do a lot of coverage of the Eskimo part of it. I did in 1951 because I was commissioned by the National Film Board to provide a lot of material. In 1953, it was mainly for the Department of Transport.

So I was doing everything pertaining to the photographs and the activities of the *d'Iberville* and in as much as they took the Eskimos north and brought them back. That was sort of it.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** You had talked at different times in the letters you were referring to about the promise that had been made to bring the Inuit back in a year or two if they weren't happy, and I am wondering when it was you learned of that promise.

**MR. DOUCETTE:** I learned about that well after I came back and after I saw these things, these statements being made by these people in these articles

and editorials. Then I made a great effort to find out everything I could about the relocation. I never heard anything about it when I was on the ship.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** Is that also the case with the comments you had made about the Inuit having agreed to do this freely?

**MR. DOUCETTE:** I heard on board the ship that they had agreed, that they had volunteered. They wanted to go up there. I could almost say that I heard they sort of jumped at the idea of going to some place where there was a better lifestyle. I know that is why I moved from Halifax and I can see why

—  
To me, they were being offered a place where there was game. I had seen game at Craig Harbour and, therefore, when I was told they were moving because of this better game and better chance to go back to their traditional way of life and to get off of government welfare, that seemed to be the big thing. They wanted to bring back the dignity and pride to these Eskimos to get them off of welfare and get them looking after themselves.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** When you say you heard that on the ship, that would be in 1953.

**MR. DOUCETTE:** Yes.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** Having heard that from speaking with, I guess, Superintendent Larsen and Alex Stevenson, was there anything about your observations of the Inuit on board the ship that would have led you to question anything they were saying about that?

**MR. DOUCETTE:** No, there is nothing. No, there was nothing there.

As I say, they were in the stern of the ship most of the time and we didn't have very much to do them. There was no reason for me to go back there other than to take a few pictures and every time – and I usually took pictures of them looking at the helicopter because that tied in the ship and that is what I was mostly interested in.

Had we got ashore to Twin Glacier, then I would have taken pictures of it going ashore because that was another phase of that development of that post. But when that all got cancelled, they weren't even asked to come out on deck. They just stayed in the back and they were more or less waiting to get to their destination.

They were quite excited about going ashore at Craig Harbour and even the ones that were going on went ashore and visited and then came back.

The ship did not stay long on its second visit to Craig Harbour. Where is my paper? I have papers all over the place. When we came back, we had problems with the ice coming in and out and so there wasn't much time. I went ashore with the – where is Craig Harbour now?

"August the 29th at approximately 6:00 a.m. – steaming some distance off Craig Harbour waiting for clearer weather. The ship came in contact with small icebergs.

Arrival at Craig Harbour, there was drifting ice between the mainland and Smith Island. It was sufficient to prevent the *C.D. Howe* from coming alongside for quite a while. The *C.D. Howe* came alongside at about one o'clock. Work of transferring passengers and cargo got under way immediately and continued until nearly midnight. Much ice was in the immediate vicinity of both ships, but we managed to stay alongside of each other all day. A special look-out was posted to observe the ice.

On August the 30th, the crew started unloading at 4:00 a.m. and continued unloading both ships. The ships were alongside of each other and the working was carried out as quickly as possible. Loading and unloading and transfer of cargo was completed by 19:00 and the *C.D. Howe* cast off moving out in the bay and the *d'Iberville* followed a few minutes later. We were now on route to Twin Glaciers in open water, but there were many icebergs and growlers close at hand. The temperature was mild. The skies were clear.

The next day was overcast, rain and fog, steam three to five knots in loose ice flow. Different course according to the different ice. Weather was foggy and visible was about a half a mile and we had to make our positions by radar."

And it goes on.

In my little article for the stamp magazine, I went into great detail about hitting the iceberg which was the thrill of the trip for me because I got knocked out of bed, and that was the only thing.

I must say that when the *d'Iberville* returned back to Quebec City, there was no great rush of the *Toronto Star* or *The Globe & Mail* or the *Ottawa Citizen* or all these papers to interview myself or anybody else on the ship. A press release was put about what happened on the trip. The only thing that was left out at the press release at the time was the fact that we hit the iceberg.

Since I was working for Transport, I was told not to say anything about it, but I wasn't asked. So it was very easy and they got most of the pictures of the iceberg damage.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** At Resolute, was it your understanding that the Inuit settlement would be kept separate and that the people were not to have contact with the base?

**MR. DOUCETTE:** That's definitely – especially the two return visits that I made to the Eskimo settlements – where are my notes here? I have to get back to the notes.

On the two visits I made in – when I went down with the geographic crew and later in 1956 with the Governor General. None of Air Force personnel were allowed down, nor were the Eskimos allowed up there.

As Constable Gibson explained to us, it was a method of preventing them from being exposed to the different illnesses that may come in by plane, people with the flew on the aircrafts that were coming in from time to time and this prevented the Eskimos from being unnecessarily exposed to those diseases. It was a matter of keeping them healthy. That is how it was explained to us.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** Was there any other explanation given than that one?

**MR. DOUCETTE:** No. It was to prevent them from being exposed to white man's diseases.

I personally feel that there was – up at the air station, they had a mess. There was also drinking up there and I don't know. I was never told, but it certainly prevented the Eskimos from getting involved with the alcohol and getting involved with the airmen up there or the weather personnel.

They also wanted, as near as I could tell, to control furs and things that the Eskimo might have sold to the people up there. You had to sort of get permission if you wanted to take something out and you had to sort of get a permit if it was a fur or something like that.

So it controlled what they were able to – them selling things or trading things with the personnel up there. But mainly it was for health reasons, we were told.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** Did the *d'Iberville* have medical facilities on board?

**MR. DOUCETTE:** Yes, the *d'Iberville* did have medical facilities. The *d'Iberville* had a doctor and a sick bay. We had an x-ray machine and that's why when I heard from Professor Grant that this Eskimo had TB and it went undetected because the x-ray on the *C.D. Howe* was broken, I questioned that very strongly because when the two ships were tied up, the doctor from the *C.D. Howe* could have asked the doctor from the *d'Iberville* to take an x-ray and he did take an x-ray.

In his report, he said he did an extra of an elderly Eskimo lady. He did not x-ray any of the Eskimo children and I believe it was one of the children who claimed he had been spitting blood for quite some time and everybody knew he was – his mother knew he was sick and he knew he was sick, but neither one of them took the trouble to tell the doctor. When you are sick, if you don't tell the doctor that you have something wrong with you, the doctor is not a mind reader and the doctor will not know.

From what I know of the situation of this particular chap, he did not tell the doctor. His mother did not tell the doctor and ever since then has been complaining that he developed TB and everything happened because the doctor didn't send him out to the hospital. Well, my answer to that is: You have to tell the doctor if you have a pain or a problem and the doctor then can do something about it. He would have been sent out.

But once the ship goes, then you are in trouble because at *Resolute* they had Constable Gibson who had first-aid training and first-aid. There was a medical attendant at the Air Force which he could call on if he had any problems, any medical problems that he couldn't solve. If it was something real serious that the medical attendant at the Air Force couldn't handle, they could always call for a plane or put the person on the next available plane going out.

But they were probably better off medical-wise at *Resolute* than they were at Port Harrison because of the number of Air Force planes coming in and out of that base. They had a better chance of getting out if they had a serious illness than they did at Port Harrison, as far as I am concerned.

The fact that they may have had a nurse at Port Harrison was no better than the facility of having the medical personnel at the Air Force station because Gibson was, I understood, able to have any Eskimo treated by the medical staff at the air station if required. Therefore, it didn't seem like there was going to be any lack of medical facilities or the medical facilities there wouldn't be as good as they had back at Port Harrison.

It was the same thing as the school situation. There was no government policy for schools when they were back at Port Harrison. There was a welfare teacher there who made great efforts to teach them, but it wasn't an official policy to have a school and it wasn't the government policy to provide Eskimos with schools anywhere in the Arctic until later.

But when the policy was established, it didn't take long before they got the schools up north, up in the High Arctic as they did in the other place. The same thing. The Eskimos in most places in the Arctic lived in tents in the summer and they lived in Igloos in the winter. When the policy came that

the government was going to build them houses, they got houses up north.

The only thing is that in the Arctic you can't guarantee when the snow is going to be heavy enough to build igloos. One year you may be able to build them a lot sooner than you can.

In the Arctic, it is more or less of a desert in that it does not get a great deal of rain which means they don't get a great deal of snow. It is quite windy and the snow blows around and the snow piles up in little shallow areas and that is where the snow would be deep enough to cut out the kind of blocks you need for an igloo.

All the business of water – I heard some stories about water. The Eskimos up at Resolute, I think – they couldn't find – there were no streams and no lakes and no this, that and the other thing. Well, the streams and lakes and these things froze in Quebec, too, and they also froze up there.

The people at the weather station had the same problem as the Eskimos had in their settlements. There was no running water. There were no rivers that were open. So what they had to do is that they had to go out and if there was any deep snow, they would cut snow blocks and they would haul them back to the weather station and they would put them in big containers and melt the snow down into water. If there wasn't any snow, they would have to go out onto the sea ice and find an iceberg that was sticking and any iceberg that was out above the ice, that was usually fresh. So you could cut that off and you would bring that – you would haul it back to the weather station and then you would melt that down for water. This is what the Eskimos did in the north for years.

All of a sudden, I hear stories about how the Eskimos who got up there didn't know how to do this. I find that hard to believe.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** This is a small point, but just so the record is clear: The *d'Iberville* was operating in the High Arctic during the course of the summer and it put in to Resolute on two separate occasions in the early part of August to off-load supplies that were intended, among other things, for use by the RCMP post to be established there in the Inuit community and then subsequently on the –

**MR. DOUCETTE:** Then we went on to Craig Harbour, we went on to Cape Herschell to try to build – and stayed at Cape Herschell for a couple of days and couldn't get in. Then we went up to Alexander and found a nice – first, we went over to Bache Peninsula and opened those buildings, looked at them and there was too much ice.

Larsen decided that we had to abandon it, too, and he made several flights across the bay and found this nice valley called Twin Glacier Valley which had been discovered by the Meares Expedition in 1870 something or other. At that time, they called it Alexandria Bay in honour of the Royal Family or somebody. They wrote great things. They had lots of game. They called it the tropics or something of the Arctic and they recorded lots of flowers and moths and poppies and cotton and all kinds of things.

The two glaciers provided fresh water streams because they did not flow into the bay but were melting into streams. In fact, that was one of the reasons why Larsen was so instant in picking the spot because there was running water there in the summer time from these two glaciers.

Then we came back to Craig Harbour on the 29th to meet the *C.D. Howe* after we had completed one building and got the second building under way,

and it landed all of the supplies.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** Then after that you went on to Resolute and –

**MR. DOUCETTE:** That was Craig Harbour on August the 29th and we then went over to Resolute for the 6th of October.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** September.

**MR. DOUCETTE:** Sixth of September. At 19:00 hours, we anchored off Resolute Bay and we immediately began discharging cargo for this place.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** When the *d'Iberville* was there in the early part of August of 1953, were any Inuit passengers put ashore?

**MR. DOUCETTE:** No, nobody.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** Thank you.

Just one last question. When you were going north in 1956 with the Governor General's party, what did you understand at that time the purpose of the trip to be?

**MR. DOUCETTE:** The purpose of the trip was for Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic. The Governor General was making the first trip through the Arctic of the Governor General. It wasn't only the eastern Arctic. We went to Frobisher Bay. Then we went to Resolute Bay and then we did Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk and some of the other places. I forget the names now, but they were mostly oil companies and things like that. I forget.

I didn't have a very good trip on the second half of that. I caught pneumonia and had to be flown out.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** That's too bad.

**MR. DOUCETTE:** All the press had a terrible time. One of the fellows fell in Aklavik and broke his ankle and another fellow had to be flown out because of a leg problem. Loomie (PH.) and Massey, the Governor General's son's wife who was on the trip – she caught pneumonia too and the only thing is with her every time the plane landed, they took her by ambulance or something to a hospital or something which they were going to do with me, but there was a plane going south. So they flew me down to Edmonton.

That was a trip for sovereignty and he met with the Eskimos. He went on a sleigh ride. He did all kinds of things and he went in igloos and drank tea with them. Of course, as I say, the highlight was flying over the Canadian territory up to the North Pole and circling over the North Pole. He dropped a brass canister over with coins and documents in it and all kinds of things with an engraved thing on the side saying: "Return to the government of Canada for a reward". I don't think it ever came back.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** Those are all the questions I have, Mr. Doucette.

Is there anything you wanted to say before we conclude?

**MR. DOUCETTE:** No, except that if you want any additional information or if I can help the Royal Commission in any way, please call me. I regret very much that due to a medical problem I am having, I am going to be in the hospital on Monday or I would be in Ottawa.

**MR. SCHULTZ:** We wish you the best next week and thank you very much for your assistance and co-operation.

— Whereupon the Interview concluded at 5:10 p.m.



# **Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples Testimony: June 28, 1993**

ROYAL COMMISSION ON ABORIGINAL PEOPLES  
 LOCATION: OTTAWA, ONTARIO  
 DATE: MONDAY, JUNE 28, 1993  
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(Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, "Testimony," June 28, 1993, *The High Arctic Relocation Special Hearings*, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada))

Ottawa, Ontario

— Upon commencing at 8:50 a.m. on Monday, June 28, 1993

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** We are going to begin the hearings. We will start off with a short prayer. I would like Allan Gabriel to open the meeting with a short prayer for us, please.

(Opening Prayer)

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Thank you, Allan.

For translation, English is No. 1, French is No. 2. The Inuktitut Inuit language is No. 3.

I am going to start off by introducing the Commissioners. To my far left is Paul Chartrand. Paul is a Métis from Manitoba. He is a lawyer, an academic and heads the Native Studies at the University of Manitoba, from which he is taking time off to do the Commission work.

Next to Paul is Viola Robinson. Viola is a Micmac from Nova Scotia. She has a long career as a political leader amongst our people.

Next to me on my left is René Dussault. He is a judge from the Quebec Appeal Court. In his past he has run other inquiries in the Province of Quebec.

To my right is Mary Sillett. Mary is from Labrador. She is an Inuit. She also has had a long history of being a political leader amongst her people. Included in her activities, she has helped create the National Inuit Women's Association and also sat on the executive of the ITC, the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada.

Next to Mary is Bertha Wilson. Bertha was the first women appointed to the Supreme Court of Canada. She has retired from that and in her retirement has been doing numerous things. One is doing a study for the Canadian Bar Association into the effects of gender and the law, and also has sat on this Commission as one of the Commissioners.

My name is Georges Erasmus. I am a Dene. I am from northern Canada.

Good morning and welcome. We have many witnesses with us, some of whom have travelled from great distance to be here. We also have people in the audience to have come a long way to be here. We thank you all for coming to our hearings.

On June 8, 1992, in Inukjuaq, we heard part of the story of the Inuit who were relocated to Resolute and Grise Fiord. At that time, the Commission said it would look into the situation.

On November 20, 1992, the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development tabled a response to the recommendations of the House of Commons Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs on the relocation.

On December 14, 1992, the President of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada wrote the Commission. She expressed ITC's view that the full story of the relocatees themselves had never been told. The three hours of Inuit testimony before the Parliamentary Committee in March of 1990 was said to require elaboration and corroboration, particularly in light of Professor Gunther's subsequent report and the references to that report in the government

response.

ITC advised that it had previously been concerned about subjecting the people who were relocated to the trauma of retelling the pain and suffering they endured but had now concluded that more extensive Inuit testimony was required.

ITC requested that hearings be held so that the relocatees could tell their story. This request was supported by the Makivik Corporation. On January 15, 1993, the Commission requested Mary Simon and Roger Tassé to review and evaluate various documents, testimonies, and reports which have been made concerning the relocation. The purpose of the evaluation was to assist the Commission in determining future courses of Action.

In their February 1, 1993 report, Ms Simon and Mr. Tassé noted the difficulties which had been experienced by the Inuit in having their allegations addressed in a fair and just manner, as well as the problems faced by the federal government in its attempts to come to grips with the events that had begun 40 years earlier.

The Simon-Tassé report concluded, firstly, that while extensive research had been done, the Inuit relocatees had never been given a meaningful opportunity to tell their full story. Until that was done, no complete picture of what really happened would emerge.

Secondly, it was noted that there were serious divergent views between researchers, particularly in the reports of Dean Soberman prepared for the Canadian Human Rights Commission and Professor Gunther prepared for the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. The differences on some issues appeared to relate not so much to differences in evidence, but from a different appreciation of the evidence.

On other issues, the differences appeared to relate to different evidence and sources of information. For example, Dean Soberman interviewed many Inuit witnesses, although the details of those interviews have never been published with his report.

Professor Gunther did not interview the Inuit themselves. It appeared to Ms Simon and Mr. Tassé that the reports and studies were largely prepared in isolation from one another with no opportunity for researchers to test and confront their divergent views and conclusions.

Ms Simon and Mr. Tassé recommended that the Commission provide the Inuit relocatees an opportunity to tell their full story to the Commission and that the Commission also invite key researchers to appear before the Commission to present their findings and conclusions. At the end of this process, the Commission would submit a report to the government.

We have accepted that recommendation. The Commission has also decided to give an opportunity to others who were involved in, or have information about the relocation to share their insights with the Commission.

**COPRÉSIDENT RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Comme le mentionne clairement la déclaration du premier ministre en date du 23 avril 1991 et le rapport présenté le 2 août 1991 par le très honorable Brian Dickson, représentant spécial concernant la Commission royale sur les peuples autochtones, cette Commission a été créée parce que les relations entre les autochtones, le gouvernement canadien et la société canadienne posent un certain nombre de problèmes.

La Commission a expressément pour mandat d'examiner ces problèmes, de déterminer comment ils ont pris naissance et de proposer des solutions concrètes en s'appuyant sur l'expérience. Elle est autorisée à se pencher sur

les réalités historiques et sur les tensions sociales. En ce qui concerne les autochtones du Nord, le mandat de la Commission est de faire enquête sur toute mesure discriminatoire prise par le gouvernement du Canada ou les gouvernements des territoires. La Commission peut également examiner les obligations de la Couronne à l'égard des autochtones.

La Commission n'a pas pour mandat d'instruire des plaintes qui ont été formulées contre tel ou tel individu ni de critiquer les agissements de telle ou telle personne. Elle ne se prononcera pas sur la responsabilité criminelle, civile ou administrative de quiconque.

Nous n'avons pas encore décidé ce que nous ferons au terme de ces audiences sur la réinstallation des Inuit dans l'extrême Arctique. Il se peut que nous publions un rapport à l'intention du gouvernement. De façon plus large, cependant, il ne fait pas de doute que les audiences aideront la Commission à mieux comprendre la façon dont les réinstallations se sont faites, de même que les inquiétudes auxquelles celles-ci peuvent donner lieu, et qu'elles nous aideront ainsi à formuler des recommandations concernant les politiques de réinstallation en général.

Il est indéniable que bien des autochtones ont été réinstallés à l'instigation du gouvernement. C'est là une page de notre histoire. Dans bien des cas ces réinstallations ont bouleversé la vie des autochtones et elles ont fait naître des conflits et du ressentiment. Elles sont en partie responsables des relations difficiles entre les autochtones, le gouvernement canadien et la société canadienne.

La réinstallation dans l'extrême Arctique a eu lieu il y a 40 ans. Elle suscite la controverse depuis longtemps et a été étudiée en long et en large. Depuis 10 ans elle donne lieu à un débat public. Qu'elle soit encore une source de récriminations profondes après plusieurs tentatives de solution a amené la Commission à la considérer comme un cas d'intérêt particulier.

La Commission a pour mandat de formuler des recommandations qui favorisent la réconciliation. Or, la réconciliation n'est pas seulement un résultat, mais c'est aussi un processus comme celui-ci. Notre façon d'aborder les questions doit donc s'inspirer de ce désir de réconciliation. Une confrontation ne favoriserait certainement pas la réconciliation. Il n'a jamais été dans nos intentions de faire subir un procès aux autochtones ni à qui que ce soit.

La Commission a reçu pour instructions de se laisser guider dans ses travaux par le désir des autochtones de comparaître devant elle et de raconter leur histoire en personne. En avril nous avons ainsi pu entendre la version des Inuit concernant cette très importante partie de l'histoire de notre pays. Bon nombre de personnes nous ont également fait savoir qu'elles possédaient des renseignements sur cette réinstallation, et nous les avons invitées à les partager avec la Commission.

Nous commencerons par entendre ces témoins, ce qui prendra toute la journée d'aujourd'hui et probablement aussi la matinée de demain. Ce soir nous discuterons avec certains invités du sujet général de la souveraineté dans l'Arctique canadien. Cela nous permettra, je l'espère, de mieux comprendre les témoignages que les divers témoins et chercheurs viendront nous livrer sur la question de la souveraineté.

Nous avons également invité les auteurs de divers rapports à discuter de leurs démarches et de leurs conclusions. En effet, ces rapports sont mentionnés dans la réponse du gouvernement, ou encore ils font l'objet de commentaires particuliers dans les rapports commandés par le gouvernement.

This is an important statement, particularly given some of the criminal allegations brought before the SCAA in 1990. The scope of the RCAP is important in that it determines what it could and could not rule on/make recommendations on.

La Commission souhaite comprendre les raisons des divergences de points de vue de manière à pouvoir mieux évaluer les renseignements dont elle dispose et ainsi mieux comprendre les circonstances qui entourent certains des aspects les plus importants de cette réinstallation. Nous commencerons à entendre demain les témoignages portant sur ces rapports, probablement au début de l'après-midi, et cela se poursuivra toute la journée de mercredi.

Nous voulons savoir, dans la mesure du possible, ce qui s'est vraiment passé lors de cette réinstallation. Nous sommes conscients qu'il y a des points de vue divergents. En avril dernier nous avons donné l'occasion aux Inuit de nous faire part de leur perception des événements, de raconter comment ils les avaient vécus. Aujourd'hui, nous sommes très heureux que plusieurs anciens fonctionnaires du gouvernement fédéral, anciens membres de la Gendarmerie royale du Canada ou simples observateurs viennent à leur tour présenter leur version des faits et leur perception de la façon dont ces événements se sont vécus.

There is a list of the order of witnesses available from the information table in the hall. I would ask each witness when called to come forward to the witness table and make your presentation. When you begin your presentation, please say who you are and what you were doing that led to involvement or contact with the relocation or the relocatees.

Commissioners will, I am sure, have questions for you, so please leave a few minutes of your allotted time for questions from Commissioners.

We will begin by calling witnesses one at a time. Thank you.

I would now like to ask Mr. Doug Wilkinson to come forward and join us at the table. Mr. Wilkinson is a filmmaker with almost 50 years of Arctic experience.

**DOUG WILKINSON:** Before I begin my presentation – which, incidentally, is timed at 27 minutes, 30 seconds, because I am a television producer and that is what we used to do for half-hour programs – I would like to introduce myself in a rather unusual way.

Down here my full name is Douglas Earl Wilkinson, but I published most of my material under the name Doug Wilkinson. But to a lot of the Inuk in the eastern Arctic in the early days, I was known as *Qimmiq*. *Qimmiq* is an Inuk word for dog. When they heard other people calling me Doug, it sounded to them like dog, so I became “dog”.

My wife, who also spent long times with me on the trail in the Arctic living in snowhouses and tents in all seasons of the year, they called her *Amaldega* (PH) which is an Inuk name for the little snow bunting or snow bird. They said that she looked like a snow bird when she dressed all in her white parka and pants, and like the snow bird she hopped around chattering a lot.

Our little daughter who also travelled with us on the trail – as a matter of fact, she made a long sled trip with us into the Thelon Game country when she was only three. They called her *Nutiak* (PH) because of her very blond hair. It was rather unusual to see a blond in the Arctic in those days.

I would like to say to you that I had no role in the planning or the execution of the relocation project. But I did come into contact with it in Ottawa as well as in the Arctic in 1952-53. I knew some of the individuals involved, Inuit and *Kabloonak*. I know a great deal of the Arctic background against which this drama was played out in the early 1950s.

Doug Wilkinson was a filmmaker for the National Film Board (NFB) in the 1940s and 1950s, and in 1955 joined the DNANR as a Northern Services Officer

For 30 years, from 1945 to 1975, I lived, worked and travelled in many different regions of the eastern and the High Arctic as well as the Mackenzie District in the west. Sometimes I was alone, sometimes with my wife, later with my wife and small daughter.

We lived in settlements and at Inuk hunting camps in all seasons of the year. During this period I was a documentary filmmaker, a television producer, a photographer, a writer, a lecturer and, for four years, a Northern Service Officer with the Arctic Division of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources stationed in the Arctic at Apex Hill on southern Baffin Island and at Baker Lake in the interior Keewatin. It is from this background that I speak to you today.

In my view, the relocation plan of 1952-53 was flawed. Hurriedly conceived and poorly thought through, the success of the plan was in jeopardy from the start. There was one major reason for this. At the time, the Arctic Division of Mines and Resources had no staff stationed in the North. For advice from the field, Ottawa administrators had to rely solely on traders, missionaries and policemen.

Some knew a lot about the Inuit in their area, others did not. Few had any deep desire to be where they were. They were in the Arctic to seek souls, to be Arctic shopkeepers or policemen with the most glamorous police force in the world. Many were very good in their respective roles, others were not. It was to members of these groups that Arctic administrators had to turn to for advice from the North.

Without its own field personnel who actually lived in the Arctic alongside Inuit and under growing pressure from a newly aroused Canadian public which had until the late 1940s paid almost no attention to their Arctic lands and its slow-developing problems, the administration in Ottawa sought solutions. Inuit in some areas had left the life on the land to cluster about settlements where they lived largely on relief supplies and Family Allowance food that should have gone solely to the children.

Somewhere – and I will leave this to the Commission to find out where and how – the idea arose that it might be a good idea if Inuit from the poor areas could be replaced into better hunting and trapping regions in the far north islands.

On the surface, this was not a bad idea. It was known from reports by early explorers and patrolling members of the RCMP that there was a lot of game in certain sectors of the High Arctic islands. Inuit special constables with the far north detachments reported that it was a good area for hunting and trapping.

But – and this is a big but – no one in the Arctic or in Ottawa had any clear idea of exactly where the good game areas were, where the good trapping areas were, or whether or not Inuit from regions far to the south would be content to live in a land of long dark periods in winter with the accompanying stress of extremes of cold. They did know that Inuit had lived in the high Arctic islands a few centuries before and that Greenlanders lived in a part of northern Greenland that was even farther north than the old posts at Dundas Harbour and Craig Harbour, but that was all.

There were good men in Ottawa at that time who were concerned about the welfare of the Inuit. Henry Larsen of the RCMP was a great Arctic traveller who loved the Inuit people that he met on his sled and ship journeys, as the Inuit with whom he came into contact loved him. He had a deep concern

This is reflected in the broad reach of the EAC which Deputy Minister H.A. Young brought together to begin working on problems in the North. The information gathered through this committee contributed significantly, alongside the Cantley Report, to the decision making process of Young and his small group of administrators in late 1952/early 1953. For discussion and excerpts of the Cantley Report and the minutes of the EAC, see Clancy (1987) and Lackenbauer and Clancy (2019).

for their welfare.

Graham Rowley, who was with the Defence Research Board at that time, I believe, was and is an archaeologist who, among other accomplishments, had spent a year living like an Inuk hunter in the Igloolik area in the 1930s and had much respect for the Inuit.

Ben Sivertz didn't have much Arctic experience, but he was a quick learner with a keen mind, someone who cared a lot about any task in which he was involved.

But good as they were, they had to rely for up-to-date information from the field on the few more or less permanent inhabitants at the settlements: the traders, the missionaries and the policemen. It was very difficult to even get information from these people. In those days, communication between north and south was by ship in the brief summer, by short-wave radio for the rest of the year. There was nothing else, no way to talk back and forth, no way to discuss ideas and plans, except during brief visits in the summer on the once-a-year ship visit. As a result, any project planning had to be done almost completely in Ottawa.

In 1950-51, my wife and I spent continuous months in the eastern Arctic shooting two films for the National Film Board. We lived for seven months at the settlement of Chesterfield Inlet on the west coast of Hudson Bay where we saw an Inuit community existing mainly on relief food plus Family Allowance foods. Former hunters and their families lived in snowhouses all winter or in wood shacks, all clustered close to the mission buildings and the store. Their old way of life was rapidly disintegrating.

We flew to north Baffin Island from Chesterfield and spent the next six months living with a hunting/travelling group of Inuit whose members still lived on and from the land and the sea. Here the local settlement of Pond Inlet was merely a place where they journeyed to trade, to attend church or to help unload the supply ship in the summer. The contrast between these two groups of Inuit was stark. The one was a slum, the other a thriving hunting and trapping community.

During the winter of 1951-52, I completed work on the two films in Ottawa. During this time I had a number of talks with Arctic administrators about what I had seen. They listened politely, but that was all. They weren't interested in my ideas. To them I was an unknown filmmaker who happened to spend a year in the Arctic as a result of which I had become an instant expert on the land and its people. "Spare me" was the attitude toward me and my information and ideas.

As a result, I wrote my ideas into a long report which I submitted to the Film Commissioner who had it passed on to the Minister of Mines and Resources.<sup>18</sup> In the report I outlined what I had seen in the Arctic and proposed a plan to remedy what I felt were severe shortcomings in the administration of what was then called "Eskimo Administration".

I have a copy of that report with me, the only one in existence today, I believe, and I will turn it over to the Commission at the end of my presentation.

In the report I stress the fact that the Arctic Division had no field personnel and that the provision of such well trained and highly motivated people must be a priority for the future. I offered, along with my wife, to go north as a field officer for the division to live a simple life close to an Inuit group in order to learn from them and then pass on what I learned to Ottawa. I

*Land of the Long Day* (1952) and *Arctic Saga* (1952) were both completed during Wilkinson's stay on Baffin Island in 1950-51. *Angotee: Story of an Eskimo Boy* (1953) was produced in 1953 during his subsequent trip.

Wilkinson did attend the inaugural meeting of the EAC from May 19-20, 1952 as a member of the NFB. He also attended meetings beginning in 1955 when he was a Northern Services Officer in the employ of the DNANR.

18. Minister Robert Winters (1950-1953).

suggested more people like us should be hired and sent north to different regions to live in the same way.

Over time, the Arctic Division would build up a well-trained field staff from which administrators in Ottawa could get information and ideas that came from people actually living in the Arctic.

Unfortunately for me, no one paid any more attention to my report than they had to my talk. So I resigned from the staff of the National Film Board, which was a very difficult decision for my wife and me as my Arctic films were well received and the Board wanted me to stay on and make other films.

With the assistance of Graham Rowley, who had been the one person in Ottawa, along with his wife Diana, who listened to what I had to say, I applied to the Arctic Institute of North America for a small grant-in-aid that would allow Vivian and me to go to north Baffin Island for a year and live as a family at an Inuk hunting camp where we would have available to us only the resources that were available to the group.

The Institute agreed to the plan, but Vivian became pregnant and she had great difficulty at the birth. I went to north Baffin alone. My experience is recounted in my book "Land of the Long Day".

What will be of interest to the Commission is that in my report to the Arctic Division, I outlined a plan that, following five years of my wife and me living on north Baffin Island, would see us go north with a small group of highly motivated Inuk hunters and their families, all volunteers from the Pond Inlet area, to establish a new settlement on southern Ellesmere Island in the High Arctic islands. In this way, we could explore the possibility of relocating Inuit from poor hunting and trapping areas in the eastern Arctic to better lands in the far North.

My plan called for the RCMP, who were about to re-establish detachments in the High Arctic islands, to patrol their areas over the five years in order to search out possible good locations for new hunting and trapping communities to which the newcomers could go.

I believe that if my proposed plan for eventual relocation had been put in place in 1953, none of the present controversy would have arisen and we would not be here today trying to sort out fact from fiction over the relocations as carried out in 1953 and 1955.

During the year I spent on north Baffin Island living as a hunter with a small group of Inuit, my food was meat from seals, caribou, whales, fish, rabbits and ptarmigan. I ate the meat raw, raw frozen, or boiled over the soft flame of a stone seal oil lamp. Our group had little money to buy food extras from the Hudson Bay post at Pond Inlet some 75 miles away from our main camp as there were few foxes to trap that year. We needed what little money we had for gasoline for the big boat we used to transport ourselves and our hunting kayaks to Kodluktuk Bay to hunt narwhal in the summer.

During the three-month long dark period of midwinter I didn't see the sun at all. Often it was dark the clock around, day after day. And it was cold, very, very cold; 50 and 55 below on the old Fahrenheit scale for days on end. Still, we hunted and trapped all through the winter months.

Sometimes on the ten-day long trips by dog and sleds on our trap line I was hungry, very, very hungry, as well as being near frozen in the extreme cold. All we took with us to eat were a few rock hard pilot biscuits and some tea. For the rest we counted on harpooning a seal at a breathing hole in the



thick ice or shooting a rabbit or two if they came out onto the rocky slopes to feed in the moonlight. If we got nothing with our rifles or harpoons, we starved for the ten days until we got back to the winter camp, often with only a fox or two to show for our effort.

This was almost exactly the same kind of life the relocatees from Port Harrison were living on southern Ellesmere Island and Resolute Bay only about 200 miles away from me and during exactly the same winter.

Today I remember my time on north Baffin Island as a highlight of my life, despite all the hardship and difficulty. But at least some of the Port Harrison Inuit remember their first winter in the High Arctic as a time of unmitigated suffering and misery.

Why this enormous difference? After all, I was a southern-based *Kabloonak*, product of a culture far removed from the hunting culture I entered into on north Baffin Island where I had to learn a completely new way of life and a completely different kind of homeland.

It seems to me that I had to undergo a much greater adaptation than any of the Port Harrison people. We were living in Arctic lands of similar geography, similar climatic conditions and with similar natural resources on land and in the sea. Why then is there such a huge difference in our memories?

The answer to that question lies not in geography, no matter how different, and not in climate, no matter how cold or dark, not in food supply, no matter how abundant or scarce. It lies in the basic attitudes of the individuals involved. I believe that at least some of the Port Harrison Inuit, and particularly the ones who now remember their relocation experience in such violent terms, had no great desire to relocate north in 1953. They went because they were persuaded to go, persuaded with a promise of a better life in a new hunting area.

In contrast, although I didn't want to leave my life and newborn baby daughter, I wanted to go to the north Baffin Island to live as an Inuk hunter in the High Arctic. I trust that you will understand that I don't mean "wanted" in the sense that I may want a good meal or a holiday. I mean that deep-seated wantedness that lies far inside the core of us all. Wanting something in this deep way, I accepted hardship and difficulty with a certain equanimity, as I suspect that a few of the Inuit who were relocated accepted their lot as well.

In general terms, Inuit serve to exemplify this characteristic of stoicism in the face of adversity. As a race, Inuit are perhaps the ultimate example of a migratory people. Over millennia men, women and children wandered far and wide over the cold and dark lands at the top of the globe. No other race in history spread so far and so wide within a single climatic zone. Inuit literally walked right around the globe.

However, having said that, it is well to remember that not all Inuit wandered in this way. Many – and I would say most – were quite happy, as some of us are quite happy, to live out their lives within the comforting confines of a known home community. We are not all explorers or pioneer wanderers.

So now we must ask: To which group did the Inuit from Port Harrison who now complain in such strong terms about their hardships during their relocation belong? Were they part of the small group of restless roving pioneers, or did they belong to the larger stay-at-home majority?

I suggest the latter. These were individuals who didn't really want to go

with any deep desire. They were persuaded to go, not coerced necessarily, but certainly persuaded.

I believe that all of them had a tough time that first winter in the Arctic, so tough they still remember it at a time of very great hardship. Lacking any deep desire to be in the High Arctic, they were unable to deal satisfactorily with events as they unfolded, whereas I wanted very much to be where I was doing what I was doing. As a consequence, I remember my hardships as simply a part of the very hard lifestyle I had chosen to live.

It may be that this comparison between my feelings after my relocation with those of some of the Port Harrison Inuit who were relocated is a poor one, for any number of reasons. If anyone feels this way, I can produce another set of comparative attitudes and experiences that might be better.

In the autumn of 1958, I tape recorded an interview with Idlouk, who had been my Inuk "father" on north Baffin Island, who had moved from his homeland to Resolute Bay in 1955. At the time, Idlouk was on his way home from a visit to Greenland with a group of Canadian Inuit and had stopped in Ottawa for a couple of days. By good fortune, I was in Ottawa at the same time. As we hadn't seen each other since the day I left his camp on north Baffin four years before, we had a lot to talk about.

At that time, I was in the process of resigning from my job as Northern Service Officer with the Department of Indian Affairs and Natural Resources so that I could return to filmmaking, and I was on the lookout for projects that would provide income while I became re-established in that field.

This interview is important, I believe, because it provides a clear account of one Inuk hunter's views about his new life at Resolute recorded in his own words at the time and not recorded from memory, which, as we all well know, at times can be faulty.

The interview was conducted in Inuktitut, transcribed into syllabic character writing, then translated into English. The original tape in Inuktitut is now in the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre in Yellowknife and is the property of the centre.

I have a copy of the English translation and I have the permission of the centre to give this to the Commission.

Here I will simply quote a few sections from the part of the interview in which I question Idlouk about his life at Resolute Bay. At the time, I knew nothing of any dissatisfaction about the relocation. The first half of the interview is about the Greenland trip. Then on page 10 I start to question Idlouk about Resolute Bay. The first question: "Will you be glad to get back to Resolute Bay now that the trip is over?"

Idlouk: Yes, I want to get home very much. I've been away for two months; no wonder I feel as though I must go hunting.

Question: Do you still like to hunt and travel?

Idlouk: Yes, I should say. Hunting, hunting, hunting, nothing else. In winter time I hunt the white fox, in summer I hunt the whales and seals and walrus. But at Pond Inlet there weren't many walrus and we had to go far to get them.

Question: Are there walrus at Resolute Bay?

Idlouk: Yes. Last summer two men and I went hunting for two days and we got 12 walrus.

Question: Do you get polar bears at Resolute Bay?

Idlouk: Yes, we do, lots of them. Last winter we tried not to kill too many

Idlouk, the protagonist of the film *Arctic Saga*, is Joseph Idlout who moved from Pond Inlet to Resolute Bay in 1955, largely at his own request.

bears. There was a great abundance of bears at Resolute Bay. Last spring I went on a hunt for caribou and, in two days, I saw 27 polar bears. My nephew and I shot 16 bears through the winter.

Question: Why did you leave Pond Inlet?

Idlout: I wanted to leave Pond Inlet. The snow was always very deep there, no wind came in winter and I did not like travelling all the time in deep, soft snow with my sled and dogs. It was slow travel. I often used to think - 'Where can I go for a living?'. We used to buy food from the Hudson's Bay Company and sometimes it was hard to get our money from them. But all I could do was work for them getting foxes.

After all, I had many children to provide for. Foxes are important but often there weren't enough foxes and then I had too little money. Always I had to have lots of food for I have many children. I had a large boat which used lots of fuel. Now at Resolute Bay I have more food and more money. I get many more fox skins and polar bear skins and this makes much more money. In summer I work for the RCAF and this helps. It all helps to buy the food and other things I need. I do not think I will ever go back to Pond Inlet to live...

Question: How did you choose Resolute Bay?

Idlout: I heard from a friend of mine, Kyak at Craig Harbour who works for the RCMP, that life was good in the northern islands. There are a few Eskimos at Alexandria Fiord, Craig Harbour and Resolute Bay. Most of the Eskimos come from Pond Inlet but at Resolute Bay we have some who came from far down south at Port Harrison.

Question: Were the people from Port Harrison unskilled in the ways of living in the far north?

Idlout: Now they are alright. But when they first came to Resolute Bay they didn't know how to hunt for walrus or how to hunt the seals on the ice. I heard that the year before I went to Resolute Bay the white men had to kill walrus for the Eskimos and it was only because of this that they had dog food. They got only one walrus for themselves. They must have been shamed.

But now some of the Port Harrison men know how to hunt like we do. They had never used a seal screen before coming to Resolute Bay. They used to put a white rabbit skin cap on their head, that's all. They found it difficult to hunt on the sea. But now they do as well as we do and they are doing very well.

Question: Did you teach the Port Harrison Eskimos how to hunt?

Idlout: I am not really a teacher. But, yes, I talked with them. Before I went to Resolute Bay Amoralik was there with the Port Harrison Eskimos and he did too much for them. They didn't know how to do for themselves. I wanted them to learn how to do things for themselves. So I talked with them and they tried very hard to learn. Now they do just like the Pond Inlet Eskimos. Some of the Port Harrison Eskimos are good hunters now, like Andrew and Simonie, and Jackosee. These men I like best of all for they are good hunters.

Question: Do all Eskimo fathers think this way?

Idlout: Some Eskimos are good men, some are not. They are all different. Some Eskimos think clearly and know how to arrange their thoughts, some don't. We Eskimos are all different in the way we think..."

That is the end of my quotations from the interview.

Idlout's explanation of leaving Pond Inlet is important and represents a very different story and experience of relocating to Resolute Bay than others presented. The difference in Idlout's story reflects differing perspectives and experiences, reminding readers that there is no single story of the High Arctic Relocations.

It must be apparent from Idlouk's answers to my questions that he wanted to go to the high Arctic islands, that he made the move of his own free will and that, after three years, he was satisfied.

Over the past couple of years I have had an uneasy feeling that some of the relocatee Inuit have become obsessed with their fight for redress and, as a result, have turned into spin-doctors, adept at using information in such ways as to enhance or embellish their own particular point of view.

Recently on a television newscast I heard the leader of an important Inuit organization say, when referring to the food he and other relocatees ate, "All we had to eat was walrus, seal and polar bear", or words similar to those.

The statement is probably true, but by using the phrase "all we had" at the beginning of the sentence, the spin or slant put on it makes it sound as if the diet of walrus, seal and polar bear was a poor one. He was Inuk and he should have, and probably did, know that a diet such as that was close to the normal day-to-day diet for many eastern Arctic Inuit in those days.

In some localities, Inuit would have been ecstatic to have had such easy access to a feast of Arctic foods. But he chose not to reveal this. He said what he did in the way he did in order to serve his own ends.

Another example: the record shows that one relocatee Inuk has said "[we] used to go hunting in minus 40 to minus 60 degree weather, in the dark for days at a time without eating." The meaning here is clear. This was a terrible way to have to live. But that was the way a great many Inuit in different parts of the far north lived in those days. I lived under such conditions for a year on north Baffin Island and I lived at the best camp in that area of the Arctic.

In the 1940s and 1950s, Inuit expected to have to go hunting in minus 40 to 60 degree weather in the dark for days without eating. It was an unpleasant but necessary part of the hunting and trapping life. But this was not what the Inuit who testified wanted the effect of the statement to be.

Another example: One Inuk has testified that "we had to live in tents all winter because there was not enough snow to build a snowhouse." I have lived and travelled by dogs and sled in many different sectors of the eastern Arctic. It is true that in the early autumn there is a time when it is often impossible to find good snow to build a snowhouse. But in winter and spring I have never found this to be so in any of the regions I have travelled in.

Often I had a difficult time finding good snow, sometimes travelling over the sea ice for many extra miles until I came to a place with sufficient good snow for a snowhouse. I have had to cut snow blocks horizontally from very thin snow cover on the sea ice where it was impossible to find deep drifts from which I could cut the blocks vertically, which is the normal practice. But I have never been unable to find a place without enough snow to build a snowhouse during the winter months.

When information is distorted or slanted in this way, the effect is to set up false perspectives of the situation in the minds of people who know little about Arctic living and travelling conditions. This introduces bias into the process, and this bias influences the way people view much of the information they gather.

For instance, I noted somewhere in a statement by one researcher or scholar – I can't remember which – the conclusion that it seemed unusual for the administration to have said that one of the main purposes of the reloca-

tion was that of moving the Inuit to a better hunting area when a document he had unearthed said clearly that the new settlement on Ellesmere Island should not be established on a peninsula where there was a small herd of caribou.

In truth, there is nothing unusual about this at all. It would be folly of the worst kind to establish a new settlement directly in the restricted home range of a small caribou herd in the High Arctic. Their pattern of movement would have been quickly disrupted and they would have been subject to very heavy hunting pressure. Far better to establish the new settlement some distance from the herd and allow hunters to go to the herd only at certain times of the year.

There is a bias of a completely different kind that has a bearing on the relocation process. I think I can safely say that in the years 1950 to 1970 I was well thought of by most Inuit hunters and their families in the Canadian eastern Arctic. Many knew me personally. Many knew my wife as well. But today, few younger Inuk know much about us, and this has led to a few incidents which should be of interest to the Commission. Let me explain.

In the summer of 1980 I spent two months in the eastern and High Arctic with a CBC television crew. On the trip we stayed at the base at Resolute Bay and I went to the Arctic Circle Club lounge in the evening. Inside I saw a group of young Inuk males seated around a table. One or two I recognized as sons of older men I had known in the past. They recognized me as well and I could see them telling the others who I was. I walked over and began to talk with them in Inuktitut.

To my surprise, they were very stiff and formal in their replies, not at all like any of my previous conversations with Inuit. After a few minutes, I left the group and went over to talk with other friends. Over the next hour I could see the Inuit were discussing me and in not very flattering terms as there was much joking and laughter as they kept looking over at me as they made their remarks.

For the first time I felt I was not welcome in the Arctic of these youngsters. I seemed to have been relegated in their minds to being just another domineering white man who had come to their far north land in order to exploit the Inuit and feather my nest in the process.

The next day we flew to Grise Fiord where we stayed for three days filming the settlement and interviewing some of the local Inuit. Here I found a small group of young Inuk men, a counterpart of the group of the Arctic Circle Club at Resolute, who seemed to do little else but meet and drink together in one of the houses. Again I sensed some animosity. When we tried to interview some of the young men, they agreed at first, then failed to show up. Away from the camera they told us that they didn't like living at Grise, there were no girls, no jobs, little for them to do.

On the other hand, I did interview an older Inuk who said that he had been homesick after he first moved to Grise Fiord, but he was over that now. All he wanted was a visit to his former home.

Shortly before these two incidents in the Arctic, I was home in Nova Scotia where I began to receive phone calls from reporters in central and western Canada. Each had been told by an Inuk they refused to name that I had fraudulently exploited certain Inuit with whom I had lived back in the 1950s. Each had been told that I had received a huge sum of money for a stills photo that I had taken on North Baffin Island in the summer of 1951

that had been used as the source for the line drawing on the back of the Canadian two-dollar bill between 1975 and 1986 but that I had not paid any of this money to the Inuit hunters who were in the picture. The reporters without exception had accepted this story completely as all they wanted to know from me was how much I had been paid by the Bank of Canada for the photo. I got the impression that they had already written their story, all they needed from me was the exact amount I had cheated the Inuit out of.

After the first such call I was annoyed, but not unduly alarmed. But when the calls kept coming and I heard from friends that a story about this matter had appeared in a few papers, I was furious. All my life I have tried to treat others fairly. In almost every case I paid Inuit who worked for me in the Arctic a fair wage or compensated them for the use of their time and equipment. Whenever I wrote stories in which I used material from them or some of their pictures, I paid the individual. I have done this all my life and I still do.

Recently I wrote a story in which I featured an Inuk friend who lives at Iqaluit on southern Baffin Island. I interviewed her by phone and used parts of the interview in my story. After it was published, I paid the Inuk half my fee.

I suggest that we can no longer grant Inuit freedom from having all statements they may make carefully examined and by people who have a thorough knowledge of Arctic life so that they will know when they might be being snowed. Today's politically astute Inuit can make statements that are true, but they can also make statements that are false. And they may state truth in such a way as to serve a specific purpose to their advantage.

I have supplied the Commission with copies of letters I wrote recently in which I told of my specific contacts with the relocation project. Today I will provide the Commission with this presentation plus a copy of the report I spoke about plus a copy of the complete interview with Joseph Idlout.

To close, I will tell a short true story about another Inuit relocation that took place in the Keewatin District in 1950. It involved Inuit only. No RCMP or government administrators. When it took place, my wife and I were living at Chesterfield Inlet on the west coast of Hudson Bay where we were filming the National Film Board production "Angotee - Story of an Eskimo Boy".

Early in the fall of 1950, three Inuit a man and his wife plus another man, decided they were tired of living on hand-outs at the settlement. They decided to relocate to a better hunting area north of the Inlet where there was reported to be a small herd of caribou. They set off with their tent and rifles but little else. Once they left the settlement, there was no way that anyone could know where they were or how they were doing. But that was normal in those days and I doubt they ever thought about this. Living on the land in those days meant considerable risk. You lived or died, depending on your ability to find game for you or your family.

The three Inuit found the caribou and lived fairly well until winter set in. Then the herd moved away and they were unable to find it. They decided to return to the settlement, but the going was slow and heavy. Short of food, their few dogs died. They continued on foot. One of the men remembered that the winter previous he had put a small amount of tobacco under the rocks of a hill that lay near where they were walking. They decided to detour over to the hill and retrieve the tobacco.

That was a fatal error of judgement. They were unable to find the cache

The Canadian \$2 bill circulated between 1974 and 1979 featured Joseph Idlout and his family preparing for a hunt just before they were relocated from Pond Inlet to the High Arctic. (See Friesen (2014).)

and spent too much precious time searching for it. By the time they started for the settlement again, they had nothing. Without food in the extreme cold they tired quickly. One man lay down and refused to go on. The other two left him and pressed on. Next, the man decided that he couldn't go on, and the woman was left alone. She continued south sleeping for short intervals in depressions she scooped in the snowdrifts, eating a few ptarmigan droppings and lichen.

When she was about 25 miles from the safety of the settlement, she almost gave up, but just then she came across a set of sled and dog tracks leading off to the west. She was sure the sled, whoever it belonged to, had come from the settlement, so she stumbled along, backtracking the tracks until she finally made it to Chesterfield. The RCMP sent out a patrol and found one man alive, the other man dead. Both the man and the woman recovered.

This story haunted me for a long time after I first heard about it three weeks after the woman reached the settlement. You see, the tracks she came upon had been made by an Inuk and me on a long sled trip to Baker Lake to get the caribou skins we needed for our film. I realized that we had passed within two or three miles of where she stumbled along, half frozen, half starved, about to lie down and die until she came upon our tracks. It shook me, as it still shakes me, to know that we had been so close and yet so far away.

It is important to know that such was the reality of life for the Inuk hunter and his family in the eastern and High Arctic during the late 1940s and early 1950s. It was this reality that was always on the minds of everyone who lived and worked in the Arctic in those days. It was this reality that lay behind the thinking of the administrators and RCMP of those days.

Today when I heard reports that compare the relocation to Nazi medical experiments during World War II, as was done a year or two ago on a CBC radio science program, or see attempts by political cartoonists who link the relocation to ethnic cleansing in the Balkans, I am devastated. Such attacks on the reputations of the men involved in the relocation project, especially on those who are no longer here to defend their actions of that day, are deplorable. And what is worse, to my knowledge, not a single Inuk or any Inuit organization has done a thing to distance themselves or their organizations from such statements. This leads me to believe that Inuk in general feel there is nothing wrong with such comparisons, or they believe it to be in their best interests to let such vicious propaganda flow.

Despite anything I have said here, please understand that I have still a sentimental tie to the Arctic and the Inuit. Not long ago I watched on television the beginnings of a new phase in the ever-evolving political process in the eastern and high Arctic with the establishment of the new territory of Nunavut. I watched as Inuit men and women, sons and daughters, even grandsons and granddaughters of men and women that my wife and I knew in the old days of the hunting camps stood proudly before the television cameras at Iqaluit on southern Baffin Island. It was an emotional moment for my wife and me for we were there in the beginning, in 1955 when Iqaluit was founded and Nunavut was just an idea. For a moment I wished that I was 23 and not 73 and back in the Arctic again.

Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you. I would like to thank you for sharing with us your years of experience in the Arctic. Obviously they are

still very vivid in your mind.

I will be very brief. I know that you are very much interested, as we all are, in trying to see what has really happened. The purpose of the Commission is to look at government policies and operations and not at individual actions, actions by individuals.

In fact, I would like to ask you, from your years of experience in the Arctic, given the situation that was in existence in the early 1950s, do you feel that relocation policies of such a scale – because this was certainly a major one in terms of distance and impact. Do you feel that these policies were not necessarily sound but acceptable policies to try to come to grips with the situation of a group of aboriginal people like Inuit, for example, and for their welfare?

Down the line, it is coming up to the proportion of the decision with the information that was there and the structure, the operative structure to make it happen in a satisfactory way and the hardship suffered by those people in Port Harrison, now Inukjuaq. This is one example. As you know, there have been many other relocations. The Commission is interested in looking at this one, but as an example to more general policies.

My question is: Do you feel that a relocation policy like this one was in proportion with the hardship that those people were living, from what you have seen and from your experience then? We are quite aware that it is always difficult to judge now in 1993 what happened 40 years ago with standard that obviously are different.

**DOUG WILKINSON:** If I can cast myself back at that particular time – I must say, first of all, that I am not aware of much of the evidence that was given prior before this Commission. I have tried to steer clear of this, to be frank with you, refused to get involved in the media war. I only want to try to bring out what I know in terms of what I believe to be the truth. But I am trying to cast myself back at that time. There are a couple of things that I think have not been properly brought out.

Louis St. Laurent said that we administer to our north as a great state of absence of mind. This was perfectly true. No one in Canada in the south gave a damn about the Arctic or the Inuit in those days. It was only a very few people in the administration and the RCMP particularly who paid any attention to the country at all.

They were under this growing pressure of public opinion which actually began with Farley Mowat's book "People of the Deer". Farley was very critical of the administration in his "People of the Deer" book. The administration was beginning to respond to this at the time. They were seeking out ways to alleviate some of the problems that were developing in places like Port Harrison, Chesterfield Inlet, where Inuk were leaving the land, coming to live on the settlements, were existing in shacks and snowhouses on relief foods and actually using Family Allowance food as part of their basic diet.

So there was a certain urgency introduced into all the planning. My own view, if you read my copy of the report, you will see that I had recommended a move to the northern islands. But my recommendation was that it be done slowly, that myself and my wife would go to north Baffin first of all, spend five years living there in close proximity, during which time we would evaluate the possibility of moving north, and then we could see whether we could do it or not, and even then it would still be an experiment.

Unfortunately, the Arctic Division at that time either didn't have or didn't



feel they had that kind of time frame. Everything had to be done right then and there. So what happened was you had a major project developing without adequate people to oversee and carry it out. I don't mean the people who were involved weren't adequate. But any major project, first of all, has to have a project manager. He must have people in the field who know what is going on. There was none of this available at that particular time.

There was one other factor that I think is a major one. As I told you, I worked for four years as a Northern Service Officer with the Arctic Division. They had offered me a job back when I wrote my report. I didn't say that in my submission because I didn't feel it was important. But they had offered me a job at that time in the department, simply as another person in the department which would have gone against everything that I was trying to say, because I said that is what was wrong. You have too many people in Ottawa and not enough people in the field.

When I finally decided to join them as a Northern Service Officer, it was largely because I respect Ben Sivertz who I felt was one of the major new people to come into this particular project. If he hadn't been there, I doubt very much whether I would have gone to work with the department. But they were beginning to be snowed under with all of these problems.

There were six Northern Service Officers in the beginning. We were to have gone in as Northern Service Officers to individual locations to do some of the things that I had been suggesting, to live at the settlements, to find out about them, to get ideas from the Inuit people and feed them back again.

Between the time I accepted the employment with them and the time we actually got there, the DEW Line broke and the DEW Line destroyed everything. It built up some things, but it destroyed everybody's good intentions.

So instead of myself, if I can use my own self – instead of going to a small community where I could have worked with hunting and trapping groups, I found myself on southern Baffin Island responsible for the development and building of a new little town looking after bulldozers and trucks and houses and carpenters and all this sort of thing. The old ideas of people moving into the Arctic, developing slowly, were absolutely lost. It was against that kind of background that the relocation took place.

Does that answer your question?

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Yes, very clearly. Thank you.

I would like to see if there are other questions from Commissioners. Mary Sillett, please.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Thank you very much. I have several questions – not necessarily questions, but comments.

In April you know that we had hearings. We heard from 28 people who were affected in some way by the relocation. We heard from five Inuit who were from Pond Inlet. Of those five Inuit, three were older, in your age group or thereabouts, and then others middle age.

Of the three that we heard from, their presentations or testimonies were very similar to the ones that we heard you say that Idlouluk gave to you. But they were in different conditions than, for example, the Inukjuaq Inuit. The Pond Inlet Inuit were, I understand, from the High Arctic. They were accustomed to living in conditions north of 60. Actually, they were the ones who had a choice to go.

I understand that they were also given an understanding that they would

be paid to help the Inukjuaq Inuit, for example, adjust to the High Arctic.

Having said that, when I heard from the Inukjuaq Inuit I couldn't help but be struck by several things. It sort of explains the kind of hardships that they went through not only because of geography or climate or food source, but they were separated in Inukjuaq from their families. In some cases they were separated in Churchill. In other cases they were separated on the boat, on the *C.D. Howe*. Some went to Resolute and some went to Grise. In other cases, in Resolute, for example, we heard families growing up without brothers, sisters, uncles, because of TB. So there was major trauma caused by separation.

I also heard that in Inukjuaq there were some facilities. For example, there was the Hudson's Bay. Maybe there was a nursing station. Maybe there was even a school. In Resolute and Grise there was nothing except an RCMP post. I also heard that there was one lady who was physically handicapped. There were babies there, women with babies who had to take care about "How am I going to feed my children". So I heard all of that. But one thing I couldn't be struck by was all the *qadlunaat* who went to Grise or Resolute, did they have children to feed? For example, in your case you were all by yourself. You said your wife had problems delivering babies and how could you bring that condition to the north. But the northern Quebec Inuit weren't used to those kinds of conditions no more than other people were.

I also understand that in Inukjuaq there were 55 different kinds of food sources. In Resolute, yes, I heard also that there was only seal and that there was only walrus and that there was only polar bear. For someone who was used to having that kind of game available, I guess that would be something to talk about.

I would just like to make those kinds of comments because it struck me from what you were saying. If you would like to say something else, please feel free.

**DOUG WILKINSON:** No, I can't say anything else to that. I know nothing about the previous testimony. I haven't read it or even heard it, except the odd comment I have seen. I picked up a few remarks out of Alan Marcus's book. Alan came and talked with us before he wrote his "Out in the Cold", so I can't answer any of that.

What I have to do is tell you what I know, what I remember, what I feel, and then you have to do with it what you wish.

I can say a couple of extra things, if I may. I wrote a couple of extra things in case I was asked – in case I wasn't asked, actually.

It has been reported that the Inuit at Resolute used to scrounge in the garbage dump at the base. I point out to the Commission that scrounging at Arctic dump sites, especially those at airfields, was common practice in the 1950s and 1960s.

Remember, a garbage dump is two different things to two different people. To the people who are throwing this stuff out, it is garbage. Yet the community may find it is something else again.

The first year I was at Apex Hill as a Northern Service Officer, I made numerous forays to the dump of the local air base in order to look for parts for equipment that had broken down or some things that we just simply didn't have. Our first water wagon at Apex was made from items we scrounged from the local dump.

At Pelly Bay on the north central coast, the new RC Mission building

erected between 1959 and 1961 contained a good 10 per cent of its construction materials, items scrounged from the dump at the nearby DEW Line.

The weather station on northern Eureka, the DOT station, in 1959 or 1960, threw out a whole load of freezer food one summer in order to make room for the new supplies coming in. A small group of pilots went out to the dump, salvaged the food, took it in their truck down to the aircraft, loaded it on to a plane, threw it up on to a nearby glacier and buried it in the glacier and resurrected it for themselves.

One other thing I can say on sovereignty. Here is exactly what I have written about sovereignty.

I heard the sovereignty matter raised on one or two occasions in the winter of 1951-52 while I was conferring with Arctic Division officials in Ottawa while I was working on my films. I do not remember this as being anything but a side issue, one the Arctic Division used as an extra incentive to obtain approval and funds for any relocation project they might hatch. It may have been a more important issue for External Affairs, perhaps even the RCMP.

But as far as the Arctic Division was concerned, I believe it was seen as a possible extra benefit to any relocation project. As a matter of fact, I used this technique a good deal in my filmmaking projects; when going after funding, state a basic end in view and then surround it with a few extra benefits.

One last thing, if I may. It may be true that the initial idea for the relocation project came not from Arctic Division officials, but from my good friend the late Joseph Idlouk. You know from hearing the quotes from the interview I had with him in 1958 how he viewed a move to the High Arctic by himself and how he said, in answer to my question about why he relocated, "I heard from a friend of mine, Kyak at Craig Harbour who works for the RCMP, that life was good in the northern islands." This would have been the summer of 1950.

In 1951 when my wife and I were living and travelling with his group on north Baffin, Idlouk often spoke to me about how he would like to go to the north islands with his family. I advised him to talk with Arctic Division officials on the boat that summer. I know he did this because he told me, when I returned to live at his camp in 1953-54, that he had done so.

Idlouk's talk with the Arctic Division officials in the summer of 1951 immediately preceded the first suggestions about a possible relocation project by Arctic Division officials in 1952. I suggest that Joseph Idlouk, who was talking only about a move of himself and his family probably to a site near the RCMP detachment at Craig Harbour, provided the spark that led Arctic Division officials to suggest the larger relocation project later that same year.

Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Georges Erasmus has a question.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** I wonder if you could answer a few questions from me.

Could you tell us the conditions in the Arctic at this time, in the late 1940s, early 1950s. Was this when life for the Inuit was in transition, that some people were still living a traditional lifestyle and others were now starting to live near organized communities and starting to go through a process of transition?

**DOUG WILKINSON:** It was a time of transition, but the transition was

Wilkinson's perception of the varying levels of importance that sovereignty had on different branches of the federal government is insightful. Discussions at Cabinet and the ACND throughout the 1950s suggest that sovereignty concerns were at a different priority level for different departments. This resulted in varying levels of engagement with activities related to sovereignty and reflected the differing concerns and responsibilities of the Ministers in charge.

minor. The major transition didn't start until the building of the DEW Line.

There were certain locales. For instance, where we made our first film "Angotee - Story of an Eskimo Boy" at Chesterfield Inlet, the Inuit there had started to relocate in from the land and they clustered around the settlement largely because there was a hospital there. Then the school went in on the same boat we went in, as a matter of fact. The first school came to the area. This again served to bring people in. There simply wasn't enough game for them to exist on in the area, therefore they began the change of way of life. This happened at a few locations, but not very many.

Most of the Inuit in the late 1940s, early 1950s, to roughly 1953, 1954, 1955 when the relocation was taking place, still lived life on the land.

Mind you, I have to qualify that by saying that literally I have never been on the east coast of Hudson Bay. I have been on a ship in a harbour and set foot on shore at Great Whale River overnight. So I really don't know anything about Port Harrison other than the few people I know from there.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Thank you.

You were around in these days. If we were to ask you for your best judgment of why the federal government officials decided to do this, what would you think the reasoning was? Was this to assist the Inuit to find a place where they could continue their lifestyle in a traditional manner? Was this the primary reason? Were there other reasons?

**DOUG WILKINSON:** Oh, I think that was the primary one, yes.

It was difficult to get food to the Arctic in those days. If you didn't get food from the land by hunting, you were thrown on to the resources of the Hudson's Bay Company, and that was all. You then started to live on flour and water made into bannock. You were able to get the odd tin of meat, but that would be very odd. When Family Allowance came in, you began to get pablum and that sort of thing, and then the hard biscuits and jam, all from the Hudson's Bay Company.

But there was no real way of shipping in large quantities of good staple foods to replace the fact that they weren't getting meat from the land any more. There were almost no freezers. One of the strange things about the Arctic is that to have a food supply you have to have a freezer. It is all very well to say the Arctic is 50 below in January, but it can be 70 above in July. So you must have some way of storing food, and there was no way to do that.

So what happens is when you start to issue relief supplies, you get pilot biscuits, flour and water, powdered milk, that sort of thing, and that doesn't take the place of good solid supplies of meat.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** One of the things we are trying to get a handle on is what the relationship between the Inuit and the non-Inuit was like. What kind of relationship did they have at the time? Could you tell us a little bit about that? Do you think it was one of equal understanding of each other?

**DOUG WILKINSON:** That is a tough one. In the interview – I won't bother to dig it out, it will take too long. In my interview with Idlout, at one point – I read the quotation where he said that all Inuit are different, some think well, some collect their thoughts, some don't. At the very end of that, which I didn't put in here because I didn't want to get a laugh at that particular point, I felt it was far too serious, he said "And sometimes we even understand the white man too." It depends on the individual in a lot of cases.

I did read somewhere where one of the Inuit from Port Harrison said "We treated the white man as gods in those days." I had to point out that only some of the Inuit treated white men as gods in those days. If you had suggested that to people like Joseph Idlounk or a few other people like him, they would have laughed at you because they thought exactly the opposite. They thought the white man was a fool. He couldn't hunt very well. He couldn't trap very well. He didn't know how to get around the land. He had to have an Inuk to guide him around. They were Inuwah (PH), men pre-eminent.

Did you notice what Idlounk said when I interviewed him in talking about the fact that the Port Harrison people didn't know how to hunt walrus? He had heard that the white people – meaning the RCMP – had to kill walrus for their dog food. He said "They must have been shamed." This was his particular feeling as a very proud, independent Inuk hunter.

Just as in our society, we are not all Conrad Blacks or Brian Mulroneys or whatever. We are what we are.

When you get a large society like ours, you get a few good people at the top, a few good people at the bottom, and the great mass of people in between. I think the same thing applies with the Inuit group. You get some people like Idlounk who could make the transition to the High Arctic islands and it was a great place for him, no trouble at all. Other people couldn't do that

Does that answer your question?

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Yes, I think it provides a good background.

What was the general relationship between officials like either the RCMP or other government representatives?

**DOUG WILKINSON:** All the way from very good to very bad. I have seen it all. I will be quite frank with you.

I have seen some first rate RCMP corporals and constables in the Arctic who did a great deal to work with the groups in which they were living for their two, three, four or five years. I have been where RCMP constables or corporals have simply lost it and have not been very pleasant people to be with.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** In relation to the selection of the Inuit for the move, you describe in a letter to Daniel Soberman, July 22, 1991, about the attempts to get your Inuit father Joseph Idlounk to join the relocation, he being from around the Pond Inlet area and would have been a very powerful asset to assist the Inuit from northern Quebec.

You go on describing for a number of pages how what you call the "little caesars" of the high Arctic, the government officials, seem to attempt in numerous ways to convince your Inuit father, as you call him, to go along in this project. I am just wondering if that was some of the kind of tactics that were used in getting some of the other Inuit to volunteer to go.

**DOUG WILKINSON:** I can't say that, really. So much depends on the individuals who were involved. In the particular case I described in my letter, I was really angry about all of this because this was done behind my back in a kind of way.

I think that some people did act in this way in those early days, but then again you have to remember the background of this. It wasn't really unusual

for this sort of thing to happen.

One of the things I had noticed in particular when I first went to the Arctic that there was a group of people – and a very small group of people – who in a kind of way considered the Arctic to be their field of endeavour. There weren't many people from southern Canada who knew a lot about the Arctic. It was a kind of closed society, if I can put it that way, and it took something to break into that society. Once you got into it, you were fine. It was made up of administrators, certain RCMP personnel. A lot of them were very fine people. But there was this sense, particularly, that I found working in the small settlements, whether the person was a trader or a missionary or an RCMP policeman, that there was a tendency to play god.

I remember, if I may take one particular instance, being in the RCMP detachment at Pond Inlet at one time. Idlout came in with a problem that he had. He sat down on the floor in a corner talking to the RCMP corporal who was at the table upright and strong. I couldn't help but be appalled at the contrast here of this highly intelligent Inuk man who had more assets and abilities than this RCMP corporal could ever hope to claim, and yet their roles in this particular situation had become somehow reversed. Does that make sense?

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Yes, I think so.

I presume you were in Resolute during the first year of – the first years. What was your opinion of the restrictions on the Inuit to not go to the dump, to not go to the base. What is your view of that?

**DOUG WILKINSON:** Could I tell you explicitly by an example from another place?

My first position with the department was as the Northern Service Officer at the new town of Apex Hill, which is the little village we wanted to create just outside of Iqaluit. At that time, there was no road between the two places. We had to go around by boat or hike over the hills. My wife can tell you some funny stories about that, too.

Anyway, when I first got to Iqaluit, or Frobisher, as we used to call it, the RCMP had put an enormous sign at the end of the road just before you came to the creek that allows you to cross over into the old shack town of Iqaluit. Not where Iqaluit is today. It was the old what I called the garbage dump site; terrible place. This sign said "This village is out of bounds to all service personnel", or something like that.

I was just appalled at this, quite frankly. I didn't think you could declare an area of Canada out of bounds to Canadian citizens or anybody else. So I went to the RCMP and talked this over with them. They were extremely reluctant to do anything about it, for obvious reasons. It sort of separated the two communities and made it easier to handle any problems that arose.

But eventually I pressed it and I said "Look, you take the sign down, but I will go to the USAF" – actually it was an RCAF base, but the USAF had 5 people to five Canadians at the time – "and ask if they will put up a sign saying this is the limits of the base and the USAF personnel are not allowed to go over into the Eskimo village unless they are accompanied by someone from the Northern Affairs Department or the RCMP." And that is what we did.

We took down our sign which made a piece of Canada off-limits to Canadians and let the U.S. Air Force put up a sign telling their people that before

they went to the base they should get people to go with them. As a matter of fact, it worked quite well.

The following spring they were lengthening the runways at Frobisher at that particular time because they were going to start using it for the tanker refuelling planes for the fighters up at the Thule air base in northern Greenland.

There was an enormous number of American army engineers that came in, a whole battalion of them. It was one of the most tremendous things I have ever seen in my life. A great big ship comes in with five huge amphibious vehicles inside. The ship sinks itself in the harbour, the vehicles come out and everybody comes ashore. The very first night these newcomers came ashore I was awakened about 4:00 in the morning. We were living at Apex Hill at the time and there was no road between the two at that particular moment, or road that was passable.

I was awakened by an Inuk friend of ours who came rushing up to tell me that there were three USAF people down there bothering the Eskimo girls and trying to sleep with them. So I immediately went down, and by the time I got there these three Americans must have realized that something was happening and they hot-footed it back to the base.

I immediately went down to the base, got a hold of the RCMP corporal. We woke up the U.S. Army engineer commander, told him what had happened. Within one hour he had 150 men lined up on the tarmac at the air base. We had the three Eskimo girls they bothered, went up and down, identified the people that had come down there. Three hours later those three were on a plane back to the States again.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Could you tell us when was the first time you had heard that the Inuit were not happy with their move north?

**DOUG WILKINSON:** That is a tough one. I can't really remember the very first time. But the first thing that rings in my mind was on that trip in 1980 that I made with the CBC crew going to the High Arctic islands area. I don't remember ever hearing before that of any difficulties from Port Harrison people.

I will say I am 90 per cent sure. There may be a 10 per cent residue somewhere that someone may have said something, but I have no memory of it now.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you. Obviously we could spend the day but we have a heavy schedule. Thank you very much for coming and sharing this with us.

I would like now to call Mr. Reuben Ploughman to come forward to the table. Mr. Ploughman was the manager of the Hudson's Bay Company store at Port Harrison in Inukjuak from 1951 to 1954.

Good morning, sir.

**REUBEN PLOUGHMAN:** Good morning. First I would like to thank the Commission for allowing me to say a few words here this morning.

My name is Reuben Ploughman. My place of residence is at the present time in North Bay. I worked for the Hudson's Bay Company for close to 40 years, having gone north on the tall ships, a three-masted schooner in 1939. I came south by modern jet. If I remember correctly, I think the pilot's name

Reuben "Rheub" Ploughman worked for the HBC for forty years from 1939 to 1979, and was post manager at Inukjuak between 1951 and 1954

was Julie Caesar, so it was a long time ago.

Most of the years was spent in the North. I was posted at Inukjuaq from 1951 to 1954, and I was there in 1953. Prior to that I had spent nine years in the North: one year at Hebron, Labrador; one year at Kuujuaq; one year at Southampton Island, now known as Coral Harbour; three years at Tavani, which is just south of Rankin Inlet and is no longer operated by the Hudson's Bay Company; and three years in Iglulik before moving to Harrison.

I will be using the name Port Harrison or Harrison instead of Inukjuaq and the term Eskimo instead of Inuit, as I would be more comfortable using that because this is the way it was 40 years ago and before that. I feel more comfortable using those terms, if it is okay.

What I am about to relate here is strictly from my own personal views and observations while posted at Harrison as manager for the Hudson's Bay Company from the summer of 1951 to the summer of 1954.

During the summer of 1953, a group of Eskimos were transferred from Harrison to the High Arctic. My job as manager, trader, storekeeper, call it what you may, was simply to fill the voucher orders received from the RCMP for clothing, tent material and so on, which was supplied to those Eskimos which would be going to the high Arctic via the government ship the *C.D. Howe*.

My role in the move was as an observer rather than a participant. I did not know which Eskimos were being transferred to the Arctic until just prior to the departure time of the *C.D. Howe*. The decision as to who should go and who should not was left entirely up to the RCMP. I do not know the system used regarding the recruitment and planning for the relocation.

I do know misunderstandings could have occurred by misinterpretation. I am not implying that they really actually did occur, but that is possible. The interpreter at the time of the recruitment period was a local special constable of the RCMP. His knowledge of English was somewhat limited, as I recall. We, meaning the Hudson's Bay Company, had by far the best interpreter at Harrison, but I do not recall if he was ever called upon the by the RCMP to do any interpreting during this period of recruitment.

Personally, I think had everything been explained to the Eskimos in greater detail concerning conditions as they existed at the time in the High Arctic, such as the long period of darkness and also the long period of sunlight and so on that they would encounter in a strange land, lack of communications with relatives left behind at Harrison and the fact that they could not return to Harrison after two or three years as was supposedly promised, plus other reasons, I am sure that some of them would have had misgivings about going in the first place. This is my personal view.

This brings me to the vital question: Why did the relocation take place at all? Game and fish were rather plentiful, maybe not as abundant as parts of Baffin and Iglulik, for example.

When I refer to game, I am referring to seals, white whales, beluga, and walrus. In some years the walrus were more plentiful than others. They were never during the period that I was at Harrison found in abundance. They were used mainly for dog food. There were also geese, ducks, sea pigeons and other species of birds in season, likewise eggs during the nesting period. As for fish, there was Arctic Char, Lake Trout, White Fish, and Speckled Trout.

Actually, it was the fishing that brought me to Port Harrison. I had asked



for that posting. I was very delighted that I got it at the time.

During open water on the bay, Tommy Cods, a type of rock cod, were found in abundance. Again they were used mainly for dog food.

During the fall period, we, meaning the Hudson's Bay Company, grubstaked the hunters who owned Peterhead boats to hunt walrus on the various islands in the area, mainly the Sleepers, the Ottawa and the King George Islands. The meat obtained was then shared. The same method was used in obtaining soapstone, which was quarried from certain areas around the coast, and brought into the settlement where we stockpiled it in our warehouse for distribution and use among the carvers during the winter months.

Furs, meaning mainly white foxes, played a big part in the Eskimo economy. But like everything else, there were up and down sides. When the white fox cycle reached a low ebb, the Eskimos had to rely more on government and Hudson's Bay relief, which is not unlike the south. If you are unemployed and cannot find a job, you go to the government agency and apply for welfare.

The white fox cycle usually peaks every five to seven years. During 1953 the cycle had reached its peak. In 1951 and 1952, as I remember, the cycle was on the upward trend, so we had anticipated a good fur year for 1953.

In 1952 we bought approximately 1,500 white foxes. But 1953 exceeded all expectations with a total amount of 5,000 white foxes bought. I do not think that this number was ever reached before or after 1953.

There was a down side to this large harvest. During 1952 and 1953, as I remember, the demand for white foxes had declined considerably. As I recall, the price we paid at that time was between \$7 and \$8 a pelt. I could stand to be corrected regarding the average, but I think that is what it was.

Handicraft sales dropped during 1953 – it was started, I think, in 1951 by Jim Houston – which is quite understandable. One could not trap and carve soapstone at the same time.

While the men trapped, the women were weaving grass baskets, place-mats and such, while the younger members of the family were carving soapstone. Some of the carvings were pretty crude. Nevertheless, I do not recall ever turning down a piece of soapstone. After all, those young carvers would be the potential carvers of tomorrow.

Included in the group that went north from Harrison were some of our better soapstone carvers. In fact, one I remember distinctly was Fatty.<sup>19</sup> I had the pleasure of meeting his son Larry here for the first time this morning from Grise Fiord. In fact, I still have some of their carvings at home which I treasure very, very much.

The question of sovereignty has been mentioned in some of the reports that I have read by Marcus and Gunther. I had always thought that sovereignty may have played a part in the move, although this may have just been hearsay. In the early 1930s the government did send two mounties into Dundas Harbour on Devon Island for this same reason.

I have heard mention that some of the Eskimos from Harrison, after they had been settled at Craig Harbour for a year or two, had asked when they would be going home, meaning Port Harrison or Inukjuaq, but were told this would be impossible since the ship did not return to Harrison but went to Montreal, which would mean spending a year in Montreal until the ship returned north the following year.

This makes one wonder as to how much planning had taken place ini-

James Houston was actively involved in organizing exhibitions of Inuit art in the 1940s and 1950s, working with the Canadian Guild of Crafts to promote Inuit art and artists. The federal government and the Northwest Territories Council also worked with Houston to develop the Inuit handicrafts industry as a means of diversifying the Inuit economy. See Stern and Arslan (2024), Lackenbauer and Clancy (2019).

19. Paddy Aqiatasuk

tially. Then again, could it have been a breakdown in communications through bad interpreting.

Why would the Harrison Eskimos have to spend a year in Montreal when there was train service all the way from Montreal to Moosonee. From Moosonee they could have been flown directly to Harrison by amphibious aircraft in a matter of a few hours. Austin Airways, who operated in that region, owned and operated such an aircraft.

Again, if it was too late in the season when the *C.D. Howe*, or whichever ship that brought some of the Eskimos that desired to come south – what I am getting at is if it was too late in the season for an amphibious aircraft, they would have to wait over until conditions were such in the wintertime when they could fly a DC-3 or a Dakota in on skis.

They could have been housed in the Hudson's Bay staff house at Moose Factory. There was plenty of room there. Not only that, they would have been with friends, patients in hospital from Povungnituk and Port Harrison. They wouldn't have had long to wait anyway.

What gets me is the idea of having to spend a year in Montreal when within a matter of a few days they could have been back home at Port Harrison.

As I said at the start, I will keep this rather short – but I will be open for any questions – to give someone else more time.

During 1953 Constable Ross Gibson of the RCMP did most of the ground work at Harrison for the recruitment of the Eskimos going to the High Arctic. While he did most of the recruitment and so on, he wasn't the officer in charge at the time. There was a Constable Webster who was in charge of the detachment there at that time.

I feel sure that he carried out his assignments as laid down by his superiors and the other bureaucrats in Ottawa to the very best of his ability. After all, they would have the final say in all the matters pertaining to the proposed move of the Eskimos to the Arctic. I understand that at the present time Mr. Gibson is ill in hospital at Victoria, so is unable to attend this session at this time. I wish him a speedy recovery at this time.

I realize it is very, very short, but I didn't want to write a book on the subject. Thank you very much for listening.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you, Mr. Ploughman.

What is interesting to hear from you in particular is the situation in Inukjuaq in 1952 and 1953. You were there as manager of the Hudson's Bay. From what you told us, I gather that the situation you saw there at the time was not one of starvation. Am I correct in saying that?

**REUBEN PLOUGHMAN:** Yes, you are.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Were you aware of the fact that the caribou had been very sparse —

**REUBEN PLOUGHMAN:** Pardon me, would you speak up a little bit because I am deaf on one side.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Yes. I understand from what you told us that there were fish, birds, white fox, but as far as meat, one of the points that came across very often was that the caribou herds had gone south down the tree line and this was causing major problems as far as food was concerned in Inukjuaq.

What is your assessment on that?

**REUBEN PLOUGHMAN:** Caribou was exceedingly scarce. In fact, I didn't even mention it in my brief.

They had to travel extensively to get into caribou country. Any caribou that they got, by the time they got back most of it would be used for dog food anyway. So there was very, very little caribou hunting for the three years that I was there. They depended mainly on seal. Seal was plentiful that time. I often hunted them in the fall and found them plentiful.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** From your point of view there was no starvation.

**REUBEN PLOUGHMAN:** Starvation, as far as I am concerned, didn't even enter into the picture at all. A lot of people may contradict this, but this is my personal experience. There were times when seal was more plentiful than others, but nobody was starving.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Could you tell us who the translator was? I think we may have actually been told that the translation was being done by the Hudson's Bay —

**REUBEN PLOUGHMAN:** The translator?

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Yes.

**REUBEN PLOUGHMAN:** I forget his first name. If I remember correctly, I think his name was Wilya. There may be some of the Inuit here present today that would remember his name. He was a special RCMP constable.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** He wasn't an employee of the Hudson's Bay.

**REUBEN PLOUGHMAN:** No. Our interpreter was the late Tommy Palliser. He was an excellent interpreter.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Could you tell us when you heard about the Inuit wanting to return and finding it impossible to return? What year was this incident you were telling us, about how they would have to over-winter in Montreal?

**REUBEN PLOUGHMAN:** About two years after they had gone into the High Arctic, Craig Harbour and such, Grise Fiord.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** How did you hear that? Was that through a letter?

**REUBEN PLOUGHMAN:** It's 40 years ago. Somewhere through the grapevine anyway. In fact, some of them — Larry's dad, Fatty, I understand, wanted to come back the year he arrived in there. Things looked so bleak and so on to him there and the surroundings, he just wanted to come right back on the same ship that he went in on.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Is this something you are being told now, or is this something that you were discovering at the time?

**REUBEN PLOUGHMAN:** This is something that I picked up over the — it could have been passed on to me when I was at Inukjuaq.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Let's go back to Inukjuaq at the time of the relocation and the first two or three years afterwards. Were there stories coming back one way or another whether or not the relocatees were happy with the High Arctic or were displeased and wanted to return? What kind of stories were circulating in the community?

**REUBEN PLOUGHMAN:** I left early the following year. I doubt by that time whether any mail would have been received. So I am not quite sure. Again, this could have been via the grapevine.

From the time they went north until I left Port Harrison I don't think any mail had come out from those places. But I have kept in close contact with all of those. In fact, I still hear from natives that worked for me 40 years ago.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** You kept in contact in the subsequent years. What was the information you were getting, say, during the first decade of the relocation?

**REUBEN PLOUGHMAN:** The impression I got, as I remember it, is that they were disappointed. In other words, they thought they were going to the ?asmus, Georges Could you tell us the type, the kind of people that were chosen?

**REUBEN PLOUGHMAN:** The people that were chosen were not what we would call travellers. In other words, they would have been referred to as inefficient travellers. But by the same token, some of them were excellent carvers. Carving was becoming quite an industry at Port Harrison at that time. It brought in quite an income. I know that in 1953 and 1954 I was shipping this stuff out by the ton. This all went to the Handicraft Guild in Montreal.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** What was your personal understanding or the reason for the relocation at the time?

**REUBEN PLOUGHMAN:** I have always maintained, like I said – again, it could be hearsay – but I think sovereignty played a part. It wasn't because of lack of food in the area. There was a scarcity at times. There had been a scarcity in all the places that I have been posted in the north, at times.

In fact, they quoted a couple of years ago during an interview – this was November 1991. He believed there was a possibility that sovereignty played a role. I always thought that it had.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** We have a question by Commissioner Wilson.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** At the time that the decisions were being made as to who was going and who was staying, did you have any impression as to whether the people who were going had volunteered and expressed a desire to go? Or was it a matter of their being chosen quite apart from their own views on the matter.

Do you have any recollection of your impression as to whether people were saying "I want to be one of the ones to go", or were they saying "I wonder if I will be selected to go up there"? Do you have any recollection of that?

**REUBEN PLOUGHMAN:** That is a big question. I think if you asked ten people, you are going to probably get ten different answers.

I can't say really that some of them were influenced, but I would like to think that they were. If one was told "You are going into the High Arctic", well, the Eskimo would probably say "If this is the way it is, I guess that's the way it is."

The Inuit in those days had very little conception of government. If you asked them what the government was – and I've got this through interpreters from 1939 right up to 1953 – the man in charge was the King or the Queen. The RCMP represented the King or Queen, so what he said they listened to and went along with it.

I think some of them may have had no hesitation in saying that – some of them, I think, had volunteered. I wouldn't say that all of them had.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** What would you think would be the response if someone was told "We have decided that you are going up to the High Arctic"? Would the person have said "I don't want to go; I would rather not go", or would they simply accept that they had been chosen?

**REUBEN PLOUGHMAN:** He would go, but with reluctance. I wouldn't tell you what they would say today, though.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** Yes. Thank you.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Thank you very much.

You mentioned that there was the Hudson's Bay Company and then there was a government relief system. Were there two different systems of social assistance?

**REUBEN PLOUGHMAN:** Of relief, you mean?

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Yes.

**REUBEN PLOUGHMAN:** I am glad you brought up that point.

The Company has never advertised it or anything like that, but there was two types of relief at Port Harrison when I was there. If you caught one fox, you were a trapper and you received Hudson's Bay relief. At that time, for the three years that I was there, if you caught any fur and they went to the government for relief, they were sent back to the Hudson's Bay Company, "Go to the Bay and get your relief."

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** In our materials we read that one of the concerns of the government of the day was that there was a great strain being placed on relief by the Inuit and that was one of the reasons why they wanted relocation, to make sure that the Inuit wouldn't be a drain on relief and that Inuit could be independent.

With the days that you were with the Hudson's Bay Company, were there a lot of people in Inukjuaq on relief? Were there any changes after the relocation?

**REUBEN PLOUGHMAN:** Again, in the poor fur years there were more. But with the advent of soapstone carvings, basketry work and that, there was less soapstone because some of them could eke out an existence with their carvings.

Getting back to the relief, they couldn't subsist on that too long because it wasn't much more than a starvation ration. It consisted mainly of flour, lard, baking powder, tea, some sugar, and plenty of beans.

Can you imagine living in a snowhouse trying to cook beans? It would take a day to soak them and it would probably take a day and a half to cook them, and seal fat wasn't all that plentiful. So beans were never, to my knowledge, ever eaten. They were discarded and they couldn't get anything in lieu of it.

The Eskimos had very, very little to say when it came to relief. It came in what we called a number one and a half ration, a half ration to the kids and number one ration for the adults. This is what they had to take.

It is the same almost with Family Allowance. While the people in the south were enjoying cheques and doing what they wanted with them, the Eskimos were more or less told what they had to buy. The first thing was milk. The second thing was pabulum. Whether the kids liked it or not, they had to take it and accept it. They would say, 'Well, I want so and so.' "You can't have that." "I want this." "You can't have that."

People in that time were treated like people from the third world.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** I have one other question.

In terms of communication, if you were *qadlunaat* and you couldn't speak Inuktitut, all your communication with the Inuit at that time was through a translator or interpreter?

**REUBEN PLOUGHMAN:** What is that again? I am sorry.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** If you were *qadlunaat* or a white man in those days in those kind of communities, if you wanted to communicate with the Inuit, you would always go through a translator or an interpreter?

**REUBEN PLOUGHMAN:** You mean myself?

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Well, people like yourself or whatever. How did you get the information?

**REUBEN PLOUGHMAN:** I was lucky there because I had a good interpreter. I lived at places like Iglulik where I had no interpreter. At Tavanai I had no interpreter. I am not fluent in the Eskimo language, but I managed to get by.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you very much for sharing this with us.

We are running behind schedule, so we are going to take a short break to stretch our legs and have a coffee. We will resume in 10 or 15 minutes. Thank you.

— Short recess at 10:55 a.m.

— Upon resuming at 11:12 a.m.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Could you please come back to the room and get a seat. We are about to start.

Would Armand Brousseau and Pierre Desnoyers join us at the table, please.

Bonjour. Good morning. Pouvez-vous vous identifier et donner le contexte dans lequel vous allez faire la présentation, please.

**ARMAND BROUSSEAU:** My name is Armand Brousseau. I live in Gatineau, Quebec.

Armand Brousseau was a radio operator for the Royal Canadian Air Force, temporarily stationed at Resolute Bay from July-October 1953 and again December 1953-March 1954

The context in which we want to make our statements is that both of us were in Resolute Bay in 1953 when the Eskimos arrived.

I am very happy that these hearings are taking place. I am also very happy to have the opportunity to participate in these hearings.

Very early in my life I witnessed by circumstances a significant event in Canadian High Arctic history. However, at the time I couldn't comprehend the surrounding circumstances or political significance of what I witnessed, neither did I at that age have the experience or wisdom to evaluate or comment on the events that unfolded before me.

We didn't come exceptionally prepared for this. We came to tell the truth in what we saw, not to elaborate a long story.

I will give the opportunity for Pierre to speak first and then I will carry on from there.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you.

**PIERRE DESNOYERS:** My name is Pierre Desnoyers. I am a resident of Gatineau, Quebec.

From 1951 to 1984 I have served in the Royal Canadian Air Force and subsequently the Canadian Armed Forces.

In 1953 while stationed in the RCAF station at Lachine, Quebec, which was the support base for the Resolute Bay detachment, I was posted to Resolute Bay in order to assist in the annual resupply made at that base.

I was there approximately – I haven't got the actual dates, but I presume I was there from mid-June to mid-October 1953.

One of my main responsibilities for being sent there is the fact that it was the first year that ship tankers were coming in to resupply the fuel, aircraft fuel, diesel fuel that was to be pumped on to the reservoir at the camp at Resolute Bay. I had to build a float line in order to assist the ship to unload their fuels.

The ships that did arrive on the first week of August 1953 – the big supply ship was the *U.S.S. Winedot*. It was a very large supply ship that had a complement of about 600 men on board, plus barges, cranes, vehicles, and what have you. Also there was the tanker, a U.S. Navy tanker. I don't recall the name. I recall the *U.S.S. Winedot* because I was invited on board and I was so impressed.

The ships were escorted by the *Iberville*. I just want to make a statement here to the fact that I have indicated to some people here that I was under the impression that the Inuit people were unloaded from the *Iberville* that day. Making a recollection of the events which occurred, I was wrong, because I think the *Iberville* came back.

One thing that the Commission must bear in mind is that the arrival of the Inuit in Resolute Bay was no big concern to us. In other words, it was irrelevant because of the fact that we knew very, very little about it.

I can now assume here that the Inuit did arrive back on the *Iberville* on the first week of September 1953.

Like I said, I don't have any prepared statement. What I am doing here in front of the Commission is making a recollection of the events which I have witnessed during my time at Resolute Bay.

The day they did arrive – I don't have the specific date. Like I say, it was the first week of September. When the word came to the camp – I want to explain to the Commission that the ship came into what we called the bay

Pierre Desnoyers was stationed at the Royal Canadian Air Force station at Lachine, Québec in 1953 and was temporarily stationed at Resolute Bay from June to October 1953 to aid the annual resupply, and specifically the first fuel resupply that summer

The *d'Iberville* went first to Alexandra Fiord to try and land Inuit families there before returning to Grise Fiord and then to Resolute Bay where Inuit landed in early September 1953.

The RCAF was not involved in planning or implementing the relocation, despite the presence of the base at Resolute. Concerns voiced by the RCAF first in August 1953 and again in February 1954 that they would be responsible for Inuit welfare indicate that there was no coordination between the DRD/DNANR and the RCAF on this project.

which was located about two and a half to three miles from the camp site where we lived. When I got to the beach on that day, the Inuit had been unloaded but there was no ship in sight. What time they arrived or so, I have no recollection whatsoever.

One thing which has to be taken into consideration as far as our reaction to this is that it was my first contact or ever having seen Eskimos or Inuit people in my life, being a 21-year-old kid, and you see these people being unloaded, well, we felt that it was something natural for them.

As a matter of fact, we did find out about a day or two prior to their arrival, due to the fact that a meeting was held by the camp commander that the Inuit will be arriving. And at no time whatsoever could we initiate personal contact or whatever or provide any means of support unless it was requested by the RCMP officer who was escorting them.

What I saw myself, the condition – what they had available to them was very primitive. We felt that maybe they were living in this condition and maybe subsequently they would move into the old DOT camp, which was the old weather station on the beach. Some of the buildings had been vacated because the weather station people, the U.S. and Canadians, had moved on to our camp site.

As far as the resources that we could see they had available to them was very, very limited. Whether they could sustain on wildlife, like I say, my experience was non-existent, so I could not make a judgment on other than what I saw. I saw a few walrus down there. Bears were roaming around. But I never sighted caribou or anything of that sort.

However, a few weeks after the Inuit arrived, we did some sighting of them in our dump. Whether they were there to sustain themselves or sustain their animals, I could not tell. But the word on the base was that it was for their own personal use.

I would like to pass the microphone back to Armand. If there are any questions at the end, I will be available. Thank you.

**ARMAND BROUSSEAU:** Thank you, Pierre. I would like to give you a bit of my background so that you can judge for yourself as to my ability to tell my story.

I have here records from the National Archives for the duration of the time that I spent in Resolute Bay. I had spent one year in Whitehorse, Yukon with the RCAF. I would like to point out that I was a radio operator with the RCAF. I was sent on temporary duty. At that time, they only sent us for three months because they thought we couldn't stand much more than that at one time.

I left Whitehorse on the 23rd of July. From there we went to Fort Nelson, from Fort Nelson to Edmonton, and from Edmonton to Churchill. I arrived in Resolute Bay on the 30th of July 1953. I stayed there until October, came out, spent a month and a half out and went back to Resolute Bay on December 16th and came out in mid-March of 1954.

I was there when the Inuit had landed. Out of curiosity, a guy by the name of Lee, who had a Bombardier – he was a mechanic – we went down out of curiosity. We knew they were arriving. But I must point out, the same as Pierre – that the commanding officer at that time, who I think was Flight Lieutenant Knight, but I am not positive. We were told that these Inuit were sent here to rehabilitate themselves to their original way of life and that in no way were we to associate with them or give them anything unless we were



escorted by the RCMP.

During my time there I saw, like Pierre, that these people were landed with tents and very basic equipment. As a matter of fact, I would like to say that I have been hunting for the last 40 to 45 years. I bring more equipment for a ten-day hunting trip than what I saw there.

Like I say, I didn't prepare anything, but I have a few notes that I will have to refer to as I go along.

At that time, the first few months of their arrival they came occasionally to the base with Ross Gibson, the constable in charge of them at the time. We were never allowed to give them anything or approach them in any way. Their movements were very restricted. Our association with them was restricted.

At that time, I remember mentioning to my friends and saying – we were told that they were from northern Quebec. We asked ourselves, why would they send them here to Resolute Bay. We knew northern Quebec. Some of the guys there knew northern Quebec better than I did. They said there is nothing here, bears, walrus, quite a few Arctic fox. Whereas where they came from we knew that they had birds, ptarmigan. They had all kinds of wildlife such as caribou and bear. They had berries to eat. They had wood that they could use for heat or help build tents.

From what I have seen in the last 40 years, having travelled quite substantially up north, having been also on Baffin Island in 1956 on the DEW Line, I had many encounters with the Inuit of Baffin Island either from Pond Inlet or Craig Harbour. I can't recall, because there were sites we didn't know exactly where we were. I had experience with the Inuit for the duration of the time I was there.

It is only after seeing the difference in the attitude towards the Inuit on Baffin Island as compared to Resolute Bay that – in Resolute Bay they were more or less treated – they had only the basics. Their movement was limited.

In other words, they were in confinement, from my point of view, as compared to the Inuit that I met on Baffin Island where we were able to associate with them. They came to the base, to the sites. We were able to trade with them, speak with them. We went on hunting trips with them.

As a matter of fact, on Christmas Eve approximately, in 1956, I had a group of nine Inuit come into the radio shack where I was in charge of sending the messages in and out because it was all done by wireless. I had a tape recorder. I recorded their voices for the first time on a tape recorder singing Christmas carols. I played it back to them and they were in awe. To the best of my ability I pointed to them and said "This is you, this is you, this is you." They were just amazed. It was a real event. If you had seen, they were like kids, little children. They are very sympathetic people and very nice and very helpful.

As a matter of fact, after they would come to the radio shack individually bringing a soapstone carving or some other token so that they could hear themselves talk again on the tape recorder.

Also when we were on Baffin Island on site 39 for a period of at least three weeks to one month the weather was so bad that no aircraft could come in or anything. We ran out of fuel. The aircraft used to land in the fiord and we were 2,000 feet up on top of a mountain. All the fuel had to be transported in drums up to the sites.

At that period of time we only had one piece of equipment that was

working, so the superintendent of the site asked the Inuit to bring the fuel up with their dog team, which they did. Thanks to them, we suffered less than we would have had they not been there. I would like to point that out. They were very happy to do this. They were allowed to eat our food and anything that we had.

Pierre mentioned to me also that he frequently saw – I guess he missed that. He frequently saw them going to the dump in Resolute Bay with a rope. My radio shack, which was a bit distant from the main camp – I had a good view of the dump which was maybe a quarter of a mile away. They couldn't see me, but I often saw them in the RCAF dump which was in the back of the barracks.

I had an opportunity to visit their campsite as well. I have pictures here that I would like to give to the Commission. I would like to explain what I saw and how these people lived.

This first picture is of myself with John Amagoalik and his brother. I might point out that Pierre will tell you that they weren't allowed to take pictures. I befriended Ross Gibson on my second tour and was given access to take photographs. I think these are the only living photographs of that time of the Inuit.

I want to point out here to show you the way they lived their first winter. You will see here the women are in a makeshift igloo. But the igloo is actually way in the back. You will see a dark spot in the background. That is the actual igloo. They went to a tunnel, where the women are standing, into the igloo where the meat was stored on either side. The igloo is totally covered.

This is taken at the same time. You will see that because of the condition of the igloo they started – this Inuit was building another igloo right beside the one they had.

This is myself with them. And this is a picture of the foxes that the Inuit trapped during that first winter. I am not in there. That is the American and the Canadian DOT.

While I was on that particular trip, this was – that was, I think, in late February 1954 on my second tour, which I went back in December of 1953. Those pictures were taken probably the beginning of March or late February. I had an opportunity to go into the igloo.

Of course, I asked Ross Gibson first if I could. I came to go in but the Inuit stopped me. I saw him going to Ross and then they allowed me to go into the igloo, so I can tell you of the condition that I saw.

I crawled in that space. When I got in the igloo – you had to be on your knees to get to the main igloo from the tunnel – I saw carcasses of skinned foxes, some walrus meat, I imagine, and a few pots and pans, very little.

When I went in the main igloo, it was lined with newspapers that they must have acquired from the dumped. The whole igloo was lined with newspaper. I imagine that was for insulation purposes. There was a woman there and a young Inuit inside. He was lying down on the – I can't recall now if they were caribou hides or polar bear hides or whatever it was.

I saw the basic equipment they had, an oil lamp – not a lamp, a pot. All around the camp was very limited. My heart went out to them. To see children of five years old and women, young women, with new babies, I asked myself how were they able to survive during that long winter.

I would like to point out that they arrived there in the first week of September. It becomes total darkness approximately mid-October. I don't

know the exact date. They had a month and a half to prepare and get game to survive the whole winter.

I am stating that because we were not allowed, or anyone on the base, was not allowed to give them anything. We were forbidden to exchange or even approach them unless the RCMP was there.

Like I say, I befriended Ross and I went on a couple of occasions. As you will see in one of the pictures, you will see the crates leaning against the igloo. That is the wooden crates that they had taken from – I don't know what they used them for.

I would like to mention that they lived in tents for the first few months. I left in October, so they were still in tents in October.

Since then I have been at Fort Chimo. I have gone on several hunting trips and fishing trips in the North in the Ungava area. I just can't visualize these people being taken from northern Quebec and sent there on the promise that the game was plentiful, which I assume, from what I have read – I have read practically all of the documentation that has been written on this first inquiry, and so on. I can't visualize any planning having been done to say that the game was plentiful in Resolute Bay.

I was there from the period of July to March 1954. I saw one narwhal, a lot of fox. As a matter of fact, we used to break eggs and at the end of my tour I had the fox eating out of my hand. They loved eggs. I saw one herd of muskox which we spotted. We went with a Bombardier.

As a matter of fact, for a little excitement – you would do anything for excitement there – we lassoed one of the small muskox and put him in an empty hangar. We started making bets as to who would stay the longest inside that hangar with the muskox. I can say that I lasted a minute and a half. I don't remember who won the contest. Mind you, we didn't hurt the muskox, but it was very exciting at that time to see that.

That was about the only game. Well, there were many polar bears. As a matter of fact, we saw – I think Pierre experienced the same thing.

At the very early stage that they were there, a young boy with his father, a young Eskimo, was in the dump. He was about 12 years old, I would imagine. We saw the dogs surround a polar bear. He walked right up to his dog and shot the polar bear within 30, 40 feet. We thought this was incredible.

I would like to make a final conclusion, if I am permitted. If you have any questions, I would like to answer them. I may not have given you all of the details that I would like to. Like I say, we didn't come really prepared. We came here to say what we saw and what we know, our facts, with pictures to document.

These are pictures of the staff of DOT plus the RCAF at that time. It will show the sharp contrast of the way of life of the Inuit as compared to us. We were Canadians and well taken care of, although the isolation was very hard for us, and also to be away from our families at Christmastime or at any time, 24 hours darkness. You cannot believe the impact that has on you, the effects. It is extremely lonely.

We used to wait for – every two weeks an aircraft would come in. At that time we were only 30 servicemen and DOT personnel. There is no way that you can prepare for total darkness even though we had lights and we had everything. As a matter of fact, Pierre helped unload the 6,000 cases of beer from the *U.S.S. Winedot*. I want to point that out. So we didn't suffer

for anything, really. We were allowed a case of beer a week, cigarettes. As a matter of fact, we lacked for nothing and we had plenty of food and enough that we could have shared.

Like Pierre and I discussed, we said why didn't they give them quarters. There were quarters after the other people left. This is what we couldn't believe. Why would they be living like that? They were Canadians. Why was there such a contrast in the way we were treated and they were treated, being Canadians as well.

This I am concluding now after years of experience.

There is no doubt there was a lot of suffering done by the Inuit. I saw. You will see there is a picture of Ross Gibson in the pictures I gave you, so that proves that I had permission to take the pictures because he is in one of them.

I will stop at this. Maybe I am venturing a little far, but my knowledge and my many years of experience with the Eskimos either at Ungava or Chimo or the Indians in Whitehorse or on Baffin Island, I came to the conclusion that I would like to read to you.

After reading all the documents and stated opinion from the various people, I feel that the government of the time gravely wronged these people. I fail to understand why the government of today is reluctant to make reasonable reparation and amends to help correct this historical mistake.

We will make mistakes, men and government. What is wrong in admitting that we make mistakes? Is the Canadian government beyond reproach? Is there some element of perfection in government endeavour that we cannot admit the possibility of an error?

This is a time for historical redress to show that Canadian individual rights are respected and recognized these days and why we are so fortunate to be Canadians. The reason why this country is such a great country is because it respects the individual right. That is what gives us our pride and freedom. Let's give the Inuits their pride back.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you. Thank you for sharing some of your experiences during those years with us.

You are certainly aware that there are conflicting views and opinions and we are going to hear different views later on during the day and the week.

I would like to make sure I got it right. I understand these pictures were shot in 1954?

**ARMAND BROUSSEAU:** In 1954.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** In the winter of 1954.

**ARMAND BROUSSEAU:** That is right, in late February or early March.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Also I understand when you stated what was your feeling about Inuit people being in some kind of confinement in Resolute as opposed to the situation in Baffin Island – this was 1956, was it?

**ARMAND BROUSSEAU:** When I was on Baffin Island, yes.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** So it was three years after.

**ARMAND BROUSSEAU:** Two years.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Two years after.

You said many times that you were told that you should in no way be associated with the Inuit unless accompanied by an RCMP officer.

**ARMAND BROUSSEAU:** That is right, sir.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** That was the word passed on the base.

**ARMAND BROUSSEAU:** Oh, yes. We were all brought in, as a matter of fact, the same time as Pierre. We were both told at the same time that we were not to associate with them or give them anything.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Was this mentioned to you by the air force?

**ARMAND BROUSSEAU:** The commanding officer.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** The commanding officer.

**ARMAND BROUSSEAU:** Of the air force at the time.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** What was the reasoning given for you not to associate with them and not to give them anything?

**ARMAND BROUSSEAU:** Like I said and like Pierre said, they were there to rehabilitate themselves to their way of living. We were told that the food was getting scarce where they came from in northern Quebec and they were sent up there. Also, that they were here to learn how to survive on their own and to go back to their old way of living.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** That is what you were told at the beginning. Were there other explanations later on?

**ARMAND BROUSSEAU:** I will let Pierre speak.

**PIERRE DESNOYERS:** At no time whatsoever can I recall that any specific reasons were given, other than there was mention that preceding the years of 1953 there were archaeological studies carried out on Cornwallis Island whereby some burial sites had been found. The government of the day had decided to bring some Inuit people into that environment to see if they could survive. That is one of the reasons I recall.

**ARMAND BROUSSEAU:** Yes. Their ability to survive in the North was mentioned.

**PIERRE DESNOYERS:** There were no conscientious plans that were made on behalf of the RCAF in order to support the Inuit. I think very little was known, even by our commanding officer, other than the fact that these people were arriving. There was nothing prepared to support them in any form.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** What could have been done to prepare them?

**PIERRE DESNOYERS:** Well, that is the \$64,000 question. What could have been done?

Like we say, after realizing the way they were living, they could have been provided with some help. I did mention in my statement at the beginning that there was housing available on site which had been vacated and it could have been used by these people. But from what I understood, they were never used.

But this was not RCAF authority. Our commanding officer had no authority whatsoever other than what he told us to do.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** So there were empty buildings. There was some reference to Department of Transport buildings.

**PIERRE DESNOYERS:** Yes. These were the old weather station bureau which was located right on the beach.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** They were abandoned, but they were not allowed to be used by the Inuit.

**PIERRE DESNOYERS:** Not to our knowledge.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** The conditions of the Inuit living there you have described as being quite different from what everyone else was experiencing, the non-Inuit.

Would you describe it from your other travels amongst the Inuit as the same conditions as Inuit in other parts of the North? Were their habitats the same, the equipment the same, et cetera?

**ARMAND BROUSSEAU:** In other parts of —

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Of the Arctic.

**ARMAND BROUSSEAU:** Like on Baffin Island?

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** For instance, Baffin Island.

**ARMAND BROUSSEAU:** Oh, no. They had all kinds of equipment. They were well provided for.

Like I say, we could exchange food or anything. We associated with the Inuit on Baffin Island at a different site I was in like I would with you. We could carry on conversations. We could play. We could do anything. Their travels were not limited. They didn't need an RCMP escort. They were free. They were free like you and I are to associate and live the best way they could. There certainly was no shortage that I saw for them. If there was, they could always come to the different sites and acquire what they needed or trade. They could trade anything they caught, and so on.

You will see a picture there; that is the first catch up to February of the Arctic fox by the Inuit in Resolute Bay.

I took the liberty of showing two different aspects, the way we lived, the way they lived, with these pictures.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** What kind of medical services were available to people like yourselves and what was available for the Inuit?

**ARMAND BROUSSEAU:** There was none except for the RCMP who probably took basic training in St. John's Ambulance or something like that.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** And what about for yourselves?

**ARMAND BROUSSEAU:** We had a medic sort of, a nurse on the base. We had no —

**PIERRE DESNOYERS:** Make the statement that it was a male nurse.

**ARMAND BROUSSEAU:** A male nurse, yes. Like they say in the Arctic, there is a woman behind every tree, but just find a tree. Well, we had one Christmas tree that was flown in for us at Christmastime.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Were they also denied the medical services that were available?

**ARMAND BROUSSEAU:** I never saw them come to the base for medical attention at any time. My duration, which was from, let's say, August to March, they used to come on the base with their dog team and so on.

I have to point out the harshness of the winter months in Resolute Bay with the winds blowing at 60 miles an hour and temperatures of 55. I can't for the life of me see or understand how these people survived in an igloo and do hunting. A storm could come up in 10 or 15 minutes. It could be nice and beautiful and within 10 or 15 minutes you couldn't see two feet in front of you. Their ability had to be incredible.

We didn't venture any distance. As a matter of fact, any time that we ventured, especially myself and a few of my co-workers, being a little distance away from the main camp, we always carried a rifle to go to our working place from the main camp due to the perils of polar bears wandering all over the place. We always had that fear. You would walk ten feet and then you would look behind because in the cold weather you can always hear something in the back of you.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Do you think that possibly separating the Inuit from the non-Inuit was to keep them from things like the possibility of exploitation, sexual exploitation of their women, possibly abuse of alcohol, et cetera? Do you see that as a legitimate reason for the separation?

**ARMAND BROUSSEAU:** No, sir. We were military men. I don't think that the type of people that were up there at that time were the type to violate or do anything like that.

**PIERRE DESNOYERS:** May I add that this may be something that could probably occur today, but not in the 1950s.

**ARMAND BROUSSEAU:** Not by the people on the base.

**PIERRE DESNOYERS:** Not by the standard that we had performed in the service.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** That will be all, thank you.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Excuse me, I have just one question.

You told us how the Inuit lived. You told us how the RCAF people lived. What did the RCMP live like? What kind of houses did they live in?

**ARMAND BROUSSEAU:** The RCMP had three meals a day. They had food plentiful. He could come to the base at any time and he did.

As a matter of fact, you will see a picture of Ross Gibson there. At Christmas Eve he was with us in 1953. He certainly did not suffer by any means. He had his three meals a day.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** I was really struck, I guess, by the fact that you had to ask the RCMP for permission to visit the Inuit or to take photographs, et cetera. I have often heard about the influence, about the authority of the RCMP over the lives of the Inuit. So I was wondering if you could offer any comments about the authority of the RCMP.

**ARMAND BROUSSEAU:** The authority of the RCMP was – as a matter of fact, we often commented. Ross was a very big man who looked very impressive. On Christmas Eve, as a matter of fact, we tackled, five or six of

us, with him in play. We said, see with your big 38 on your side you are not that impressive.

Does that answer your question?

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Yes.

**ARMAND BROUSSEAU:** The Inuit definitely treated Ross with the utmost respect. Any words from him were a command, more or less. But I think that was their way. Even when I went to visit them on occasion, the same with me. They treated me as if – they made me feel as if I was a king. That was their way. They were very respectful people.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you very much, both of you.

**ARMAND BROUSSEAU:** I have some copies of pictures for a few of the group. Can I give them to them at this time?

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Yes.

**ARMAND BROUSSEAU:** I have a set for John Amagoalik. These are the same pictures that I have given to you. It is part of history. John is one of the lads that sat on my lap in one of those pictures. This one is for Mr. Markoosie. And this one is for Ali.

I thank you for your patience.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you very much, Mr. Brousseau and Mr. Desnoyers.

I would like to ask Mr. Gordon Robertson to come forward. Bonjour and good morning.

**GORDON ROBERTSON:** Bonjour.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** You may go ahead whenever you are ready.

**GORDON ROBERTSON:** Perhaps I should begin, Mr. Chairman, with a little about my background as it is the basis on which I will make my remarks.

I entered the public service of Canada in 1941 by competitive examination in the Department of External Affairs. I was there from 1941 to 1945. I then was in the Prime Minister's office. Mr. Mackenzie King was Secretary of State for External Affairs as well as Prime Minister. He resorted to the convenience of staffing part of his office by dipping into external affairs, so I was chosen; I did not volunteer. I spent four years in the department in Prime Minister's office.

Then when Mr. St. Laurent became Prime Minister, I went to the Privy Council office where I was from 1949 to 1953.

In 1953, I was appointed Deputy Minister of the Department of Resources and Development and also, as had been the custom, Commissioner of the Northwest Territories. That was effective November 15, 1953. I occupied both of those positions from 1953 to 1963, ten years.

After that, I was Secretary to the Cabinet, and then later Secretary to the Cabinet for Federal-Provincial Relations.

So the relevant experience that I have in respect of the inquiry by the Commission is, curiously enough, in External Affairs and the Privy Council office because it was in External Affairs and the Privy Council office that anything that was known or done or considered with respect to sovereignty was done. That part of my experience is very relevant.

R. Gordon Robertson was Deputy Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources and Commissioner of the Northwest Territories (November 1953 to July 1963). Prior to his appointment to these combined roles, Robertson worked in the Prime Minister's Office (1945-1948) and the Privy Council Office (1948-1953)



I was not in the Department of Resources and Development for any part of the planning or the execution of the move. As I mentioned, I went to Resources and Development on November th, about three months after the moves had taken place in the summer of 1953.

I thought I would limit my remarks, Mr. Chairman, to things that I really know from my personal experience. My impression from reading the reports there have been, and other things that have been written about this whole question, is that there has been far too much reliance on hearsay and speculation and far too little limitation to what people really know. That is why I am going to try to limit myself to that.

The main thing I would like to direct my attention to, because I think it is quite relevant, is the issue of sovereignty. Here the questions that were circulated by the Commission I found very helpful.

In the Category 3 on sovereignty, question A asks: Did the Canadian government have a concern for sovereignty over the Arctic?

The question is: What is the meaning of "concern for sovereignty"? If the question is intended to mean: Did the Canadian government have any doubt about its title to the Arctic islands? Did it have any fear about a challenge by any other country to its title over the Arctic islands? Was it worried about the United States challenging Canadian title to the Arctic islands?

The answer is no. There was no such fear. I state that with confidence on the basis of what I knew in the Department of External Affairs, what I was in a position to know in the Privy Council office.

I attended every meeting of the Cabinet during 1949 to 1953 and I am in a position to know what was discussed there, particularly in the meeting that I have seen referred to of January 1953.

The last country that had any claim to any of the Arctic islands other than Canada was Norway. That was based on the Norwegian discovery of the Sverdrup Islands which are west of Ellesmere Island. That claim by Norway was settled in 1930.

After 1930, there was no country that had a shadow of a claim to any land in the Arctic islands. There was no country that at any time suggested that it would contest or could contest Canadian sovereignty. The position is completely different with regard to the water between the islands. The water between the islands was then and is still regarded by the United States and by some other countries as being international water, part of the high seas with a right of innocent passage under international law.

Canada has never conceded that position. Our position is that the waters within the Arctic islands are the inland waters of Canada, not territorial waters, but inland waters of Canada. But I repeat that as far as the Arctic islands are concerned, the land in the Arctic archipelago, there is no claim by any other country and the Canadian government was not concerned in 1953 and is not concerned today about sovereignty in the sense of title.

The other meaning, it seemed to me, about concern for sovereignty is a quite different one. If a country has sovereignty, it should be in a position to act as sovereign, to do the things that a country ought to expect to do for its own territory.

During the war it became perfectly clear that Canada didn't have the manpower, the technology, or the financial resources to do many of the things that were necessary in the North for the defence of North America. The most obvious developed after the attack on Pearl Harbour with the

Robertson refers throughout his remarks to the question guide developed by the RCAP and provided to witnesses for these hearings.

destruction of much of the United States Pacific fleet.

At that time, Alaska was considered to be in a position of real danger. It was necessary to be sure that oil could be got to Alaska, that equipment, supplies and so on could be got to Alaska from the United States. There was no road at that time from the United States to Alaska. The only means of transport was either the sea which was open to attack by the Japanese, or air which was very costly and very difficult as well as dangerous.

So it was decided that the Alaska Highway had to be built for defence. Most of the Alaska Highway is in Canada. The Canadian government was not in a position to put the men, the machinery, the money into that job. So the United States corps of engineers did it.

As far as oil was concerned, the only secure means of delivering oil was from Norman Wells on the Mackenzie River and that would require a pipeline, and to build a pipeline it required a road. So the Canol Road and the Canol Pipeline had to be built. Canada couldn't do it. It was done by the United States.

Similarly, to get aircraft from the United States, short-range fighter aircraft, to Alaska, it was necessary to have intermediate airfields. An airfield had to be built at Whitehorse that could take large planes. Canada didn't have the equipment, manpower or money to do it. The United States did it.

So, during the war, in a number of respects, Canada was not able to act the way a sovereign government should be able to act in its own territory. The same thing happened for a period in the post-war when it was desirable to have weather stations to get better information about the movement of approaching weather than interests of the air defence of North America, Canada couldn't establish the weather stations in the Canadian Arctic. It was thought undesirable and embarrassing to have the United States do it, so it was done on a joint basis. The joint weather stations were established.

When the DEW Line problem came along, the cost was far in excess of anything Canada could handle. Even if financing from the United States could be provided, we were not technically qualified to do all the things. An arrangement was worked out by which the contracts would be executed by Canadian companies, the west half of the line by one company, the east half by another company, both Canadian companies. But a good deal of the technology and the resources had to be provided from the United States.

You heard this morning about how – I think it was in connection with Resolute. – part of the supply that came into Resolute was in American vessels. There was the *d'Iberville* there as an icebreaker, but the tanker and the supply ships were American ships.

These were things that the Government of Canada did have a concern about. What kind of concern? The concern was that Canada was not acting as sovereign in part of Canada that was part of Canada. This was the basis of discussion when Mr. Pearson brought the matter before the Cabinet in January 1953.

But I don't have to rely only on what happened in Cabinet meetings. In September 1953 I was summoned to Mr. St. Laurent's office and I had about three-quarters of an hour with Mr. St. Laurent.

He told me that he had decided and the government had decided that a new active policy should be adopted in the Canadian north, that the government was embarrassed by the fact that it was still having to rely on the United States to do things that really should be done by Canada in parts that

The Joint Arctic Weather Stations (JAWS) were a project undertaken by the civilian weather bureaus of the United States and Canada during the late 1940s and early 1950s. They operated until the 1970s. For further reading, see Heidt and Lackenbauer (2022).

The Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line and other radar lines developed jointly by Canada and the United States for continental defence in the early Cold War period were a source of ongoing debate over Canada's capacity to act as a sovereign in its own territory. For further reading, see Lackenbauer and Farish (2019).

were part of Canada.

So he was putting in a new minister, a new deputy minister, and he was going to have a new departmental act. The new minister was Mr. Jean Lesage, subsequently premier of Quebec; and the new deputy minister was going to be me.

I told Mr. St. Laurent – I recall it quite well – that I had no experience about the North and therefore I wondered whether it was a wise appointment. He made clear to me that the fact I had no experience was, in this case, an asset. He wanted totally new thinking and a totally new approach to the North. He mentioned specifically the fact that Canada had not been in a position to do the things a sovereign government ought to do, and this was one of the things he wanted Mr. Lesage and me to tackle.

I can say with certainty that he did not mention sovereignty in the sense of our title or of any threat to our title at all. There was not a word about it.

So as far as the question is concerned – did the Canadian government have a concern for sovereignty over the Arctic – I am certain of the answer. The answer is no, as far as title is concerned. The answer is no, as far as a formal threat is concerned. The answer is yes, as far as our capacity to act as sovereign in the Arctic at that time.

The second question under sovereignty, B: Did Inuit occupation generally play a part in Canada's demonstration of sovereignty over the Arctic, and if so, what?

In view of what I have said about the nature of the government concern, about the fact that the government had not been in a position to fully play the role of sovereign, the answer to this question is no. The Inuit settlement could not be a demonstration of action by the Government of Canada being a sovereign. A few families would be no demonstration in that sense. The presence of RCMP was a demonstration of sovereignty. The location of the RCMP at Resolute was a demonstration of sovereignty. But the fact of location of a few families was not.

So I would recapitulate that there was no concern over our legal claim to the Arctic, to the islands of the Arctic, that the settlement of ten families in 1953 did not play a part in demonstrating Canada's sovereignty in the sense the government was concerned about.

I can also say positively that the move in 1953 was never discussed by the Prime Minister and that, as far as the government was concerned, it had no relation to sovereignty.

Moving from sovereignty, Mr. Chairman, one other thing I can speak of specifically connected with Resolute arises from a visit that I made to Resolute in April 1954; in other words, about seven months after the relocation had occurred.

I learned in about March of 1954 that the Minister of National Defence, Mr. Claxton, was planning a trip to Resolute, to Thule in Greenland to the American base there, to Churchill, and to other places where there were defence establishments in the North. I managed to get myself included in the trip because it would be my first glimpse of the North and of the Arctic.

So I was at Resolute in April 1954. I was interested in the remarks by Mr. Brousseau about the snowhouses there. I recall them very clearly. The door was low. It always is low in a snowhouse. There is usually a sill to keep the cold air out and the floor is higher so that the temperature is, to some extent, moderated.

Jean Lesage was Member of Parliament for Montmagny-l'Islet from 1945 to 1958 and Minister of Resources and Development/Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources from 1953 to 1957. Lesage would later enter provincial politics and become Premier of Québec

Robertson's comments here provide important context about the nature of the federal government. While the relocation project had enormous consequences on the Inuit families who were moved, it was not the result of a strategic-level decision. The relocation was planned and implemented within the DRD, with some logistical help from the Northern branches of the DOT and 'G' Division of the RCMP. There is no record of the relocation ever being discussed at Cabinet. There is a single line in the ACND minutes of October 19, 1953 – after the relocations – to note that seven families had been relocated while five individuals had moved to Fort Chimo for work. Robertson, as Secretary to the Cabinet, was the only representative from the Cabinet at this meeting.

That the discussion about the relocations took place at the Department level is a good indication that they were not intended to have strategic implications. Questions of strategic significance, including sovereignty, are Cabinet-level decisions.

I remember very clearly what he referred to, seeing the inside of the snowhouses lined with newspapers. I thought this was one of the most realistic tributes to Inuit ingenuity that I ever saw. Obviously those Inuit had not had access to newspapers before they got there, but someone had the bright idea that if newspapers could be put against the inside of the snowhouse they might stick and they might stop the dripping, and dripping is a problem above the oil lamp which is the source of heat in a snowhouse. So I remember that very well.

I was very interested in Mr. Brousseau's remark about the inadequacy of the equipment in the snowhouse. The equipment was precisely the equipment that was inside a snowhouse anywhere in the Arctic of that day. These Inuit were living the life that the Inuit had lived from time immemorial and with the equipment that they had had from time immemorial.

I was interested too in his concern that there were vacant buildings and these weren't used. A vacant building can't be heated with an oil lamp. A vacant building requires some source of heat, a space heater. Oil would be the only fuel. The Inuit couldn't afford oil, obviously. The intent of the move was to establish Inuit communities that would be self-reliant in their way of life, the traditional life of the Inuit.

I am sure the initial period was harsh, but the Inuit existence of that time was one in which, in the autumn until hard packed snow is available, life was in tents made of caribou skins, that sort of thing, drafty, cold, difficult. That was the way of life all across the Arctic.

The intention was to establish communities that wouldn't be reliant on hand-outs, that wouldn't be reliant on charity; they would be self-reliant. That was the basis on which the whole thing was planned, as I understand it.

As far as my own impression was concerned when I went into those snowhouses, it was quite different from Mr. Brousseau's. I saw obviously healthy people. The children were healthy. The adults were healthy. I saw on the outside the skins of polar bear, of foxes, of walrus, of seals. It was obvious that the hunting had been quite good.

I am sure that the initial period was one of hardship, but by April 1954 what I saw was a healthy thriving community.

What Constable Gibson said to me about it may well be discounted, perhaps, because he is an interested person. But he said that the health of the community had been good, the hunting was good, the food was adequate.

I think that while it is emotionally satisfying, it isn't realistic and it isn't just or fair or sensible to draw a parallel or a comparison between what happened in the RCAF base and what was happening in that settlement. You could make the same argument about disparity with respect to all the Inuit settlements through all parts of the Arctic.

The whole point at that time was that the Inuit were living on the land in their traditional way, although there were more trappers than hunters at this stage. But they were self-reliant in the traditional sense.

The other thing that I think I can speak about on the basis of personal knowledge is the people who were involved in the planning and the execution of this project. I was not there at the time of the planning. I was not there at the time of the execution.

But I did know Henry Larsen. I had known him for several years. I did know Alex Stevenson. I knew him both before that event and after for several years when I was deputy minister of the department. I did know and do

know Bent Sivertz who will be speaking to you later.

Every one of these people had a deep profound interest in the welfare of the Inuit people. There isn't one of them who would have done anything, would have been a party to anything, that would have been injurious to the people. I am absolutely certain that their judgement was arrived at on the best of motives with the interest of the Inuit people only in mind.

It would have been very much easier to have done nothing, nothing at all. And if nothing had been done, they wouldn't be blamed today. I think it is quite a travesty of justice to have their motives misinterpreted, to have them held up to ridicule because they did something, they tried to do something, they tried it honestly, earnestly, and selflessly and now they are blamed for doing something.

If this is the way that people are treated who try to serve Canadians and try to do their duty, then I think we have very little hope of having a successful government and successful administration in this country. I really feel very strongly indeed about the way in which the reputations of people were destroyed wantonly in the hearings that were televised last April.

I don't find any television around here. Apparently it is only one side that is to be televised in this. I find it a very strange application of justice when the actions of these people can be held up the way they have been and their reputations destroyed in this one-sided way.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you.

First of all, I would like to recall that the Commission came across this dossier roughly a year ago in Inukjuaq, Quebec on the regular circuit of our public hearings. We heard five relocatees who were back to Inukjuaq and made a presentation for two and a half hours or three hours.

The dossier has been in the public forum for the last ten years at least, in the public debate. A few months before we were in Inukjuaq, the report of Daniel Soberman contracted out for the Canadian Human Rights Commission had been made public, and on and on.

I am just saying this to indicate that this dossier has been part of the public debate for many, many years. When the Commission decided to try to see what kind of help could be brought through this very sore point in the relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in this country, we took the precaution of having all the documents that were available at that time, the various reports on Government Debates, Hansard, the parliamentary committee transcripts, and on and on, to be looked at by Roger Tassé the former Deputy Minister of Justice for Canada and Mary Simon.

They came back with a report that did not take sides on the substance of it but on the process that had occurred in the last ten years.

Two things were striking. The first is that the only time Inuit perceptions as to what has happened and what they lived through was – the only time it was made possible for the Inuit to tell their perceptions as to what they lived through was with the parliamentary committee session on March 19, 1990 and also before the Commission in Inukjuaq in June 1992.

While there was a lot of documentary search that had been made, the voices of the Inuit people had not been recorded to the full extent by far. That is the first point.

The second point is that because reports and research were made at different points in time with different methodology, there were different points

of view expressed by the various researchers and reports that were referred to in the government position that was tabled in the House of Commons last November, 1992. Those reports referred to research done by external researchers, and on and on.

So the approach was really to – as we are looking for reconciliation and we know that there are many other relocations that took place in the country – to look at this one to see if the record should be put on a more balanced way. We provided for this week of hearings for those who lived through those events in different capacities and observers also. That is what we are doing now.

What I want to say and stress is that this dossier was not created by the Commission, but the Commission came across it and it fell straight within the mandates of the Commission to try to see how reconciliation could occur and what are the major barriers.

Obviously, there is a lot of perception of feelings and the difficulty is to get, of course, to the facts 40 years after.

As far as the point you raised about the cameras, again, the private sector makes its own choice. It is very difficult for the Commission to make it different. Again, what I think is important this week is that we have an opportunity – and many of the witnesses coming forward are very happy also to be given, after those ten years and rumours and words of all kinds, an opportunity to come and say their side of the story and have it on the public record and transcript.

Obviously, the Commission knew that this was an area that is difficult to assess because of the amount and length of time that went through. What we are trying to do again is to have as much information as possible on the record. Obviously, it might be and we hope it will be helpful for the Commission at the end to come up with some views as to what has happened.

Obviously, we know that, if we are successful in doing so, our reports will be looked at very carefully by everybody and it will have to stand. Otherwise, it will be useless.

We haven't made up our minds as to what we are going to do with that, but I want to get back to those remarks that I alluded to in my opening comments this morning.

**GORDON ROBERTSON:** May I make a comment, Mr. Chairman?

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Yes.

**GORDON ROBERTSON:** I appreciate what you say and I understand very much what you did say about the dossier not being the creation of the Commission and feeling that a balance should be established in this. It is precisely the balance that I am concerned about. You referred to these things being on the record, the testimony that will be given today. They will be on the record, but they will not have had the kind of treatment that was given in April. I cannot believe that that was entirely contrived by the media. I would imagine it was facilitated by the Commission because it was put on the government network.

I watched the thing from the convenience of my house. It was watched by hundreds and thousands and tens of thousands of people. This is being watched by nobody.

It is one thing to have it on the record. It is another thing to have these thousands of Canadian people hearing one side of the story and not the

other side.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** I think we have to be very clear and distinguish two things here. In April the Commission wanted to have a video for internal sight to have the oral tradition on record. We made a conscious decision to have that. What the private media does is something that is not under our control. Obviously in many, many instances we would like to have the media following the Commission. Very often they don't.

When we were in Inukjuaq, Quebec last year there was no media at all covering this hearing. Most of the time because of the cost factors and whatever the reasons, the work of the Commission is not reported back to the larger public. Again, that is part of the rules of the game, that the media decided what is in their interest to cover and not. That is the situation. I wanted to make that very clear.

As far as getting videos of the hearings as such in April, we thought that it was important to have the oral tradition on record for the sake of the Commission itself. That is what prompted us to do it.

If we could move to a couple of brief questions on your presentation. Again, we appreciate very much that you were able to come and present us with this brief and views. Obviously, we appreciate also that you spoke from the facts and things you knew. It is quite right that in this dossier there are very often statements that are made from hearsay. It was mentioned this morning by other presenters. Some of them are from the facts themselves or people who were witnesses on the spot. The Commission will have to take that into account in coming up with recommendations or conclusions if we are to do so.

There are two points. The first one is on the so-called sovereignty issue and what has appeared as – we have been through the documentation and transcripts of things that were said – the will or desire to Canadianize the North. Legally there is quite obviously two things, two completely different things. But there seems to be some confusion here.

The question I would like to ask is this. I think the whole issue of sovereignty is raised less as an issue as such than as an issue as to whether the decision to move people from Inukjuaq, Quebec and Pond Inlet to Resolute and Grise Fiord was made having in mind the Inuit and solely the Inuit welfare, or if there was a mix of motivation like the genuine motivation to populate the North and have more people living in the North as such.

I would like to ask you this. Your presentation was quite clear on sovereignty from what you have heard and said and were told. But on this whole idea of getting the North more populated than it was at the time, could this have been a factor alongside of the genuine motivation of trying to get Inuit life better up North than it was in Inukjuaq?

This is the first point. The second point – I will put them together. The second point is really this motivation of getting people out of government hand-outs and returning them to the strength of subsistence life. It was expressed by you this morning and by others that this was one of the purposes also.

How do we put those two things in context with the welfare of Inuit people in 1953?

What I am trying to know is whether the motivation to Canadianize the North and also to return people to being self-reliant and out of the welfare payroll and being dependent on government – what was the strength of

these motivations as opposed to the sheer motivation of getting people out of starvation and in a much better environment as was mentioned by others.

**GORDON ROBERTSON:** One problem is to locate whatever motivation there was. The Cabinet knew nothing about the move. I know that perfectly well and it is not surprising.

The move in terms of policy was something that fell within the Department of Resources and Development. It was their responsibility as far as that was concerned. Things did not go to the Cabinet unless they raised high matters of policy or unless they involved more than one department.

So the Cabinet – and I can say this on the basis of certain knowledge – knew nothing about the move. So as far as the government as government was concerned, there was no motivation, no intention.

As far as the officials were concerned who were responsible, and conceivably the Minister of Resources and Development – I don't know, I wasn't there at the time – I have seen in all the reports that I have read only two or three references that make any mention of the context of Canadianizing the High Arctic or doing something like that as being a significant factor. There were some references. There were some references.

I am convinced myself, from what I have read, that 95 per cent of the motivation was an honest desire to reduce the overpopulation – it seems ridiculous to talk about overpopulation in northern Quebec, but in resource terms it was overpopulation – and to put people in places where they would have a better chance to have a successful life on the land.

I have seen the question raised: Why do it way up to the High Arctic? Part of the answer is that there were very few places where the Inuit were already, where you could move people with a chance of them being better off.

The east side of Hudson Bay was a precarious place at times. It had been precarious only a short time before the 1950s and there was worry about that again. The west side of the Bay was even more precarious in the Keewatin area.

People couldn't be moved to places where there already were Inuit. So if they thought it was desirable to give people another chance, it had to be some place that was not being used but where it was thought that there were good resources.

The places that fell into that description were places along Lancaster Sound, which cuts through south of the Queen Elizabeth Islands, where the sea mammal resources are very good indeed. The bird resources are good. There were caribou near Resolute. These were areas where it had been known that Inuit had lived, where the resources promised the prospect of a better life than they were having where they were.

I think those were the motivations. As far as I am concerned, the people that were dealing with it at the time, my predecessor perhaps as deputy minister, Henry Larsen perhaps, would rejoice at seeing Inuit in the empty areas of the Arctic islands.

But the main motivation would not be to get them into the Arctic islands. It would be to give them better prospects. That is my understanding of it, Mr. Chairman.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Could you expand a bit on the other aspect of returning Inuit people to a self-reliant life and the approach that was



made at the start to cut them off from contact in order that they be able to do that by themselves.

Could you expand on that?

**GORDON ROBERTSON:** Well, I repeat, Mr. Chairman, that I was not there at the time this happened, so I didn't have any part in writing the rules or setting it up.

But I do know that both then, after I came in in 1953, and later when the DEW Line was in contemplation, there was a good deal of concern that the Inuit people at that time – and one has to remember this was 40 years ago and conditions were very different then than they are now, thank God; they are much better now. But at that time, the Inuit people, with a few exceptions, did not have much experience of our way of life, our way of doing things.

The department of that day thought it was important if the Inuit way of life on which they were relying was to be preserved that it should be preserved and it should be insulated from what might be seductive experiences that could make self-reliance difficult. So that was the policy. I think in terms of that day, it was a sensible and reasonable policy. It was recognized as something that would change.

If I may say so, I told you that Mr. St. Laurent charged Mr. Lesage and me to produce a new policy for the North. We spent the first six months of our time in the department trying to understand what the circumstances were and what the needs were.

Let me say by way of indicating what the situation was at that time, that the Department of Resources and Development was the department legally responsible for the general welfare and the situation in the Canadian North.

The Department of Resources and Development did not have one single official resident outside the tree line, not one in 1953. The only Canadian government people stationed outside the tree line were RCMP constables and the two RCAF at Resolute. So we were starting from scratch in trying to establish an active policy.

In our examination of the situation, we came to the conclusion that three things were paramount: No. 1 was education; No. 2 was health; and No. 3 was economic development. Those were the fundamentals.

The thought was that the Inuit would have no chance of having a decent future if they had to be only reliant on the life on the land because the numbers of Inuit were growing. The numbers would grow more rapidly as we solved the problems of health. That would mean the pressure on resources would become increasingly great, and the resources on the land were diminishing. They were not increasing, partly because it is far easier to kill game with a rifle than to kill game with the traditional weapons.

We contemplated, as a result of the active policy, that there would have to be the opportunity for the Inuit to change their way of life if they wanted to change. We regarded that as the necessary consequence of an active policy that would give the Inuit a chance, a choice in their future.

We didn't see this policy as insulating them from the more seductive easier way of life that Canadians had more generally. We saw it as something that was desirable as an interim measure while they were being put in a position to cope with something else.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Could you remind me again when the

policy was adopted? The mid-1950s or late 1950s?

**GORDON ROBERTSON:** We came in, Mr. Lesage and I, on November 15, 1953. There had been a good deal of basic thinking done in the department before that time. I am not suggesting for a moment that we invented the wheel. But we did put the wheel to turn. We got things moving.

I would think that we probably began to get positive action 18 months later, something like that, not before that, on simple things like education. There were no schools. There were no teachers who spoke Inuktitut. There was no curriculum. We had to build everything.

On the matter of health – there were questions this morning about whether there were health services for the Inuit at Resolute. There were very few health services anywhere in the Arctic at all, the whole Canadian Arctic. That was the truth of the situation at that time. Everything had to be started. The answer to your question, Mr. Chairman, is that the new policy really was approved in 1954. It was implemented over the period from then to 1956, 1957, 1958, and it continued in the 1960s.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Am I correct in reading from this that had this policy been approved a year or a year and a half earlier this approach that was taken in 1953 to separate the Inuit from the other people would have been different in a way?

**GORDON ROBERTSON:** I can't really answer that question whether it would have been different. As far as housing is concerned it wouldn't have been different. We didn't have houses that could be put up in the Arctic conditions of a size and with sufficient insulation that could be heated at a decent cost, or heated in any way, for several years. It took quite a lot of research and work. We worked with the National Research Council, the Department of Public Works, other agencies, to produce this kind of thing.

I am not sure that it would have been much more different than – it would have required another four or five years, I think, Mr. Chairman.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** I was referring more to the approach whereby Inuit people were not allowed to meet with non-Inuit unless under the supervision of the RCMP, this seclusion.

**GORDON ROBERTSON:** That did change indeed, Mr. Chairman, by the time the DEW Line was constructed.

At that time, too, we thought that there should be some degree of sheltering of the Inuit from all this large number of stations that got built across the Arctic in places where the Inuit were. But it was not done on the basis of RCMP intervention. It was not done on that basis at all.

It was done rather on the basis of appealing for the co-operation of the contractors and the Americans who were involved in the DEW Line settlements. It was done that way to shelter. We certainly didn't want to have the kind of thing that was talked about this morning, about American troops, three of them going to Apex Hill and trying to get at the Inuit girls that were there. This we did not want, and this we tried to prevent still when the DEW Line was up.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Getting back to sovereignty a little bit. You suggest that the movement of the Inuit to the High Arctic had absolutely nothing to do with sovereignty.

Do you acknowledge that the RCMP stations in the High Arctic had something to do with sovereignty?

**GORDON ROBERTSON:** Yes.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Would the Inuit have been moved to those locations if the RCMP were not at those sites?

**GORDON ROBERTSON:** There would have to be somebody there to try to see that if any disaster arose there could be some kind of relief got, some kind of assistance got. It would have been utterly irresponsible to have moved them and had nobody there. So the answer is, of course there would have to be RCMP or some civil official.

But as I said a few minutes ago, in 1953 there were no civil officials stationed in the Arctic.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** The specific sites that were chosen – you have continued to tell us you weren't involved – but the specific sites that were chosen, did they have a bearing for the RCMP in relation to sovereignty as opposed to anywhere else in the Arctic?

**GORDON ROBERTSON:** Did those specific locations?

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Yes.

**GORDON ROBERTSON:** Resolute, no, there was nothing special there. At the southeast corner of Ellesmere Island there had been Greenland hunters come across from time to time. Greenland was no threat. Denmark was no threat. The RCMP didn't like it and I don't think that the department liked it. They thought it was inappropriate that this should happen, but it was not a threat.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** The threat that you did acknowledge was somewhat from the United States to a certain extent, during the war years, the embarrassment of the Canadian government that they could not actually pay for things like the Alaska Highway, the airstrips and so forth.

Was there also a concern in the Canadian government about the actual numbers of Canadians in the High Arctic as opposed to Americans or non-Canadians?

Any one that was a Canadian in the Arctic, would that not have helped Canada's claim to sovereignty?

**GORDON ROBERTSON:** Oh, it would be better to have some Canadians there, yes, no question about that. But it is the sort of thing that one wants to see, one likes to see.

I am from Saskatchewan. I prefer to see farmers living on the land in Saskatchewan rather than living in Regina and Saskatoon. But it doesn't involve any threat or anything to any part of our sovereignty, and I don't think that the fact that the Arctic islands – most of which are totally unoccupied now – were unoccupied was a threat. It is insignificant.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** What was the relationship with the Inuit at the time with the government?

In Ottawa here there were meetings and planning for the Inuit. There was an Inuit committee for many years. I think it was Prime Minister Diefenbaker who finally in 1959 had a few Inuit who actually came to one of the meetings. But prior to that, the Inuit had not actually participated in any of these meetings.

For further discussion, see Lackenbauer and Clancy (2019)

**GORDON ROBERTSON:** That is perfectly correct.

There was a committee. I think it met in 1952, if my memory is right. It met again several years later. It is indicative of the situation at that time that there were no Inuit at those meetings. This is the kind of thing that is a reproach to us, but it is the fact of that day. It is one of the things that Mr. St. Laurent wanted to see terminated and changed.

He said in a talk that he gave introducing the legislation, that for the first time mentioned the North in the name of a department of the Canadian government, that it was a reproach to Canada that it had administered the North in a state of absence of mind up to that point and the Inuit were part of the absence of mind. It was deplorable, just deplorable.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** The decision for the Inuit to be self-reliant and then to define it in a way in which it was carried out in Resolute and Grise, was that then a decision that the Inuit actually participated in, or was this a decision that was made here in Ottawa and executed by the RCMP

**GORDON ROBERTSON:** A decision that was made here in Ottawa, carried through by the RCMP. I don't know that the Inuit would have suggested anything different. I don't suppose they had the capacity at that time to judge what could be different. I don't know. But in any event, it didn't happen.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** How long did the separation of the Inuit people from the base continue on in Resolute?

**GORDON ROBERTSON:** The separation from the base?

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Yes. How long did that go on?

**GORDON ROBERTSON:** I really don't know. I was back to Resolute Bay with the entire Council of the Northwest Territories, which was the name of what is now the Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories. The council was there for a meeting in 1960. There was certainly no limitation on movement then, but the Inuit settlement was three miles from the base. I can't remember exactly the distance, but something of that kind. I don't think that there was much movement between the two that I am aware of.

I was back there after I had retired back in the early 1980s. The policy dwindled away as education and development of a greater awareness, a greater capacity to deal with the outside way of life developed.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** We were told by Inuit witnesses of a promise to return in case they felt they did not want to continue to stay in the high Arctic. When you became Deputy Minister of the Department of Natural Resources and the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories at the same time, what planning were you told of to allow for the Inuit to return if they so wished?

**GORDON ROBERTSON:** The answer to your question, Mr. Erasmus, is that I did not know that there had been that kind of a promise.

What I can tell you is that during the ten years that I was deputy minister of the department I received no request from anybody to be returned. Not only did I receive no request, but when the council was at Resolute in 1960 – it was there for nearly a week – there was ample opportunity for the Inuit to approach me or to have approached any member of the council and there was no approach made.

Let me make one further point. Far from there being a request to the department or to me as deputy minister to return, there was ample indication that the Inuit at Resolute Bay thought that the situation had become sufficiently satisfactory that they should invite some of the people still at Port Harrison, as it was then called, Inukjuaq, to come and join them in Resolute. In 1955 a number of people did come from Inukjuaq to Resolute.

I didn't find it surprising that there was no request to return because the advice I had and the view in the department was that the settlements at Resolute and Grise Fiord were among the most prosperous and satisfactory settlements in the entire Arctic.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Were you aware of the accounting process that took place on the Inuit counts?

**GORDON ROBERTSON:** I am sorry, the accounting?

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** We were told by the Inuit in April that when they worked they wouldn't know if they were getting paid or not and that there was some kind of an account being kept for them, presumably. No money actually changed hands. Sometimes they thought that it was very likely that they worked and there was really no payment for it.

Were you aware of what kind of accounting system was being used to balance out what the Inuit were doing?

**GORDON ROBERTSON:** No, I was not aware.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** You had some contact with the Inuit throughout your life. Do you think it would be possible that the Inuit went along with this event because they thought they were being asked by the RCMP that represented the government and that it was something that they should do, and perhaps it was based on trust, perhaps it was based on some feeling that the government had some kind of authority over them that they didn't have and that that was never portrayed to the RCMP or to the government?

We are now getting at least two perceptions of what took place. Do you think this is possible? Or do you believe that all of these Inuit are just blatantly lying?

**GORDON ROBERTSON:** I certainly don't believe they are lying. I think that it is quite possible that there was a major misunderstanding.

I can have a misunderstanding with my wife and we speak the same language. I think it is quite easy with the linguistic difference and cultural differences that there could have been a substantial amount of misunderstanding.

On the question, are they lying, no, I don't believe that. What I am aware of, though, is the fact that a number of the people who were heard in April were children at the time the moves took place. I don't think that they at the age of six or seven or four or whatever were in a position to know precisely what it was that took place, for how long, and why.

I can well believe that the hardship of the initial stage was the kind of thing that would be talked about. If children heard that kind of thing being talked about, they would believe that that was the totality of the thing. So I don't think for a moment that they were lying.

But I think it may be based on the kind of misunderstanding that you are referring to, plus a children's misapprehension of the sort of discussion that I

can imagine happening.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Thank you. Those are my questions.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Just for your information, in April there were certainly ten or twelve witnesses who were full adults when they went from Inukjuag to Resolute or Grise Fiord. So in fact we had some of them close to 80 years old. These people were giving testimony for the first time, in fact, because at the parliamentary committee I think five out of seven were children at the time. The full list was made available in April.

It was a very important factor for us to have people who were adults when the events occurred.

**GORDON ROBERTSON:** I stand corrected then, Mr. Chairman. But I would still think that the kind of impression is rather the – I don't think it was a lie. I don't think that. But I do think that the kind of hardship that there undoubtedly was in the initial period has been generalized and exaggerated the way these things can be generalized in discussion and talking over the years.

One enters into the realm almost of legend, I think, and part of the legend of the communities would be the hardship of this initial period. Whether it was a month or two months or six months would get lost.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you. Madam Wilson, please.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** I am interested in what you were saying about the sovereignty issue. I think I was having some difficulty in understanding it.

I realize that you were saying that there was no challenge by anyone or any group or any country to Canada's legal sovereignty over the North. The thing I am really concerned about is this business of what you call acting like a sovereign.

Was the relocation of the Inuit to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay – that is, the move to put more people up into that area – was that part of Canada's acting like a sovereign in that part of the territory?

**GORDON ROBERTSON:** Yes.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** Is that what you mean by acting like a sovereign?

**GORDON ROBERTSON:** I think that the moving of them there would be acting like a sovereign. But it was not the kind of action of a sovereign kind that would be relevant to the sort of thing that was bothering Mr. St. Laurent. He was worried and unhappy and embarrassed by the fact that the Americans were doing things at Frobisher Bay, at the DEW Line sites, at Resolute Bay, doing the kinds of things that Canada should be doing.

The Americans weren't doing anything on Ellesmere Island, nothing whatever. The Greenland hunters were of no consequence. In fact, they had long since ceased to appear.

As far as Resolute was concerned, the RCAF was there and was established. So while moving Canadian Inuit to places where in a sense sovereign acts, they were not the kind of sovereign acts that had a relevance to the sort of embarrassment that I know Mr. St. Laurent felt because he told me about it, and I know the government felt it.

This is an extremely nuanced statement: Robertson suggests that the act of moving people within a territory is the action of a sovereign – something that a ruler (government) might due to exercise their authority. But, Robertson notes, being able to move people within a territory was not the concern of the government. The type of concern that some members of Cabinet had was related to the inability of Canada to supply and maintain military and research equipment in the High Arctic; the “embarrassment” of having to rely on the United States to undertake these activities in Canadian territory was a concern for Cabinet. Robertson suggests that moving untrained Inuit to Resolute (where equipment existed) and Grise Fiord (where it did not) could not have addressed this embarrassment.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** Isn't the issue of acting like a sovereign relevant if somebody else is trying to act like a sovereign in your territory?

If, for example, the United States is exercising jurisdiction in a territory that is Canada's and is, in effect, acting like a sovereign, not asking permission and so on, doesn't that pose some threat to Canada's sovereignty?

One has to be concerned about somebody else trying to act like a sovereign in your territory, then does that not require some kind of a response, and was this not part of the response of Canada to act like a sovereign over its own territory lest other people were and that would cause problems?

I am just trying to understand this business of acting like a sovereign. From some of the reports it seems to be fairly clear that there was a concern about the United States. I am wondering whether the fact that what you might call your *de facto* sovereignty – not your legal sovereignty – your *de facto* sovereignty you feel is being threatened by the exercise of authority of some other country, then presumably you act to meet that threat, respond to it.

Do you think the locating of Canadians up in that area had nothing to do with that, that it was purely coincidental that at the time there appeared to be some assertion of jurisdiction by the United States?

Is there no connection at all in your mind between trying to have more Canadians living up there and the fact that there was another country that was acting a bit like a sovereign in our territory? Can you respond to that?

**GORDON ROBERTSON:** Yes. The Government of Canada did respond to any tendency that there was on the part of the Americans to act as you are suggesting, without permission or anything of that kind. Indeed, procedures and rules were established by which all of these things were checked and curtailed.

During the construction, for instance, of the DEW Line, I think the conduct of the Americans was 100 per cent within the rules that we laid down. But that didn't alter the fact that there was a lot of American activity in the DEW Line things.

But the government did respond in ways that asserted that we were the ones who were sovereign there. With the weather stations we asserted that they had to be joint. At the end of the war, we insisted on making quite a substantial payment for a lot of the things that had been done. It was nowhere equal to what the cost of the things had been, but it made us not only feel better but it made us assert in sovereignty in paying for what was done in those various places.

But as far as putting people on Ellesmere Island was concerned, the Americans didn't even know about it, so it did nothing to assert any Canadian sovereignty in a way that was relevant to the United States.

As far as Resolute was concerned, there was an RCAF base there. I mentioned that the Minister of National Defence went up in April 1954 and that is how I managed to go up there too. That was quite relevant in a place where Americans came frequently. The Canadian presence was clear.

The settlement of a few Inuit families I don't think had any impact on the American consciousness. So I don't think those things were realistic or relevant responses, and I don't think they were seen at all as responses, and I know they were not discussed by the government in the Cabinet.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** I wasn't suggesting that the location of a few Inuit up there would achieve that objective. As I understand it, they were sent up there with the idea of seeing whether they could survive, in other words, whether we could people the Arctic, and the obvious people to people the High Arctic had to be the Inuit. I don't like the word "experiment", but they were in fact, as I understand from the reports, sent up there to see whether or not they could survive and the Arctic could be peopled with Inuit from other locations, that they could exist up there.

The number isn't really, in my mind, relevant. It was the question of whether you could put Inuit up there and people that part of our territory knowing that they could survive up there. This was to establish whether they could survive or not. That is my understanding from what I have read.

I think I would just like to ask you what you think of that as a concept. I think of what my own reaction is to that. I wonder what your reaction, just as an objective matter, is and the idea that we will put them up there to survive because Inuit used to be able to survive up there many years ago.

Presumably these people had become accustomed to a different kind of environment. I think of somebody suggesting that you take a group of Scots and set them down in the wildest terrain in Scotland and say "We will see if they can survive because our cities are becoming overpopulated." But in fact, people have, would you not agree, become accustomed to other facilities, other social contacts, and so on?

I am just wondering what you think about saying "Because people survived way back when up there, we will take this group of people who have been accustomed to living in Inukjuaq and try them out up there, isolate them, and see how they make out." Is it fair to ask you that question?

**GORDON ROBERTSON:** It is indeed fair, Judge Wilson.

As a matter of fact, you mentioned the possibility of moving Scots. My father's side of my family was Scottish. They came from the Highlands in 1784. I suppose it was an experiment on their part and on the part of the government that encouraged the immigration from Scotland at a time of great hardship in Scotland to see whether they could survive in North America in Nova Scotia. They landed in Nova Scotia. There were no clearings. There were no houses. There was no RCMP officer to hold their hand. There was absolutely nothing except trees and rock and moss. And they had an awful time and they survived. They wouldn't go back to Scotland for anything. They wouldn't have gone back at all because they did better at the end of it.

The other side of my family came from Norway and they too experienced an experiment, a change every bit as great as the Inuit had in moving to the high Arctic. They too survived.

I don't think this is something so dramatic, so unknown in human experience. This is the kind of thing that was common in North America, only in this particular case somebody went along. I found it, in terms of my own family experience, something we ought to realize is not unusual.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** Would it happen today, do you think?

**GORDON ROBERTSON:** No.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** Why not?



**GORDON ROBERTSON:** Our circumstances change. Our standards change. Our attitudes change. All kinds of things change.

I think it is a great mistake to go back and judge the Scottish government of 1784 by the standards 210 years later. And I think it is a great mistake to go back and judge what happened 40 years ago in the Arctic where the circumstances were very different.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** But it would be part of that, would it not, that the people would know what they were going to. One of the things that —

**GORDON ROBERTSON:** My ancestors didn't.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** No, no, I mean in terms of communication. One of the things that has been raised is the question of whether these people who were sent really understood what was happening to them.

Had they the information to make a choice even if they had a choice? I don't know whether they had a choice or not. But even if they had a choice, were the problems of communication significant in terms of understanding whether they went willingly knowing full well what they were going to face when they got there or not?

I have a real problem with that. That is an added wrinkle to the issue we are struggling with.

**GORDON ROBERTSON:** I agree with you. It is a problem.

I think, though, that it is a mistake to deal with it in terms of Arctic "exiles" which answers the question that, no, they didn't have a choice. That is what an exile is. I think there is a question whether they fully understood, adequately understood. I quite agree.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** I would like to make one last comment and it has to do with your criticism of the way that the Commission has operated, which you seem to feel was unfair on the basis of our hearings of the Inuit in April.

I think you have to understand that the Commission was responding to the fact that the government had rejected the Inuit claim without hearing them. That is why this Commission decided that it was obliged to do something.

Chairman Dussault has responded to how we got into this. But the point that he didn't mention, I don't think, was that this was a group who made a claim and who had not been heard. Yet the government was quite prepared to reject their claim in those circumstances.

We felt that was unfair and this is what we are trying to respond to. That is our position, that they should have the opportunity to tell their story, and now others are having the opportunity to respond to it.

But I just want to make quite clear that one of the main reasons that we decided to hear the Inuit in April was our sense of unfairness that Mr. Siddon had absolutely rejected their claim. The only hearing they had was the parliamentary committee. We know what the reaction was of those who heard that testimony. There was only that and our own hearing at Inukjuaq. We had a sense that these people were being unfairly treated. Perhaps you don't agree, but this is why we got into this process.

**GORDON ROBERTSON:** I think, Judge Wilson, that I should make it clear that I was not objecting to the Inuit being heard. Indeed, I think the Commis-

sion was right to hear them. I think it would have been not only unwise but unjust not to hear them.

What I was objecting to and am still objecting to is the difference between the handling at that time in which something was presented to the Canadian public that was a melodrama in the sense that it was emotional. It was dramatic. It was presented in a way that was most compelling, most persuasive, on television all day for three days. This discussion, the presentation of the officials, is not being so treated.

So I think it was right to hear the Inuit. I think it would have been a great mistake not to do so. But I think equally it was unfair to have what had to be the equivalent of attacks on the character and reputation of a lot of people given the public attention that it received. That is something that had not happened to any other group.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** In response to that I would just like to make a brief comment. We are looking at government. It presumably was government policy and government responsibility. We are not looking at the various agents of government. Presumably they did what they did pursuant to the government policy. Our concern isn't at all with those individuals as having done things on their own initiative for which they could be held personally responsible. Far from it.

Just as we wanted to get at the facts when we listened to the Inuit, we want to get at the facts when listening to the various other participants in the exercise.

But if there is any responsibility attached to this particular incident, it is the government responsibility, not that of the people who may have been involved in carrying out the policy. We have no thought of that whatsoever.

I just wanted to make that point.

**GORDON ROBERTSON:** Technically I am sure that is your intention. But the fact remains that Constable Ross Gibson's character has been blackened, his reputation sullied. He was responsible at Resolute Bay. Similarly the reputation of Constable Fryer at Grise Fiord and the reputations of Henry Larsen and Alex Stevenson.

There is no way that it can be avoided. They have had great damage done to their reputations with enormous publicity given to the damage and no attention, no publicity given to the defence.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** I understand. Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** On the comment in relation to the publicity on the defence. We would like nothing better than to have every major television station and system and network in the country to be here. We have no control over that.

I am somewhat surprised, actually, that they are not. I presumed that they would be. I presumed that we would be getting more coverage than this. I would have thought that we would be getting cable coverage, but as was stated by the Co-Chair, those decisions are not made by us.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** I think we took a lot of your time. We could be at it for the whole afternoon.

I would like at this point to thank you very much for coming forward and meeting with us and sharing this with us. Again, we only hope that the media will report as much as possible on this week of hearings as happened

Constable Cley Fryer served at the Grise Fiord Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) detachment in 1953 and 1954

in April.

The Commission will resume at 2:30.

Thank you very much.

— Short recess at 1:40 p.m.

— Upon resuming at 2:45 p.m.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Could everybody be seated, please.

I have some very short information to share. We will have a telephone call conversation with Ross Gibson who is in Victoria. Mr. Gibson was the RCMP officer in Resolute.

We took the transcript of his testimony on June 17th. The Commission staff did that in order to facilitate these hearings. Mr. Gibson expressed the desire to be with us during these three days of hearings through this phone call.

I would like to say hello, Mr. Gibson.

**ROSS GIBSON:** Hello.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Good afternoon. We are very happy to have you on the line. We have a copy of your transcript.

What we could do this afternoon as a start is to ask you to sum up very briefly the way you proceeded to recruit Inuit people from Inukjuaq for this project of relocation in Resolute and Grise Fiord. Then Commissioners will have some questions to ask you.

Could you give us a short summing up of the way you proceeded to make the recruitment.

**ROSS GIBSON:** Yes. I was appointed to make patrols to the outlying camps in the northern Quebec area of Povungnituk and Port Harrison.

I took with me my special constable and the Hudson's Bay Company interpreter Tommy Palliser. Tommy Palliser spoke English fluently and understood the ways of the Natives, as he was a Native himself from Labrador.

Patrols were made, and the Native people were contacted by myself, Tommy Palliser and my special constable.

I explained to Tommy Palliser of the situation and he was aware of the conditions under which the Native people were living in northern Quebec.

I took with me a map and I explained the distances, the mode of travel to get there, the work that had been done by the white man in order to prepare for settlement of the Arctic islands. I explained that food would be plentiful, hunting would be good, Arctic fox were plentiful, that the area hadn't been hunted for over 200 years, and that a survey had been done by the Canadian government to ensure that all of this was the truth.

I thought that if they were interested, they would be helped to move into the High Arctic. They would be looked after. The Mounted Police would be present. They would be looked after and should any serious things arise, that we would have the support of the Canadian government.

I explained fully the change in the climate. The dark season I emphasized because they had never – and I had never experienced a dark period myself. I was aware of this. I told them of the extreme temperatures. But I also stressed that their way of life would not be any different. There would still be igloos. They would still have canvas tents. They would still be able to eat off the land and the white man would be there to help them to better their way of life.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** What about the promises that were made at different points by different people? Yourself, when you made these tours to meet with the Inuit, did you make any promise as to their return if they were unhappy or didn't like what they would find there and the living conditions?

**ROSS GIBSON:** No. I had no reason to make any promises because it was a move. I felt myself that if it wasn't a success, they certainly would be able to come back.

But this was never discussed to any great length with the Native people and I never was questioned about coming back at this particular time, or was I ever questioned about them coming back during my tour of duty at Resolute Bay.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** When they came back to you with a positive answer, they didn't raise the issue of their possibility for coming back if they didn't like it?

**ROSS GIBSON:** Not to me. They may have done with other people involved in this move, but certainly not to me.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Can you tell us what was your assessment of the situation in Inukjuaq, in Port Harrison at the time for the Inuit people?

There are conflicting views as to whether the situation was to a point where Inuit people were close to starvation from other points of view where there was plenty of food even if everybody agrees that caribou were solely lacking during those years.

Could you give us your assessment of what was the situation, the living conditions?

**ROSS GIBSON:** The living conditions was certainly serious, the conditions under which the people were living.

I think that we all must understand that the Native people do depend entirely from the land as far as making a living. Prior to the white man coming they certain lived off the land. But I think that there was never any fear of them ever facing starvation as we see it.

I see starvation, as I look at my television, in Africa and these countries. These people are starving. But the Native people never reached that state.

I think that it was a concern of the white man for the Native and a turn in the way of the Native's way of living. He had become dependent on the welfare of the Family Allowance, of relief as such. I think that he never faced any reason to starve. But there was the scarcity of the food from the land. This was a concern to the people involved, the Mounted Police, the Department of Northern Affairs, the Hudson's Bay Company and so on.

It was a completely different way of life that was forced by these conditions that caused the concern and perhaps the movement of these people to a place where they could live off the land and continue in their normal way of life.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** So at this point in time, as you said in the transcript, you didn't know that you would be asked to go with them and to be somehow in charge of them up North in the High Arctic.

What you had in mind and what you conveyed to them was really an opportunity for them to become self-reliant and not live in a situation of dependency as they were in Inukjuaq. Was that what you —

The telegram sent by Henry Larsen to the RCMP detachments on April 14, 1953 indicates explicitly that officers were to include this provision. See, Document 39 S. Grant (2016).

**ROSS GIBSON:** Yes, that is right. I had no idea that I was going to be the Mounted Policeman that was going to be picked to take these people north.

Mind you, I feel it was a great privilege to have had the opportunity. But certainly it was a great responsibility also.

As a member of the Mounted Police I felt it was a great privilege that I was able to be of assistance not only to the Native people but also to be part of this move to make this thing a success and to better the ways of the Native people.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Could you tell us what you felt and how do you assess the first winter that they spent in the High Arctic? You were with them, living very close to them. You were the person in charge of bringing them to the base. So could you tell us what is your point of view on the hardship that was there in this first winter.

**ROSS GIBSON:** The biggest hardship was, again, as I have stressed, the dark period. I think this certainly had an effect on them. I also think that their distance – they couldn't visit. They are a very close-knit type of people, their way of life. They couldn't communicate as such to visit for their cups of tea and gossip and discuss whatever they wanted to discuss.

We also were faced with a situation that I was aware of but felt it would iron itself out and that was the feeling between the people from Pond Inlet and the people from Port Harrison. I think there was some resentment there because we had a very fine man by the name of Amagoalik from Pond Inlet who seemed to keep a handle on things and did not seem to become too concerned. He went on with his normal way of life.

Certainly the way of life in Pond Inlet and the way of life in Port Harrison are two different things. I think that Amagoalik had things well under control and certainly was a great asset to the project the first winter.

The people from Port Harrison seemed to take a, if I might use the word, defeatist attitude, the Eskimo word *iamdemut* (PH), which means it can't be helped. They just seemed to accept all this sort of thing which I found rather distressing.

It took more of my attention than I had anticipated. I was quite concerned with regard to the fact that they took this attitude. Yet, when I think back and look back and read back, this is perhaps a way of the Eskimo people. When things are – they didn't look good, the area was all new to them. It was something that they had to adjust to. The Port Harrison Natives did not adjust as well as I thought they might.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** At one point in your statement you say that you were a salesman or like a real estate man and you were very enthusiastic about the project.

Do you feel that there was no misunderstanding?

You said you explained the distance with the map. You explained the darkness period. But is it possible that underlying all the discussion you had with them there was a misunderstanding about the situation that they would find there and that on a longer term basis this could form the basis for resentment?

Are you fully satisfied from your point of view and what you explained to them that they knew what was going to happen as much as they could in a situation like this?

**ROSS GIBSON:** Yes. I feel that the Eskimo people – not only at Resolute Bay

– but I do think they did resent or maybe still do resent the white man. They have the idea that they are the first.

I think that they resent the white man no matter how much the white man did to better the Eskimo way of life. I think that the Eskimo have greatly improved their way of life and their standard of living and so on by the white man. It was inevitable from the first day that the Eskimo ever contacted the white man that their way of life was going to change. But I think that they resent the white man because they are always right. They twist things around and make things seem that they are always right. So I doubt that there was some resentment there.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** How long did you stay with them in Resolute? You were there in 1952, 1953, 1954?

**ROSS GIBSON:** 1957.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** My question is: At one point was there some relaxation about the approach that was decided at the outset to keep the Inuit as separated as possible from the base and from non-Aboriginal people. How long did this situation last? At one point was this relaxed and were they able to mix with non-Aboriginal people living at the base?

We were told that it was quite clear in the fall of 1953 that the people at the base should not have any contact with the Inuit unless they be accompanied by an RCMP officer. Could you expand on that?

**ROSS GIBSON:** Yes, I certainly can.

My instructions from Commissioner Nicholson of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and from Superintendent Larsen, the Officer Commanding of "G" Division were that these people were to be left on the land. They were not to go on to the base. This was part of my responsibility to keep them there.

I had assured Air Vice Marshal Ripley that they would not hang around the establishments. My concern was, of course, the Eskimo women and the young white men. We could certainly have prostitution, or whatever you want to call it.

Also, it was a great temptation with these Native people. There was the canteen, the availability to white men's beer and alcohol. It was a great temptation for them to be there.

I assured the officials to whom I was responsible that this would not happen. I might say – and I have been severely criticized because these Eskimo people were Canadians and I kept them on the land. This is what I was told. Henry Larsen told me to keep them in their Native clothes, keep them on to the land. That is what they were there for. And if they needed any further assistance, I was there to see that they got it.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Was this the policy that you followed until you left in 1956?

**ROSS GIBSON:** It was followed all the time I was at Resolute Bay.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** All the time. Thank you.

At this point I would like to ask my colleagues if they have some questions to address to you. Georges Erasmus.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Perhaps you could explain to me about the dump at Resolute. What was the government policy in relation to access

for the Inuit to the dump?

**ROSS GIBSON:** My instructions to the Eskimos were to stay away from the dump. I patrolled to the dump on many, many occasions just to see. I was aware that perhaps they were getting there. I couldn't be there 24 hours a day. But bulldozers were used to cover the dump. And also fires. It was a lighted dump, if you understand what I mean. Things were burned. Bulldozers, heavy equipment was used to cover up anything.

I spoke to the Officer Commanding of the base at Resolute Bay, the RCAF base, and I told him that I had instructed the Natives not to be part of that thing there.

The only thing that I was interested in was the reclaiming of the lumber that they might have been able to use or anything like that. But I supervised that also. I got the utmost co-operation from the RCAF with regard to that dump.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** You recycled the lumber, did you? What did you do —

**ROSS GIBSON:** I beg your pardon?

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** I was asking about the lumber. I think in your written statement here you talk about a recycling process in relation to the lumber.

**ROSS GIBSON:** That is right.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Could you explain that?

**ROSS GIBSON:** Yes. Certainly, as you know, in the High Arctic there is no lumber and anything that could be salvaged was of great help to myself for making it easier for the Eskimo way of life.

I felt that with what there was available there and with the co-operation I was getting that — it was a recycling type of thing. Under my supervision and with the co-operation of the departments concerned, the Native was going to benefit.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** So the things that you did not want them to have access to in the dump were the other things that were there?

**ROSS GIBSON:** There would be other things, of course. You must remember, there were 50, 60 men stationed there. There was certainly the stuff from the galley, articles of clothing, articles of bedding. There could be disposed mattresses and all this type of thing. It was all available there for them, which I didn't think was a very good thing for them to have.

After all, I thought they should deserve better.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** And what was that?

**ROSS GIBSON:** My experience with this comment on the dump, it has got out of — I visited Churchill and I found Native people digging into 45 gallon drums and into garbage and so on. But I have never read anything in the papers about the conditions right in Churchill, Manitoba. I use that as an example.

Yet the emphasis of these people in the dump at Resolute Bay has gone out of all proportion. Nobody ever died from anything that they got from the dump, but I certainly supervised as near as I could to see that nothing was — that they didn't become dependent on the dump as a way of life.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Could you explain to us what kind of accounting system was used to keep track of wages that were earned by the Inuit or their accounts in relation to the fur?

We have heard some accounts that the Inuit did not understand the system that was under way and they felt at times that they might have worked and perhaps their accounts had not been credited. They didn't seem to have access to a balance.

Could you tell us a bit about that, please?

**ROSS GIBSON:** Certainly I can because I had nothing to do with their accounts as such. The fox furs were sent out to the Montreal fur sales. I had no control of this. It was the Department of Northern Affairs that this was turned to. I know nothing about the accounts and the way they were kept.

Although, I do have here right before me a memo to the Officer Commanding, "G" Division, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Ottawa, Ontario, from Resolute Bay, Northwest Territories, August 13, 1956. This will give you some idea. This is from me to Henry Larsen and it was forwarded to Alex Stevenson.

"Enclosed please find the following: Cheque No. 12502 to the order of Idloutik (PH), E5768 for the sum of \$210."

It is tabulated over \$210, five \$1 bills, \$500, a total of \$710.

"Cheque No. 12503 to the order of Idloutik, E5766 to the sum of \$60, total amount \$770. The above amounts to be credited to the respective Native accounts with the Department of Northern Affairs."

That is signed F.R. Gibson, Constable, Resolute Bay Detachment. Down at the bottom I see: "Received on behalf of Northern Affairs and National Resources for deposit to the accounts of Natives mentioned."

It is signed by Mr. Johnston for Alex Stevenson. That is Ottawa, the 9th of 10th '56.

This is a document that I have here among my many documents. I happened to pick it up this morning. I think it might be of some help as to the way it was done.

Moneys were turned over to the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources for deposit to the accounts of Natives mentioned.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Could you tell us about Port Harrison for a minute. Earlier today we heard a former Hudson's Bay manager, who was there at the time of the move, explain to us some of the conditions in northern Quebec. Since you were there, perhaps you could also inform us of your views on that.

He was trying to explain to us a number of things. One of the things he was talking to us about was the relationship that the Inuit had in relation to how their Family Allowance was being influenced. He informed us that the Inuit were told that they had to purchase certain kinds of foods first, things like powdered milk, pablum, and so forth, and that there were certain things that the Inuit were not allowed to purchase. There seemed, according to that explanation, to be an influence by the RCMP.

Do you have any understanding of how that was done?

**ROSS GIBSON:** Certainly, because I worked directly with Mr. Ploughman on a voucher system where the Natives – there was a list, if they wanted powdered milk, duffle cloth, sewing needles, anything that they needed with regard to that type of thing and the stock that the Hudson's Bay Company



might have. Also it was done by ledger.

The Native family was credited with whatever amount there was, whether it was \$10, \$15, \$20, or whatever the Family Allowance was at that time. Each month this ledger was kept up to date and the accounts were forwarded to Ottawa for their final entry into whatever.

But I think the project was that the Native people – and it was my understanding that they tried to save some of their Family Allowance for emergency purposes. Some of them even discussed with the Hudson's Bay Company and myself with regard to maybe saving enough Family Allowance to make a payment on a boat. Boats were in a sad state and they didn't have any way of ever paying for them with seal and fox pelts being the low price that they were. Some of them were sizeable accounts, maybe \$200 or \$300.

But in no way did I ever think that they were ever deprived of anything that they might have needed through Family Allowance. On the Family Allowance they issued, strange as it might seem, they were able to purchase rifles. They were able to purchase ammunition and such things as that. So it got out of line as far as Family Allowance as such was concerned.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** What I was trying to get a handle on is whether or not as a member of the RCMP you had anything to do with exactly what any individual Inuit would purchase, or if you were just facilitating what was going on.

Were you making any suggestions as to what they should purchase, as to what they shouldn't?

**ROSS GIBSON:** – buy a lot of sugar. I think it was perhaps regulated to a point if they wanted sugar and candy and stuff like this. I don't think that this was part of the intention of the Family Allowance in the first place.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** We were also told in April when the hearings started that some of the accounts either for the pensioners or for Family Allowance didn't seem to be transferred. What is your recollection of what occurred in 1953?

Were all of the Family Allowance credits transferred to Resolute? Were the elders' – the few that were around, I guess – pensions transferred?

**ROSS GIBSON:** I never looked after Family Allowance at Resolute Bay. I never had anything to do with Family Allowance. My record would show that I never did.

When Gordon Robertson came in and found Nellie who was not a recipient of the Old Age Pension, shortly after he was there Nellie got the Old Age Pension and was credited through Ottawa for the Old Age Pension.

But I certainly never handled anything like that while I was at Resolute Bay.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** In relation to the medical services, I understand that they could be transported to Thule, Greenland and to Churchill, Manitoba for services. But what actual medical services besides your own skills was able to be provided to the Inuit at Resolute.

Did they have access to the same medical services as the base?

**ROSS GIBSON:** Yes, they did. They certainly did. I had again the assurance of the RCAF that in case of emergency they would be flown out. And I think in some cases they were. If I recall rightly, some Native women were flown

This reference is to "Old Nellie" Amagoalik, Simeonie Amagoalik's grandmother who accompanied him, his pregnant wife (Sarah), and his brother to the High Arctic despite her advanced age.

out to Churchill for check-ups, and I think there was an Eskimo baby flown out for an operation.

I myself hold an instructor's certification with St. John's Ambulance. I did at that time. In fact, I still have the thing among my souvenirs.

We also had a very capable sick bay – I say sick bay – a medical man at the base. He was either a corporal or a sergeant; I don't remember which. But he certainly was available for any assistance that he might have been able to give me and I in turn could give the Natives. Or he could look at the Natives himself and we could form our own opinion as to whether they should be evacuated or not.

In extreme emergencies, Thule base was at my disposal.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** You say that the Inuit didn't ask to be returned to northern Quebec.

**ROSS GIBSON:** No. They never spoke to me about being returned to northern Quebec.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Did you have the kind of relationship with them where you had their confidence if in fact they would have desired to return to Inukjuaq or to northern Quebec that they would have actually come to you and confided in you?

**ROSS GIBSON:** Yes, I really do. I must say, there was this Eskimo baby that was born, Rossy Apik (PH), and I felt that was a great privilege. I felt that I was part of them, as much as I could be part of them.

When I left Resolute Bay, they all came up and were around the airplane and they were shaking my hand. There was quite a commotion. The pilot of the aircraft on which I was going out stuck his head out of the side of the aircraft and said "If we don't get this man out of here now, he'll never leave."

I felt with a feeling that I wanted to be part of it and I was part of it and I had brought them a long way from what they were when they landed on the shores of Cornwallis Island.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** You said that when you were involved in the recruiting in Port Harrison that you made no promises to the Inuit that they would return.

Did you ever in your time in Resolute hear that the government had actually made that kind of promise through other people besides yourself?

**ROSS GIBSON:** No. I had never discussed it. At ship time when the – and I had contact with Alex Stevenson and so on and this was never discussed between Alex Stevenson and myself, and we seemed to have a good relationship to discuss things quite freely. What Alex Stevenson wanted me to know about what was being done, maybe it was limited in the information that I received, but certainly nothing about returning them.

But I did discuss with Henry Larsen that I thought a rotation process would have been a very helpful thing whereby some of them could come. If they didn't want to stay, they could go back to where they came from. They would have a better way of life because they would have some monetary means to establish themselves.

I felt that with the annual arrival of the ships these people could be brought in and not only settle them at Resolute Bay but there were other places along the coast. Patrols could be made by the Mounted Police or either the Department of Northern Affairs or whoever, and supervision could

be established and a good relationship between the Natives and the government people.

I discussed this with Henry Larsen. It was never acted upon, but it was discussed at great length. I think if myself or Henry Larsen had been there, then maybe things would have developed along those lines.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** How were the Inuit compensated or paid for any work they might do with the RCMP?

**ROSS GIBSON:** They certainly had no work to do for me because I didn't even maintain a dog team. I had no work. I worked for them really. I never had any reason to employ them as far as the Mounted Police were concerned. But certainly I was beholden to them to see that this – and when I went hunting and trapping with them and visited their camps and helped them where I could. There was no reason for them to ever want anything from me.

What happened at Craig Harbour and other detachments, I don't know. But certainly not at Resolute Bay. There was no reason for me to employ them.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Could you tell us how the Inuit mail was handled?

**ROSS GIBSON:** Yes. They used to bring it in. It would be folded up in a makeshift envelope type of thing. It would have syllabic written on it. What was in it, I don't know. I don't read syllabic. I don't know one thing from another.

But I asked where it was going and so on, and it was readdressed. They even drew stamps up in the corner which I thought was rather – I wish I had saved some of these things, because they would certainly be collector's items.

I put the mail in at my own expense. Maybe there were five or six letters that went out. I couldn't say how many. But the Eskimo mail wasn't that frequent, my receiving it, before its further transmission to wherever. It might have gone to Port Harrison, Pond Inlet or whatever.

Certainly the mail coming back was nothing that I can recall. I can't recall ever getting anything much back from Port Harrison with regard to the Native people or from the Native people to the Native people who were established at Resolute Bay.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Could you tell us about ship time?

We were told in April that the RCMP asked the Inuit to make sure that their clothing was in good repair and to actually put on what would be the equivalent of their Sunday best at ship time, and also to be on their best behaviour.

Do you have any thoughts on that?

**ROSS GIBSON:** Yes, I do. I think whether it was an Eskimo or an Indian or a black man or whatever, I think the ship time was a big time for them. It came only once a year.

I don't think they had to be told or anything. I think it was their own pride that they wanted to make their best presentation to the people from the south. I don't think it was anything to do with the Mounted Police or anything. I think it was their own way.

This had been going on from the arrival of the *Nascopie* and other ships that might have resupplied the High Arctic. I don't think it was anything to

do with anybody that they put on their Sunday best. It had become a tradition with them. It certainly wasn't anything that happened at this particular time.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** You yourself didn't go and ask people to dress in their best clothing at this time.

**ROSS GIBSON:** No. And you go into Pangnirtung or any of these places and you will find the same thing, that they are well dressed and so on.

I think it is a false impression. But that was the way it had been gone on long before I arrived there and it certainly was not my intervention or intention to impress anybody.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** You chose the site at Resolute. The site was some ways away from the base. You deliberately chose the site some distance away.

**ROSS GIBSON:** – fresh water and we thought at the time that the lake was stuffed with fish, and it was. But the fish were wormy. I sent fish out to Ottawa for examination and got an immediate reply back that these were not fit for human consumption or even for dogs. So this was a sad situation, but nevertheless it was taken into consideration.

Look at Resolute Bay and you will see where excavations were being made of the old Eskimos that had been there maybe 200 years ago. They had lots of food and so on, but they didn't stay at the location, apparently, so the archaeologists had come up with. I don't know too much about it but I was certainly there when all of this excavation was being done and I found it most interesting. They don't know why the Natives left this particular site because there seemed to be plenty of country food, walrus, seal, birds and so on.

But that is another side of the story, I suppose.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** You were both at Harrison and then in the Resolute area. You probably had an ability to judge how much the land could provide in both areas.

Did you feel that the wildlife in the High Arctic provided the better life that you had expected?

**ROSS GIBSON:** Yes, I really did. But again, as I say, the wildlife in the High Arctic is in pockets. Therefore, I think this is why the Native people lived in smaller settlements.

I have before me a picture from 1954 of the Arctic fox. I know that some of the finest Arctic fox that was ever sold on the Montreal market came from Resolute Bay and the High Arctic islands.

I don't know whether they thought when they went to Resolute Bay that they were just going to sit and the game was going to come to them. They were still going to have to hunt and trap and get off their fannies and live as they had lived before. It wasn't going to be anything any different. But they were going to have access, if they wanted to. And if employment came up – the other Arctic islands were being developed by mines and technical surveys and so on. There was a chance of employment for them, but it was not going to alter their way of life.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Eventually little homes were built for the Inuit. They were large boxes which were provided with diesel engines and so forth. Electricity was brought to these little homes.

But I notice from your statement that outside of providing 160-watt light-bulbs to the homes you felt that electrical outlets were not a good idea, that this might provide them with too much access to non-Inuit ways. Was that the thinking?

**ROSS GIBSON:** No, but that is apparently your thinking.

I think that even in our own homes – as I go to a hardware store there are special little things that they plug in so kids can't stick things in to get electrocuted. There is a danger there by putting plugs in. It was nothing to do with betterment of them otherwise. I didn't think I was depriving them of anything. In fact, I thought I was probably saving a life.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** So it was their safety that you were thinking of.

**ROSS GIBSON:** Exactly right, yes.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Some 40 years later would you do this all over again?

**ROSS GIBSON:** I certainly would. I don't think I would handle it any different. I wouldn't allow them on the RCAF base and so on.

We had the tragedy of Idlout, which was a tragedy. I think it was only because they were allowed to go on the base. I couldn't understand – these Eskimo girls could sneak in the base and so on. No, my conscience is absolutely clear in the way that it was handled.

This reference is to Joseph Idlout's 1968 snowmobile accident.

Again, as I say, I reported this. It may not be in black and white, but it was reported verbally to the commissioner and to Henry Larsen and they were well aware of what I was doing. I received nothing but the go ahead to handle it myself as I saw fit and if anything went wrong, then they had to be advised as well because they were the head, not me. I was the one in between to see that this thing was a success.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Thank you. Those are my questions. We will see if there are other questions from other Commissioners.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Mary Sillett, please.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Hello, Mr. Gibson. This is Mary Sillett. I have three questions.

The first one is: Could you explain to me in Inukjuaq, in Port Harrison, before the Inuit were moved to Resolute and Grise Fiord, what they lived in? And could you describe to me the kind of educational and medical services that were available to the Inuit in Inukjuaq?

**ROSS GIBSON:** Yes. They lived out on the land, in the summer time their fish camps and the seal when it was plentiful. In the winter time they trapped. There was a school there. Ms Hinds was the school teacher.

Ms Hinds and I disagreed on one point. She thought the Native people should come in. I think in a letter Ms Hinds said that if it was a Mounted Policeman's idea to set them out on to the land, then they should be responsible for transportation, for education to the people out on the land. I disagreed with her there. I felt if the Natives could come in and be educated in the manner – or she could go out on to the land, that was not my department.

Also there was an outpost, a nursing outpost there. It was manned by a very capable person by the name of Mrs. Reynolds. She was a lady in her

late fifties or early sixties. She had worked with the Native people down in Moose Factory. She had been there when that hospital opened. She came up in charge of the hospital at Port Harrison and was a very capable understanding nurse. They did have these facilities, yes.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** When the Inuit first moved to Resolute and Grise Fiord they went to obviously communities with, we were told, almost nothing. We were told in April that some Inuit were really upset that they weren't able to go back to school. Some felt that they were forced to finish school completely. Others felt that there were no hospitals.

We know that one of the relocated Inuit was physically disabled and needed medical services and there was none there. So could you tell me in Resolute – I guess that is the community we are talking about in this case – when did those services become available? And until they became available, how were those services provided to the Inuit?

**ROSS GIBSON:** I believe in the sixties maybe services became available. But prior to that we had access to the air force which would evacuate people to either Churchill or in the American air force to Thule. I had radio contact with them.

Also we had a medical lad at RCAF who was responsible for the general health and emergencies in the air force.

I myself hold an instructor's certificate in St. John's Ambulance and have had considerable experience as highway patrol and so on with regard to first aid.

Certainly my own observations, I could see whether people needed anything – if they didn't communicate with me and tell me – certainly it was obvious if they had a swollen tooth or an infected finger and that sort of thing. This was my observations. They certainly got the first aid treatment. They were not neglected.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** When I read your paper and when I heard you talking, I understand that you were under instructions to keep separate the RCAF and the local people. I notice that you emphasize or place a high priority on cleanliness and you communicated that to the Inuit. You instructed the Inuit to stay away from the dump.

So it seems to me that you were in a position of authority. I am wondering how the Inuit responded to that authority.

**ROSS GIBSON:** I certainly never got anything but co-operation from the Natives. They certainly didn't reflect anything to me that they resented my authority. I felt that the Natives thought that I was there for their convenience and their dependence.

I really felt that the Natives felt that they depended on me for this supervision. I never felt that I was interfering in anything else other than their welfare, their good welfare.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** You said earlier, for example, that there were never any Inuit who spoke to you about going to northern Quebec. Were there any other Inuit who ever came to you asking, for example, how their children were in the hospital?

One thing I remember at the April hearings was that – especially in Resolute there were many, many people who had – there were some people who had TB and some were hospitalized for a long time. Sometimes they were

very young children.

I am just wondering if, for example, correspondence wasn't a method of frequent communication, did the Inuit ever come and ask you about the health of their children who were in the hospital?

**ROSS GIBSON:** No. And I must say I was quite surprised. I think you have a good question, but I never was questioned.

I felt that they thought that their children or the adults were in good hands when they were in the hospital. They were out to get better. It was the understanding that that is why they were out there, that they would be dead if they stayed in the land. So therefore the best thing for them to do was to go to the hospital. It was under good supervision, and so on.

I don't think that the Natives ever were too concerned and hopefully that the people were going to return, and they did in the majority of cases. They would have died if they had stayed where they were. So there is this point that can be certainly discussed at great length.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** So it is possible that there may have been things that the Inuit were very, very concerned about that you may not have been aware of.

Is that possible?

**ROSS GIBSON:** I suppose so, yes. I don't doubt that there might be things. There were things that I was concerned about that the Eskimo wasn't aware of. So it worked both ways. But I felt that things were well under control, that they were not out of control.

We had a handle on everything, I thought. But the Eskimo way of thinking, again, we have a cultural barrier there between myself and the Eskimo. Their way of thinking and my way of thinking are two different things. If we come to some agreement half way between or even one-quarter way between, I think that we covered a lot of ground.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** That is all. Thank you very much, Mr. Gibson, for your time.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** Good afternoon, Mr. Gibson. This is Commissioner Wilson. I just have one area that I would like to ask you about.

My understanding is that the Inuit were relocated in order to see whether or not they could survive under the High Arctic conditions on the basis that at one time they obviously had been able to survive.

I am wondering whether you told them at the time that you were talking to them about the move and telling them that they were going to be moved to Resolute Bay, did you at any point indicate to them that there was an issue of whether or not they would be able to survive in the High Arctic?

**ROSS GIBSON:** I don't think it was ever an issue. I was certain that they were going to be able to survive under, perhaps, some different conditions, as I say, the dark period being the main one and the distance. But there was no doubt in my mind but that they were going to survive. But there always was that possibility.

If we had gone up into Twin Glaciers, Bache Peninsula as was planned, certainly we would have been much more isolated and our chances of survival were far less than they were at Resolute Bay or Grise Fiord because of

Twin Glaciers, which refers to the glaciers at the head of Alexandra Fiord, references the site of the RCMP detachment at Alexandra Fiord.

the accessibility to Bache Peninsula. We were definitely going to be stuck there on Ellesmere Island.

If we had perished, I would have perished with them because I couldn't have done anything else. I was part of the project. It was my responsibility.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** The reason I asked the question was that you indicated that none of the people being relocated up there had asked or raised the issue of whether or not they would be returned to Inukjuag if they found the hardship too much for them. You say no one raised this.

It seemed to me that if it had been indicated to them that this was one of the reasons they were being moved – and I think the government acknowledges that this is one of the reasons they were being moved, to see whether they could survive now that they had lamps and other things that they didn't have in earlier times. It seems almost incredible that no one would have said to you: What happens if we find the conditions intolerable and we are really suffering up there? Will we be allowed to return?

Doesn't it seem very strange that no one would have thought of that as a very important question to ask?

**ROSS GIBSON:** It is a very important question and I have no doubt but maybe they did think of it. I understand that they discussed this with Northern Service Officers. They discussed it with Alex Stevenson, and so on. But it never was brought to my attention.

I have enough confidence in the government that they would not have been stranded if this thing hadn't worked, that they would have gone back. Under any circumstances they would have gone back. This is my own – in the back of my head. They weren't going to be stranded as such. While it was never discussed with me, I always felt that they never would have been neglected. And they never were neglected or abandoned.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** Do you think it was discussed by anyone with them?

**ROSS GIBSON:** Yes, I think it could have quite easily been, I really do.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** It would obviously be a matter, I would think, of great concern to anyone who was being moved for that purpose: What if we can't survive? What if the conditions are so harsh that we can't survive and we want to go back to where we came from? Can we? Will we be returned?

It would seem to me to be such an obvious thing for somebody to ask if they were in that position. Do you not find it surprising?

**ROSS GIBSON:** I agree and I don't doubt for one minute that they had discussed this with Leo Manning who was an excellent Northern Service man and Alex Stevenson, Doug Wilkinson. I have no doubt but that this was discussed with them.

Again, in turn, I would have been the one who in all probability would have been responsible for them to be returned. But until that raised its head, it was certainly not my concern. But I am sure it was a concern of the Department of Northern Affairs and perhaps a great concern for the Natives. But it never was discussed with me.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** Were you not the person who was



making the selection and talking to the people and deciding who was going and who was staying?

**ROSS GIBSON:** Pardon me?

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** Were you not the person who was selecting the people who were being relocated?

**ROSS GIBSON:** That is right.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** So each individual would want to know the answer to that question, would they not?

**ROSS GIBSON:** Pardon?

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** Wouldn't each person being selected be interested in knowing the answer to the question whether they would be returned if they found the conditions too harsh?

**ROSS GIBSON:** I don't think that this ever was thought of, how harsh – well, they were told how harsh it was going to be. But I don't know what was going through their minds. As I say, we have a cultural problem here, and I really don't know. It never was brought to my attention.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** Thank you very much. That is what I wanted to ask you, thank you.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Commissioner Chartrand, please.

**COMMISSIONER CHARTRAND:** Good afternoon, Mr. Gibson. I do not have any questions for you. But since this is an interview by telephone, I just wanted to thank you for participating in this hearing with us.

I have read the transcript of the earlier testimony you gave and listened to you. Your evidence will be considered in our work. Thank you very much.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Mr. Gibson, just before you go, I would like to tell you that we were just handed over a very nice picture of you with a young man called Ali Sudlavik (PH). The picture was taken in 1954. This was given to us by Bent Sivertz. So I just wanted to tell you that we have this in front of us.

Certainly this picture will reach you at one point. It is a very nice picture.

**ROSS GIBSON:** Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you very much for sharing this with us this afternoon in addition to the transcript that was made following the interview that you had with Mr. Schultz. I would like to thank you very much again for being with us this afternoon.

**ROSS GIBSON:** You're welcome.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** The agenda for the afternoon has been slightly changed with the agreement of everybody. We are going to hear next the testimony of Mr. Gordon Larsen.

I would like to ask Mr. Larsen to come forward to the table.

After Mr. Larsen, we will hear from Mr. Bob Pilot. Mr. Sivertz will be heard first thing in the morning tomorrow.

Good afternoon.

**GORDON LARSEN:** Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen.

Gordon Larsen was son of Superintendent Henry Larsen, and presented on his behalf during the RCAP hearings

This submission that I am going to make at this time was researched and prepared by my sister Doreen Larsen Riddell from material in her possession and in the National Archives, as well as some material that I had in the form of photographs and slides. We have selected from this vast amount of information manuscripts written by my father that are not published, information pertinent, I think, to this Commission.

This is written in the first person by my sister, so I am reading it from her standpoint. I must say that I agree with everything that is in this as well because it was my impression as well as some of the observations that I made as a young fellow, 15, when I accompanied my father north on the *d'Iberville* in 1953 on its maiden voyage to the Arctic where I saw the beginnings of this first hand.

At the time, it left an indelible impression on my memory. I will try to recount some of the situation.

My sister writes:

I attended some of the first sessions of the Royal Commission concerning the transfer of Inuit. At the outset it was the farthest thing from my mind that I would make a statement.

However, the sometimes significant differing interpretations of events, the allegations of criminal activities without substantiation, the absence of a request for clarification of several obvious contradictions regarding these allegations, and the seeming acceptance by one of the Commissioners of statements made as truth without an appropriate opportunity for a rebuttal really disturbed me.

Much of what I heard there differed from what I remember my father recounting or from what I read in his manuscripts.

I recalled an instance 35 years ago when a publication based on the relocation of another group of Inuit and founded on half truths and misinterpretations received widespread attention. My father requested permission to make a public rebuttal. Permission was not granted. The misconceptions were allowed to prevail and therefore persist and keep festering today.

I am also aware of the deep hurt felt by the families of some of the RCMP officers who sacrificed many of their prime years trying to help these Inuit regain their dignity and independence.

These men were volunteers for Arctic duty. Nobody was assigned Arctic duty. They were all volunteers. At the time, my father selected men to go there from their backgrounds and men that he could depend on.

Most of the statements I am making are based on three manuscripts of Henry A. Larsen, Officer Commanding of RCMP "G" Division from 1949 to 1960, which were written seven to nine years following the relocation.

There were personal recollections of conversations with him concerning Arctic affairs.

In addition, I present for your examination 191 photographs taken during 1953 and 1954 at Craig Harbour by Constable Glen Sargent. All but two of the people relocated there in 1953 are identified. The boats and equipment at their disposal, the food supply, the store and dwellings are shown. Recently, Inuit who have seen these photos commented that the people in the photographs seemed to be well fed and well dressed.

Larsen referred repeatedly to the general and serious decline in both health and economic resources of the Inuit and Indians he had observed over 25 years.

He described visiting every igloo or tent in every settlement during patrols and how time and time again the police reported the steadily worsening conditions of the Native people.

He pointed out that for 50 years the RCMP, church and traders had repeatedly brought to the attention of the federal government the dwindling game resources to little avail, and that little was done by the government to provide medical care or education.

He declared that the decline of fur prices and the scarcity of game was not sudden but occurred over a number of years.

Furthermore, he reminded the reader that records of the police, priests and traders were only a continuum of the veritable library of observations which Stefansson and Jenness produced 40 years before.

There is one statement I will quote. It says: "The fancy clothes for the benefits of tourists (during the summer) in no way reflected the true facts."

And this was in reference to his report of 1942.

"One only has to visit the people in winter to secure the true facts – to see the wretched conditions of their clothing and equipment."

I focus on this statement particularly because I recall that during my teens from 1948 onward, my mother was frequently short-changed on her house-keeping allotment because my father would purchase dozens of bolts of cotton to give to Inuit women. He told me he did this because these women, his friends, were embarrassed to present themselves in their rags and their need was greater than ours.

These manuscripts were in three separate manuscripts. Manuscript A was a manuscript written by Henry Larsen in 1962 to 1963 from which the book "The Big Ship" was extracted. It consisted of 1,009 legal-length pages typed single space and deals with his entire life and career.

An unpublished manuscript, the second one, was written around 1960 to 1961 by Henry Larsen and Vernon Kemp, "Policing the Northwest Passage". Kemp was an RCMP officer who was at one time Larsen's Officer Commanding and who also had an extensive personal knowledge of the Arctic. This is 351 pages long and covers the period from 1924 when Larsen made his first voyage to the Arctic to his retirement in 1960.

The third manuscript, C, is a manuscript by Henry Larsen entitled "Eskimos" from which sections of "Policing the Northwest Passage" may have been derived. It was written around 1960 to 1961. It was obviously a longer document but the remainder has not been located. These manuscripts have been submitted to the Commission.

Today we are accustomed to rapid change in the world around us, but this was not the case in the 1940s. The changes in the North occurred more rapidly than people were accustomed to.

By 1948 communities were springing up related to defence and the Inuit flocked to these communities.

Influx of people assumed astonishing proportions with all its new and exciting features, pool halls, cinemas, cocktail lounges. This is during the DEW Line build up in that particular time.

He explained why this led to problems rather than benefit to the Inuit. There was a language barrier. Few Eskimos spoke English and few white men spoke Inuit. There was a lack of understanding or realistic ideas of white man's way of life.

He referred to the prestige which Natives acquired by being associated

with white men and adopting what they saw as their ways.

The drinking and promiscuity for income that had characterized the early whaling settlements at Herschel Island in the 1890s was being revisited in the newly established bases and townsites.

He described his patrol in 1950:

"Along Mackenzie River and Arctic coast and Hudson and James Bay, Ft Chimo and Lake Harbour and Frobisher Bay. USAF station -where Eskimos were living in filth and squalor nearby in old tents and shacks made out of wood scraps and canvas sacs. Busy picking over garbage heap at the base. Many had left good game areas to congregate near the white man. It was not considered degrading but was undreamed of riches there for the taking. Any type of wooden shack would give them more prestige than a snow house."

He pointed out that the Inuit were not the proud noble savage of romantic novels whose respect had to be won. They lacked what he referred to as pride in themselves, to a large extent.

Although he greatly loved and respected the Inuit people – they certainly had many admirable aspects – and adopted their methods, he also observed that many Inuit were basically improvident, never worrying too much about tomorrow provided there was sufficient for the present.

"I had found over the years that anyone depending on the Eskimo population would soon find himself in the fall both out of dogfood and equipment.

Wherever I have wintered in the north it was us who were the providers of fish and many other kinds of game, and who set the example by hard work."

However, he also stressed that most Inuit had no real means of helping themselves, living a hand-to-mouth existence at the best of times.

There was a major problem with alcohol which resulted from the lifting of restrictions on free access to liquor by the Inuit. This was regarded by Larsen as the gravest problem to be faced in helping the Inuit people and he wrote on the subject at great length.

Opportunities for the Inuit in the townsites were largely lacking. Moves to a townsite would be of benefit provided work was found to support their families and they were also discouraged from adopting less attractive habits of white man. There was a problem of inability to secure employment. Years would pass before there would be sufficient work in new townsites to keep everybody busy. There was a tendency to loaf around the townsites. If these townsites attracted more people than they could absorb into the working force, they would lose all desire to help themselves and would subsist on available welfare schemes.

To permit them to stay idle and live on hand-outs would breed indolence and deterioration, would destroy their initiative, he said.

There were also problems related to young women. An additional general concern was the protection of the young Inuit women. This was a concern around any military establishment or settlements visited by transport ships when young women visited or worked in the south.

It is not just in the North where these things happen. It is all over the world and other parts of Canada. We recently heard of these things in Prince Edward Island.

Several aspects of the problem are referred to: young women have an ambition to get a white man for a husband – these were written in 1960-

Concerns about reliance on welfare were a substantial aspect of discussions among the EAC in 1952 and 1953, with the RCMP, HBC, and the Churches all weighing in. For further reading, see Lackenbauer and Clancy (2019).

61 – whether he is any good or not; the young Eskimo men were being left out; the trusting nature of the people, the fact that they told the truth quite openly and believed what they were told easily led to their being deceived by uncaring men; easygoing attitude towards sexual behaviour.

He outlined a correction of the problem.

In late 1949, Larsen was appointed to the acting position of Officer Commanding of “G” Division. He was determined to do something about the situation. In 1950 he made an extensive and detailed inspection trip during which he visited every tent and every settlement to assess the situation himself, the conditions and often sad plight were noted and compiled in a long report.

The RCMP requested a meeting to discuss this report. In May 1952, a meeting of the Department of Resources and Development was held. Every agency in the north was represented. Larsen requested a royal commission to investigate the condition of the Natives at that time. The request was turned down.

I think perhaps we are seeing today the result of that denial.

It was as a result of these meetings that Northern Affairs, Arctic Division was formed. A great deal of publicity attended the formation of the new division, much centring on the past sins of Eskimo neglect.

There was a great rush to correct the situation. However, there were few experienced people except those in the church, RCMP, and the Hudson’s Bay Company. Larsen gave the opinion that for years the staff was inadequate in size to carry out their task. Even the RCMP had only 140 men including interpreters and guides to cover an area half the size of the United States.

Among the improvements that were promptly carried out were those in the field of medical attention and education, and centres for the training of Natives in skills and handicrafts. Those experienced in the North advocated a go-slow policy, but such thinking was considered to be discriminatory.

Only one scant year after the formation of the Arctic Division, the relocation was carried out.

There are many statements to indicate how Larsen looked upon the relocation of Inuit in general and of the Port Harrison Inuit who were not too far removed from their hunting and trapping existence to a new location free from the influence of frontier settlement life.

He stated:

“His future is our responsibility and time is running out. There is no road back he will never return to his nomadic existence.

He cannot be converted to ‘first class Canadian’ [merely] by government edict, and improved educational and medical facilities.

Deeply rooted patterns have to be changed and this will take time.

To merely preach a doctrine of racial equality is not enough. Nor does it help to parrot cries such as ‘no discrimination against the Eskimos’. This is only a passive approach to a grave problem.”

There was pride lacking. It is important that we imbue in them some pride in their own race. Prestige of being associated with white men.

Development with caution and patience rather than haste.

He said that the Inuit present an opportunity to Canada. Under intelligent leadership they will contribute greatly to the skills and culture of the Dominion.

He advocated establishment of a number of small Native villages set up

This is the first meeting of the EAC. See Lackenbauer and Clancy (2019).

Significant reorganization of government occurred in the 1953, including the development of DNANR and the Arctic Division in response to Prime Minister St-Laurent’s desire to address the previous neglect of the region.

at strategic locations along or near the coast where there was an abundance of food from sea and land available and trapping could be carried out, the building of small adequate houses by the government. With proper housing and food, women and children could remain at home while the men went out to hunt instead of being handicapped by having to take families during a hunt.

He advocated establishment of small schools where children could be educated in their own community, and so they are not feeling so exalted above the rest as to feel they want little to do with their parents on returning from school, or having to readapt to their previous life after having been exposed to very different environment of warm food, clean clothes, clean bed, rules of behaviour of residential school, and being ashamed of their poor mothers who were in turn so happy to see them return.

I know it hurt my father deeply to have to transport young children to school away from their families.

He advocated communities where small industries could be established in order to help in the development of an economic base besides trapping. For instance, commercial fishing could be a good form of employment. Inuit could run co-operative trading posts supervised by Northern Affairs with profits for the Natives themselves in order that they would learn the benefits of commerce.

He advocated that they must have something when they are finished school where they could still continue to trap and hunt as well as having employment. They should not have only jobs such as janitors or caretakers open to them. He specifically referred to the situation in which some of the most outstanding hunters and trappers were relegated to emptying slop buckets.

He stressed that this was not to serve as a form of segregation but as an intermediate step in preparing them for further integration. Having an opportunity to re-establish in this type of small community would offset delinquent behaviour and contribute to their dignity.

He did not advocate moving people south. He felt that this created a stigma on the idea of living in the Arctic. The Inuit should be encouraged to retain their identity. Although some may choose to move south to cities or to come south for further education, with further expansion of the North there would be opportunities and they should be encouraged and trained to fill the high-paying jobs there would be in their land.

He felt that assimilation does not imply the right to loaf around the town-sites.

Again, he referred to the improvident nature of the Inuit and the importance of encouraging them to develop the habit of saving for a rainy day.

He felt that it was useless to select only those neither ambitious nor energetic. Many Eskimos are keen and would make excellent progress under a scheme he had outlined. There are others who would be completely incompetent.

There was an example from Greenland.

Over many years Larsen corresponded extensively with the Governor of Greenland regarding protective measures taken in the development of Inuit communities there. Unfortunately, none of this correspondence remains and there is only a reference in his manuscript to the "Lesson from Greenland".

He was of the opinion that the Danish government demonstrated the

practicality of its restrictive program while recognizing how fallacious it was to try to hurry the Eskimo into modern society to compete with white men until he was ready. The Danes had as their objective the ultimate good of the Greenlanders.

Following the war, their well-ordered plan was discontinued. There was free entry of traders and liquor was permitted. A great deal of lawlessness and drunkenness and illegitimacy followed.

In regard to the promises to the Inuit that they could return to Port Harrison if they were not happy in their new setting: passages in the manuscript suggest this apparently was regarded as a possibility at the time the original plans for relocation were considered.

In 1950 there was a plan to use the *St. Roch* for freighting in the eastern Arctic. The *St. Roch* could be used to good advantage in moving the Eskimos and for establishing hunting camps. The *C.D. Howe* was far too busy to do this. Commissioner Wood agreed that the *St. Roch* would be put to this use. The *St. Roch* was transferred to Marine Division, fitted and taken through the Panama Canal.

After making one or two trips to Newfoundland, the Marine Division found the *St. Roch* unfit to go to sea. It wasn't because the ship was unsound. It was a very uncomfortable ship to live in in the open ocean. I think it probably took a dedicated man and crew to put up with the hardship.

The *St. Roch* never got back to the Arctic as I intended.

The temporary nature of the move is again referred to in a comment that the Inuit should be moved to the designated areas at least until the Port Harrison region had been developed to the extent that the Inuit could again make a living – i.e. from the land – or obtain some form of employment.

Port Harrison was overcrowded because the Inuit had moved in from good but outlying hunting areas in order to be close to settlements. This had resulted in the immediate area being overhunted until people were barely eking out an existence from hunting and trapping and a bit of stone carving. They were practically starving and became more and more dependent on relief and on destitute rations. They became reliant on relief as a matter of right, a thing that undermined their morale and destroyed initiative altogether.

There were excellent hunting and trapping conditions in the proposed localities. The police had ascertained the resources of food available at the places the Inuit would be moved to.

We did not intend to willingly agree to or to be in charge of a newly settled group of Eskimos unless we were certain it would benefit them, and also that they would stay there.

At Craig Harbour: The Craig Harbour/Bache area had been known to be good game country in the past when the police detachment was open there.

Larsen referred to "excellent hunting and trapping conditions". Greenland Inuit used to come over to hunt muskoxen.

Also, Craig Harbour had not only an established well stocked detachment with spare buildings, but good boats, equipment for hunting, two experienced men and two Inuit special constables.

He stated that the new arrivals would not starve whether they worked or not.

On arrival at Craig Harbour the Natives looked ragged, dirty and unkempt and their tents threadbare.

Archival evidence is clear: Larsen initiated this promise and directed that it be included in conversations with potential Inuit relocatees. See Document 39 in S. Grant (2016).

The detachment at Craig Harbour had been closed for a decade but was reopened in 1951, despite noted challenges with patrol and resupply to the area. These challenges may have contributed to the desire to open a detachment near Alexandra Fiord and to the movement of the Craig Harbour detachment closer to Grise Fiord in 1956. See Document 12 in S. Grant (2016).

This observation is included in the detachment's year-end report for 1953. See Document 60 in S. Grant (2016).

Sargent organized and personally supervised the caribou hunt, one animal per family. Arctic hare were numerous. The order was issued that all animals shot must be brought in for food. None were to be allowed to lay around and go to waste. He says that left on their own they would have shot everything in sight.

Craig Harbour was soon too small and water too shallow. Constable Pilot and Constable Sargent found a better site for both the detachment and Native camp at Grise Fiord with a stream nearby. In 1954 some supplies did not reach Grise Fiord because of a fire in the hold of the *C.D. Howe* prior to leaving Montreal and water damage resulted to our material.

The Eskimos were located on a small peninsula right across the mouth of the fiord. Old whalebone house ruins reassured them that the land was good. Initially the camp had been in close proximity to the RCMP detachment. Only by moving the camp at Grise Fiord from all white influences would they learn to fend for themselves. Regular patrols were maintained to provide all possible assistance.

Resolute Bay had also been a well-populated spot in the past. It faced Barrow Strait with an abundance of walrus, seals and whales. Resolute was more accessible than Craig or Bache Peninsula and there were big Department of Transport and RCAF stations to fall back on in case of emergency.

The Natives had only one kayak between them when they arrived. It was arranged to have a good sized skiff sent in for Constable Gibson. The Resolute Inuit were established four miles from the base to discourage them from loitering around the buildings. Tents were pitched on raised terrace of beach line where there were remains of rows of whalebone and stone or sod houses.

There was not the well stocked RCMP detachment to fall back on, nor detachment buildings. However, Gibson organized the Natives to collect the scrap lumber from hundreds of packing cases strewn on the beach, and by the next spring small houses had been built.

He said no men from the base were allowed to hang around the Eskimo camp or Eskimos to hang around the base. This was done for the protection of the Eskimos, otherwise the project would have been ruined in the first year.

Men from the cargo ships unloading every summer soon would have raised havoc among the Eskimos. Some people might think this hard, but it was for the ultimate good of the Eskimos and to protect the women and girls from indiscriminate association.

People lacked adequate skins for clothing and were dressed mostly in duffle not suitable for living an entire winter in snowhouse. Deerskins had been ordered but did not arrive in time for the departure of the ship. Buffalo robes were sent in for sleeping and lining tents and snowhouses.

As to the outcome: if it had not been for the interest and zeal of Sargent and Gibson, the undertaking would have collapsed.

When it was time for the men to be transferred, the Eskimos were reluctant to let them go and begged me to let them stay.

The position at the time of the RCMP toward moving Inuit with little doubt reflected Larsen's opinion on the matter.

Larsen stated the Inuit were in full agreement with the move from Pond Inlet and Port Harrison and welcomed the opportunity. More people were willing to move than could be looked after. The project was carried out on an



entirely voluntary basis.

Under no circumstances did he wish to have Eskimos talked into or be moved against their will. As far as the police were concerned, it had to be an absolutely voluntary move.

Regarding other later relocations, Larsen's position was equally clear: to Padlei in 1955, "force or pressure to make them move was out of the question". He would only assist if the Eskimos were willing and nothing else.

That means he would only assist the government.

To Hennik Lake: objections of "G" Division to that relocation were obscured when all the issues surrounding the move were not publicly addressed. The thanks extended to the RCMP for their co-operation in the move has improperly been interpreted as there being agreement on the part of those who were assigned the task.

As to the character, experience and capabilities of the officers at Resolute and Craig Harbour detachments: Larsen selected men personally known to him to be in charge of each station where the relocatees were destined.

All were tremendously interested in the welfare of the Inuit. All were proficient in the Inuit language. This ability was described as most important in the undertaking in order that they could talk with and encourage the Inuit if things should prove difficult at first.

All were hardy travellers and hunters and equally able, if not more so, to look after themselves. They had been shown to be liked and trusted by the Inuit. They were described as good organizers. They were all trained in first aid by St. John's Ambulance and were furnished with a number of drugs.

Glen Sargent at Craig Harbour: The Inuit were very fond of him. I have been told that on his death his family received many letters from Inuit speaking of their high regard for him. He was good natured and very capable, known for his wisdom and sound judgement. He had served one and a half years on the *St. Roch* at Herschel Island in 1947 to 1948. That winter four crew were left to look after the floating detachment which included two special constables.

The local Inuit suffered because of indifferent hunting and trapping and because of a serious influenza epidemic. The two constables Sargent and Auchterlonie spent much of their time nursing the Natives who were ill, and hunting and fishing to secure food for the people as well as their dogs in order that neither would starve.

He was subsequently assigned to stay on to operate the reopened detachment at Herschel. In 1950 he was assigned to building the Spence Bay detachment and remained there for two years. He was described as the right man to be with the Netsilik Inuit there who respected a man who could do things for himself.

Regarding the relocatees to Craig Harbour, what they needed more than anything else was someone to organize them to work together, a thing that modern Eskimos have almost forgotten. We had such a man in Glen Sargent.

Ross Gibson at Resolute Bay was fully dedicated to the Eskimo cause, taking a personal interest in welfare in the whole area around Port Harrison.

Gibson had borne the brunt of the project. Without his energy and zeal, the project would have been a failure the first winter.

He received little or no credit for his work, but received unwarranted criticism because he had not kept as complete a record of minor details that

For further reading on the Henik Lake relocation, see Tester and Kulchyski (1994).

amounted to nothing when compared with the tremendous amount of work he had done in bringing the Eskimos along, making them self-supporting and the project itself successful in face of hundreds of obstacles that would have made a less determined man throw up his hands in disgust or defeat.

Idlout, chief hunter from Pond Inlet, said on many occasions to Larsen during his visits that Gibson was a good man and they all wanted him to stay with them.

Larsen also referred to the capabilities of other individuals involved in the resettlement.

For example, he described the new Northern Service Officer Doug Wilkinson as a first class and practical man who had spent considerable time in the North, in the western Arctic, Frobisher Bay, and Baker Lake, and knew the Inuit way of life having been adopted into the family of the most prominent hunter of the Pond Inlet and lived with the Inuit.

There was Miss Margery Hinds, a lady of great experience with Native people having taught school to Aborigines in Australia, New Zealand, Lapland, as well as among Canada's northern Indians and Eskimos.

There were numerous others mentioned: Constable Fryer, Ed Jones, and Constable Pilot.

During the initial hearings, the 1950s were described as a period of great prosperity. This is a misconception. Younger people, under 55, have no idea what it was like in the fifties.

My sister was a nurse at that time and this is from her perspective.

British Columbia was one of the first provinces to have medical insurance, and this was not until well into 1954 or 1955. For several years after that, even old established large hospitals remained very poorly equipped, short of even the most rudimentary items.

In 1954-55 in the south there were many large TB hospitals to which patients were relegated for isolation and treatment. None of those suffering from TB had too much choice in the matter. All nurses were trained in the care of TB patients.

The closing of those hospitals was miraculously rapid with the arrival of new powerful drugs making treatment in the community possible.

However, the concept of drug treatment was much easier to transmit to people living in southern communities because of different cultural awareness and experience.

Transportation in the North was difficult at the best of times. Physicians and officials carrying out health inspection would have perhaps a day to make a decision to transport Inuit to the south for treatment. Not an easy task, particularly when they would be damned if they did and damned if they didn't.

Even beyond the fifties when people in the south entered hospital, their belongings were taken from them, their money was placed in the office for safekeeping and certain expenses were deducted before the remainder, if any, was returned on discharge. This was a routine occurrence, and all without consultation with the patients. Those were the rules.

I can well believe that Inuit patients in the fifties might not have seen money that may have been sent to them, considering they would be on wards with isolation procedures in force and given the general practices of the day. Southern patients had the advantage of common language and cultural awareness of what was taking place. Most caregivers were in their late teens

and early twenties and had little preparation to help them understand the most elementary concepts of cultural differences.

Nurses assigned to as many as 15 patients and rarely conversant in the language had little time for things beyond basic physical care. Even those in authority were very task oriented. Compared with today when we are daily inundated with information about people and ways different from ourselves, we were generally an ignorant lot.

At the time, in a community of the size of Craig Harbour or even at Resolute Bay, there would be little justification for having a nurse. Nursing was not the hi-tech profession it was only a few years later. Any person of good common sense and with advanced first aid training and a radio for consultation with a doctor could do as much as nurse could do at the time in a remote location.

Resolute Bay had a military doctor to call upon in an emergency. At that time, there was a shortage of nurses as most did not work once they were married. The location was too rugged for most southern women. Posts were far apart and inaccessible for months and lacked amenities for even the police posted there. Many Arctic police detachments were furnished with items, which the men posted to them had to fashion for themselves from packing cases.

I know that most of the furnishings at the Mounted Police posts at that time were homemade.

On the question of sovereignty: Larsen discussed a number of issues related to sovereignty in the manuscripts, including the re-establishment of police detachments in the eastern Arctic.

However, it is striking that in the sections dealing with the relocation of the Inuit to Resolute Bay and Craig Harbour he did not mention sovereignty.

It is likely that if he regarded the primary reason for the relocation of the Inuit as being related to maintaining sovereignty, then he would have stated so.

Rather, he focused on whether the selected sites were suitable for the resettlement not only because of local game resources, but since the police were already there, they could be utilized to oversee the well being of the relocatees in addition to other duties.

In one passage he states that the detachment at Resolute Bay was established for the particular purpose that Natives moved there would be under the direct supervision of the detachment. But even so, he does not refer to their resettlement as being to establish an Inuit presence for reasons of sovereignty.

At the heart of this controversy, one will find not some legal principle such as civil rights or Canadian sovereignty, but strong beliefs about what is right or wrong. These beliefs are shaped by our daily experience and they will inevitably change with the circumstances in which we find ourselves.

It is very important to remember that life in the Arctic and in the rest of Canada was simpler and in some ways harder than it is now. Then we did not take for granted that our government and its agents would take into account our welfare in the way we can expect it to now.

It was a time in which we were expected to be more self-reliant, to either accept many of life's hardships, or to find solutions to them as best we could. There are only a few people left alive now who were mature adults then, and even their memories will be incomplete. Likewise, most of the private and

Government documents, and particularly RCMP documents from the time routinely discussed sovereignty and concerns about how to protect and maintain Canadian sovereignty, particularly in the North. Documents regarding the relocation however, did not mention sovereignty as a motive, let alone a primary motive.

official documents concerning this controversy have been lost. It is therefore difficult to establish what was true then, especially when we deal with beliefs shaped by two different cultures and societies.

I thank you very much for listening to it.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you. I think in your lengthy presentation you answered a lot of questions we had in mind as to what was contained in your father's paper. It certainly gives us a good grasp of the thoughts that your father had on many, many of those subjects.

I would like to ask you about the promise to return. It seems quite clear from the excerpts that are in the brief that you read that Henry Larsen, your father, saw the move as something that was some kind of temporary nature, or at least that people would be able to go back to Port Harrison when conditions were better and there was employment. Do you know more about that?

We heard earlier this afternoon Ross Gibson, who was recruiting people and meeting with people. He mentioned that he was acting under the supervision of Henry Larsen, your father. He didn't convey to them that kind of idea that they could return, or this was not an issue.

Are you aware through discussion with your father – could you give us additional information on this central issue?

**GORDON LARSEN:** I think he felt that in the position he was in at the time that certainly if people were unhappy with the situation or the expectations didn't turn out to be what they had hoped that there was no doubt that the people would be returned from whence they came.

I know his primary concern was the betterment, improvement and well being of the Inuit, and which ever way would facilitate that, he would endeavour to ensure that it was carried out in his capacity at that time.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** It seems that one of the problems was that while your father had this in view, it is quite obvious that this was not related to Ottawa. For example, we heard Gordon Robertson this afternoon tell us that he heard about a promise like that many, many years after because there were no requests put to him or through the department in the ten years he was deputy minister.

So it seems that this decision was made on the ground – or this intention, and the intention was obviously conveyed to some Inuit people, but it was not backed up in Ottawa.

Is there something in your father's papers that would show that he told people in Ottawa who were responsible in the department about what he had in mind, that obviously they had to be returned if it didn't work out or if they weren't happy? After all, as you said, foremost in his mind was the well being and the welfare of the Inuit.

So, is there something in the papers that would indicate that your father thought about that to the department at some point? There seems to be a gap between what happened.

**GORDON LARSEN:** I am trying to see if I can locate the reference. There might be something in the reference regarding the instructions that were given to Constable Gibson, or maybe it was Constable Moody at Pond Inlet, in the selection of the people, just what information was to be given to them.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** If my recollection is correct, we were told

Archival and record-keeping practices related to missing or difficult-to-find documents are also discussed by Grant. See "A Case of Compounded Error" and "Errors Exposed" in S. Grant (2016).

that your father, Henry Larsen, indicated to Ottawa in April, just before the summer, that he felt that he had to make that kind of commitment.

**GORDON LARSEN:** Yes. I was trying to find the reference to it. I am sure there is in the manuscript somewhere where he had made a reference, and on a memo to the government department had stated that this had to be part and parcel of the move, that if people were not happy they had to be returned.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** That is my recollection, that this was done in writing by your father.

**GORDON LARSEN:** Yes.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** But on the other hand, it didn't seem to have much ring within the department itself and that measures were taken to act upon something like that if it was seen necessary in the following months or years.

**GORDON LARSEN:** Up to the time when this manuscript was written, my father viewed the relocation as very successful and, indeed, carried on, after his retirement, correspondence with Glen Sargent and one or two of the other Mounted Police in the Arctic regarding the people and the situation. He certainly continued in his interest as to what was happening.

To some degree, I think he was disappointed in the overall picture. He was quite happy with the settlements at Grise Fiord and Resolute and the way the people had managed to become self-sufficient rather than as wards of the state.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Again, this is quite clear from the excerpts of the papers. This was one of the main purposes for the project. In fact, I have just been given the reference to it. It is in Professor Gunther's report.

Your father informed Cunningham on April 14, 1953 that he had made this promise.

**GORDON LARSEN:** That is right, yes.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** It was coming from his own. But the difficulty is that after that it seems to have got lost.

I would like at this point to see whether my colleagues have specific questions. Your presentation was certainly very useful and thorough.

**GORDON LARSEN:** Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** I have just one small question.

Your father had his own idea of relocation to the coasts in small groups, creating small school houses and so forth. Is there some kind of written evidence as to why his suggestion was not accepted and instead there was a relocation to the High Arctic?

**GORDON LARSEN:** What I found very interesting in some of his manuscripts is that where he did refer to the situation, that problem, it wasn't nearly as strongly worded as some of the minutes of the council meeting. He was very adamant and insistent, to the best that he could as a representative of the commissioner on the council meetings, as to what programs or the way things should be handled or what could best be done for the benefit of the Inuit.

In his writings that were meant for publication, he downplayed the strength of his comments considerably to what he said in the privacy of a council meeting or in private to others.

I know he felt, when the DEW Line was going to be built, that there was a great opportunity to redress the neglect of the Arctic peoples up to that time. Because of the focus of the media and the focus of the government on the Arctic and the situation at that particular time, I think the “G” Division – which was the Northwest Territories and Yukon – almost doubled in size from 150 to 300 personnel.

I know at that time – I was 19 or 20 years old; I joined the air force – my father did a great deal of travel in the Arctic to every post and every location that was proposed and planned the Mounted Police posts that were put in there. He had a quarter master sergeant with him with catalogues. They made a very large requisition for supplies and equipment for the Mounted Police. He thought that if they were going to be the representatives of the Crown and law and order in the Arctic that they had to be properly equipped. So he made a very determined and accepted proposal at the end of that time. There was a great expansion going on.

He thought that finally with the focus on the Arctic that something big, a major program could be implemented to help the Inuit in their life struggle.

The one thing that he was adamantly opposed to – and it was defeated – was that up to that time the Northwest Territories and Yukon were dry. He could see nothing but problems if alcohol was introduced into the Arctic. He wanted it to remain in that state.

In other words, he didn’t want it to be free and easy frontier, but to be very strongly controlled and prevent the trouble that had been brought about with Native peoples since time began.

Unfortunately, it was to his great disappointment that it did not come about that way, but that is water under the bridge now.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Mary Sillett, please.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Thank you very much.

When your father was stationed in Grise Fiord he had a family, did he not? He had a family?

**GORDON LARSEN:** My father?

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Yes, your father. You said you were 15 years old.

**GORDON LARSEN:** Yes.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** But his family was not with him in Grise Fiord.

**GORDON LARSEN:** No.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Can you tell me why that was and how often, for example, was he relieved?

We heard earlier this morning from the RCAF that they went into places like Resolute or Grise for three months at a time and then they were relieved. Was that a similar situation with the RCMP?

Larsen was stationed in Ottawa as Commander of ‘G’ Division, though he often travelled to detachments throughout the North.

**GORDON LARSEN:** The usual tour of duty of the RCMP constables was normally three years in the Arctic, I think, before they came out or were moved to another detachment.

My father was headquartered in Ottawa here, at headquarters "G" Division. My mother and sisters and I lived here in Ottawa. I went to see my father off in Montreal on the *d'Iberville*. As my mother says, I was shanghaied. When he saw the size of the stateroom he had, and what not, he said "Do you want to come north with me" and I said "I would love to." He said, "Well, we have to go and see the captain." The captain said "See the purser." I was signed on the crew at \$1 a month, which I never collected, by the way. But I would give that up in a moment to do it again.

I myself did not go to Grise Fiord. I witnessed the transfer of the Inuit from Port Harrison to the *d'Iberville* from the *C.D. Howe* at Craig Harbour. Because it was late in the season at that time, I boarded the *C.D. Howe* and came out and I was only two weeks late for school.

I must say that of all the 6,000 feet of movie film that my father had shot over the years that I had seen many times, of all the thousands of photographs that he had taken, they just did not nearly convey the majesty of the Arctic as it is, as I saw it. It left an indelible impression on me and I am sure it did to the men who went to the Arctic to serve there. It certainly did to my father. It was his home away from home. It was his love, the Arctic. He did very much.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you.

**GORDON LARSEN:** Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you very much for bringing this to us, this information. It is precious, thank you.

At this point I would like to just briefly go over the order of witnesses. We are going to complete the afternoon with the testimony by Mr. Bob Pilot.

Tonight we have a discussion on sovereignty with three persons who are mentioned on the agenda.

But tomorrow we are resuming our witnesses with Messrs Sivertz, Kenney, Rowley and Williamson. Then we will move to the other blocks of our hearings that has to do with the researchers proper as such.

I would like now to ask Mr. Bob Pilot to come forward to the table.

Good afternoon.

**BOB PILOT:** Good afternoon, sir. Thank you very much for the opportunity to appear before this Commission.

I should introduce myself, I suppose. I am retired from the public service of the Northwest Territories, having spent most of my 36 years of service in the North.

First and foremost, I must say that I was not directly involved in any of the decision-making concerning the relocation of the Inuit from Inukjuak to Grise Fiord. However, I was posted at Craig Harbour and Grise Fiord with the RCMP for a number of years, and I came to know and respect the residents very well.

As a member of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, I joined in 1952 and served until 1965, serving in such northern detachments as Frobisher Bay, or Iqaluit, Craig Harbour, Grise Fiord, Pond Inlet in the eastern Arctic and Fort Providence in the west.

In 1965 I left the force to join the federal Department of Northern Affairs as an area administrator of Broughton Island and in Pond Inlet before moving to Fort Smith in 1969 as the assistant regional director with the Government of the Northwest Territories.

I was regional director at Baffin Region in 1971, and lived in Iqaluit until 1975, at which time I moved to Yellowknife.

I was appointed Deputy Commissioner of the Northwest Territories in 1979 to 1984. In 1984 to 1986 I was the Deputy Minister and principal adviser to the elected executive committee of the Northwest Territories.

In 1986 I moved to Ottawa as Deputy Minister Federal-Provincial Relations, and retired in 1988.

However, more relevant to this Commission is that period of my career as a member of the RCMP in the eastern Arctic, in particular my time at Grise Fiord.

As I mentioned earlier, I joined the RCMP in 1952. After training, I was posted to Ottawa for a short period of time, then assigned to Iqaluit for summer duties before being transferred to Calgary, Alberta. In 1954 I was again transferred to Iqaluit, this time as the second man on that detachment with a corporal in charge.

Iqaluit was a United States air base at the time with 50 or 60 personnel, both military and civilian. The majority of the Inuit lived in small camps surrounding the bay with six or eight families living near the base where the men were employed.

Beside routine police duties on the base, the RCMP were responsible for the medical and social well being of the Inuit in the area, which gave me an opportunity for me to start learning Inuktitut and the customs of the people.

I also travelled by dog sled and made several patrols with Inuit guides to camps surrounding Frobisher Bay and to the community of Lake Harbour on the south coast of Baffin Island and north to Pangnirtung.

In 1955 I was transferred to Craig Harbour, a detachment on the southeast coast of Ellesmere Island. Travel to Craig Harbour was via the government hospital supply ship for the eastern Arctic, the *C.D Howe*. Also on board was an Inuit family from Inukjuaq at that time.

Craig Harbour was a two-man detachment with a corporal in charge. There were only two Inuit families living at the detachment site, the RCMP special constable and his family who were from Pond Inlet and Tomasee (PH) from Port Harrison or Inukjuaq who looked after the trading post. The remaining Inuit families lived on Lindstrom Peninsula approximately 40 miles west of the detachment.

The corporal in charge of the detachment was Glen Sargent who had extensive northern experience. He came north with Superintendent Henry Larsen on the RCMP schooner *St. Roch* in the mid-1940s, and later was in charge of Herschel Island detachment and Spence Bay detachment before coming to Craig Harbour in 1953.

That was the same time that the Inuit people were relocated from Inukjuaq and Pond Inlet to that area.

Corporal Sargent spoke Inuktitut fluently and was well respected by the Inuit. I was told by Glen that the main reason for building a detachment at Craig Harbour back in 1922 had been to establish Canadian sovereignty over the Arctic islands. However, since the Inuit had moved into the area, sovereignty became a secondary concern and providing assistance to them



was the main purpose of our detachment.

Like Frobisher Bay, the RCMP were responsible for the medical and welfare of the Inuit. However, unlike Frobisher Bay there was no airstrip and no military medic to give assistance in the event of an emergency.

After the ship departed, we were isolated and would not see anyone from the south until ship time in the following year. However, we would travel to Resolute by dog sled every spring, a distance of 300 miles, and at that time usually made a trip south.

The RCMP had several large boats, and a great deal of time was spent with the Inuit men during September and October assisting with their hunting of walrus and whale which was required for dog food during the winter months.

During the winter, the Inuit men would travel to Craig Harbour about once a month to trade. Because it was a long two-day trip, they usually came by themselves.

When at Craig Harbour, we seldom saw the women and children unless they were sick and we would travel to the camp to assist in any way we could.

During my first winter at Craig Harbour, I lived with Simon Akpaliapik and his family at Lindstrom Peninsula for two or three months learning the customs and language and trying to learn how to drive a dog team.

By the spring of 1956 it was decided that Craig Harbour would be closed and a new detachment at Grise Fiord, which would be about 12 kilometres from Lindstrom Peninsula. The detachment would be brought in by ship. The Inuit men were hired and the old buildings were dismantled and transported to the new site during the spring of 1956 by dog sled.

The ship arrived in late August of 1956 and was in port for two days while the Inuit received medical attention. Materials for three new buildings plus the annual supply and trade goods were off-loaded from the ship.

All of the men were employed to assist in the building of the new detachment which consisted of an office and living quarters, a warehouse and a house for the special constable. All buildings were closed in by early October. We again helped the Inuit men with their annual walrus hunt.

Like Craig Harbour, there were only two families living at Grise Fiord. There was special Constable Kyak and family, and Josipee (PH) and his family. Tomasee (PH) had moved back to the camp at Lindstrom Peninsula to be closer to his relatives. A small wooden house had been built at Grise Fiord for Josipee.

During my time at Grise Fiord I spent a considerable amount of time travelling by both boat and dog sled. On average I spent three to four months away from the detachment with the longest single patrol from Grise Fiord to Resolute Bay, back to Grise Fiord, north to Alexandra Fiord, a detachment on the east coast of Ellesmere Island, across Kane Basin to Greenland, back to Ellesmere Island to Devon Island, across the ice cap in an attempt to reach an old detachment at Dundas Harbour, and back to Grise Fiord.

We, that is, special constable Kyak and Akpaliapik and I, driving three dog teams were away for two months and travelled well over 1,000 miles.

Patrols such as this were considered regular police routine and did not vary much except in time and distance. Patrolling took up most of our time.

There was always plenty of game at Grise Fiord, such as seal, walrus, whale, fox and polar bear. I never saw or heard of anyone in want or hungry.

Pilot is correct to note that the primary purpose of the RCMP detachment was to assert Canadian sovereignty. Extending this rationale to the purpose of the relocations is inaccurate.

The RCMP assisted Tomasee at the trading post by keeping the financial records for each family. After consultation with Tomasee and the Inuit men, the preparation of requisitions for supplies were sent to the Department of Northern Affairs. They would be filled and sent up on the sea lift the following year.

There were times, of course, when the store would run out of such items as sugar, tea, and flour usually in the spring just before ship time. The RCMP would lend what they could from their supplies. On one occasion I recall supplies had to be air dropped into Grise Fiord during the spring.

I personally have only pleasant memories of my years at Craig Harbour and Grise Fiord. The Inuit were my teacher, my guide, and my friend. Without their support and assistance and companionship, I may not have survived some of the situations I found myself in when travelling by dog sled and by boat.

The question of promises and the purpose of the Inuit being at Grise Fiord, again I must state that I was a very minor player. However, there was never any doubt in my mind and in the mind of Glen Sargent that the Inuit had been made a promise that should they wish to return to Inukjuaq the government would take them back.

I attempted to have the federal government recognize this commitment as far back as 1973 during my time as regional director at Iqaluit. It was at that time that several families asked for financial assistance to return to Inukjuaq, but it was most difficult for the federal government to make a commitment one way or another.

I am sure that had the government addressed the problem at that time, we wouldn't be sitting here today.

I shouldn't really comment on sovereignty. It is really not in my realm of expertise. However, I do know that the purpose for establishing RCMP detachments on Ellesmere Island during the 1920s was to show the flag and maintain sovereignty over the Arctic islands.

Therefore, if the RCMP were at Craig Harbour to show the flag and to establish sovereignty over the Arctic islands and they were there only on a two- or three-year assignment, then surely to goodness the Inuit who were living and hunting in the area on a more permanent basis were also there to maintain and establish sovereignty.

With those brief words, Mr. Chairman, I have given an introduction of myself and my short period of time at Grise Fiord and I am prepared to answer any questions you may have to ask me.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you. Thank you for coming.

On the promise that was made, and that makes no doubt in your mind as to whether it was made or not, obviously you were made aware that people were unhappy in 1973 when the Government of the Northwest Territories at the end chartered a flight to bring some of those people back to Inukjuaq and to see what was the situation there.

When were you made aware for the first time that people were unhappy and some of them wanted to return? Was this discussed in the 1950s when you were in Grise Fiord or also in Resolute?

Could you expand a bit on that?

**BOB PILOT:** The only knowledge I would have of persons indicating that they were unhappy was when several of the single young men approached

the detachment stating that there were no single ladies living in Grise Fiord and they were most anxious to find themselves a wife.

I believe one of them moved to Resolute Bay for a short period of time in an attempt to find a wife.

But I never had the people approach me and literally say "We are unhappy and we would like to go back to Inukjuaq", not during my time as a policeman in Grise Fiord.

I must qualify that. I was just learning the language. Most of the discussions were with Glen Sargent, the corporal, who was very fluent in Inuktitut and he kept me apprised of the situation.

During the early years before I arrived in 1955, I understand there was some unhappiness. The area was not at all what they expected and the living conditions were not what they had expected. But the years I was in Grise Fiord happened to be bumper years for fox trapping. So the people were relatively well off in that regard. If you can trap 600 or 700 fox in a season, then your spending power is up and you are able to buy things that perhaps you were not able to buy in earlier years.

That is the reason why we ran out of food a lot of times in the store, because of the good trapping that they happened to have during those peak years.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Later on when you said that you attempted to convince or to have the federal government address the issue, you did that through letters, through meetings with officials in the federal government in DIAND. Could you tell us a bit more?

**BOB PILOT:** Yes. I was the regional director at Iqaluit, at Frobisher, responsible for Baffin Island which included Grise Fiord. The Inuit then at that time expressed to me the desire to return to Inukjuaq. I communicated that to our commissioner, Commissioner Stuart Hodgson, at the time. It was he one who was responsible for chartering an airplane and having it sent into Grise Fiord, picking up the families that were interested in going back to Inukjuaq.

The purpose was for them to have an opportunity to see their old home and to see if there were houses available for them when they would arrive back in Inukjuaq. We sent one government representative with the aircraft. He was the settlement manager at Grise Fiord at the time, a man by the name of John Marcand.

He did prepare a report. It should be on file. I don't have a copy of it myself. The correspondence, of course, would have been between the Commissioner of the day and the federal government.

Later when I went to Ottawa, the question continually came to the attention of the Commissioner. There is considerable correspondence between the Commissioner's office and the Minister's office stating that the people wished to return to Inukjuaq. At that time we started, for want of a better word, nickel and diming each other to death at the expense of the people by saying who is going to pay for it.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Was there a jurisdictional problem there in the sense that northern Quebec was not part of the Northwest Territories and you had to rely on another arm of the federal government, the ministry or the Department of Indian Affairs? Would it have been different if it had been part of the Government of the Northwest Territories, if you had authority in this area? Was this a problem in terms of the way that the bureaucracy

Stuart Hodgson was a member of the Northwest Territories Legislative Council from 1964-1967 and was Deputy Commissioner under Ben Sivertz from 1965-1967. In 1967 he became the first Northwest Territories Commissioner to reside in the Territories

responded?

**BOB PILOT:** Yes, that is exactly the problem. There were three jurisdictions involved at that point: the Government of the Northwest Territories, the federal government, and the Quebec government.

But more so our problem was with the federal government back in 1973 to 1978 or 1979. We were like a branch of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. We negotiated our financial budgets through the department.

If there was nothing in our budget to handle that sort of a situation, we would then turn to the department and say "You made the promise; you provide the funding."

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** At that time did you sense that the problem was money, or was it a problem of principle in acknowledging that the promise had been made and there was a commitment? Was it both or was it mainly money that prevented government acting upon this?

**BOB PILOT:** My own perception is that the federal government did not wish to accept or acknowledge that a commitment may have been made. I always believed that a commitment had been made. I put that in every one of my reports that I ever wrote, that I believed that a commitment had been made and the federal government were a little wishy-washy on whether they did or not.

Secondary was money. Yes, indeed. We did move one family from Resolute Bay to Inukjuaq and when we sent the invoice to the department, then it started: "You said it was only going to cost X dollars, and now it is XX dollars. How come?"

It got right down to, as I call it, nicke; and diming each other.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Now it seems that the federal government accepts that the commitment was made and in their position to the House of Commons it was clear.

What is your perspective on the federal government accepting now that the promise was made and that people have to be returned and there has to be houses built in Inukjuaq in the 1990s as opposed to if it had been done at the time when the request was put to them?

How do you see that? It is one of the problems we have before us. There is an acknowledgement now that this promise was made whether after one year, two years or three years. The principle is not contested, but this acknowledgement came very late.

Could you expand, or do you have views on that? What is the effect of acknowledging this commitment so many years after it was made, at least years after 1973 when you tried to have the federal government recognize the commitment and to act upon it?

**BOB PILOT:** As a personal view, I think that the government, whether it be late or not, should indeed recognize and accept their responsibilities and issue – for want of a better term – an apology for the situation they found themselves in.

I don't think there was any intent back in 1953 to deceive the Inuit people. That is the way life was. You can't view 1953 through the eyes of 1993. But just on that principle of denying or not admitting that there was a commitment, I think that that is bad enough and there should be an apology made in that respect.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Could you tell us what the snow conditions were like at Craig Harbour? Was it possible to make igloos there during the winter at some point, and likewise at Grise Fiord?

**BOB PILOT:** Snow conditions were much different than in Inukjuaq, if that is what you are referring to, sir.

The method of making an igloo, for example, in Inukjuaq or even in Iqaluit was much different because of the lack of snow. In Inukjuaq you would cut your snow blocks. Because of the depth of the snow you could get snow blocks cut vertically into the snow, whereas in the High Arctic you had to cut the snow off of the sea ice and you only sometimes had four, five or six inches of snow sitting on the sea ice. So they had to learn a whole new way of building an igloo. I think that is the way I should put it.

There is much less snow in the High Arctic than there is in the lower part of the Arctic.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** These patrols that you talked about, when the Inuit accompanied you on them, were they paid for these excursions and how?

**BOB PILOT:** Yes. If we hired an employed civilian, they would be paid. They were paid through a voucher which had to be recorded and sent to Ottawa. We kept the books for the trading post, so we would pay the Inuit and credit that amount to his ledger so he would be able to have the funds needed to carry on his family.

We also provided rations to the family while we were on patrol.

Sometimes the Inuit would accompany us, for example, on a trip to Resolute Bay. We would hire two employed civilians along with our special constable. If there was any of the other Inuit that wanted to travel to Resolute Bay, they would come along with us, but they didn't get paid. They would come because travelling in a caravan is much safer than travelling as an individual.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** When would you say is the first time you became aware that people actually wanted to return to Inukjuaq?

**BOB PILOT:** I think it was in the early 1970s when I went back to the eastern Arctic and was working out of Iqaluit that the word was coming down that the people were not as happy as they could be living in Grise Fiord.

Also, at that time there was a lot of discussion concerning the James Bay agreement. I think they were looking towards their families back in Inukjuaq and the effect that this might have on them.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** We were told in the early April hearings that some of the RCMP would ask the Inuit to dress in their best clothing, their Sunday clothing, if you will, at ship time. Do you remember any of this kind of activity?

**BOB PILOT:** I have no knowledge of that. They always dressed very well for ship time, I must admit. They were always dressed in their best.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Those are the questions I have, thank you.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Commissioner Sillett, please.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Thank you very much.

Sometimes I get confused because we hear different information from different people. I remember in April very clearly hearing, even in Grise Fiord – and I know I have been told quite often since the April hearings that there clearly are many differences between Grise and Resolute – that there were many people who were very hungry, particularly in the early days.

It was very, very hard going to a place where there was absolutely nothing. Many of the hunters were not accustomed to the geography and they had to spend a lot of time becoming acquainted with the land, becoming acquainted with the areas where they could hunt and bring some food home to their children and wives.

We were also told that those times were very hungry times and there were times when some of these people would go to the dump. In the case of Grise Fiord, they would go the dumps of the RCMP. They would, for example, find cans of molasses, scrape it out and eat it. Yet I hear another kind of testimony here.

I was wondering why there is such a difference. I am getting more and more confused as the day goes on because there are so many differences from what we have heard in April and what we have heard today.

Could you try to explain those differences to me?

**BOB PILOT:** I will certainly try. Although I wasn't in Grise Fiord in 1953 to 1955, I do know that the people did find it very, very difficult and that they did indeed go hungry. Some of the RCMP reports indicate that – Glen Sargent took the Inuit men caribou hunting on two occasions to get fresh meat because there was very little fresh meat for the people.

I imagine – and I am just saying this in my – my imaginary concept would be yes, they would find it very difficult that first couple of years because they were learning, as you have already said yourself, a whole new way of hunting. There was the dark period. There was a lack of willows on the tundra which they experienced and had in Inukjuaq for keeping their homes warm. There was no such thing in the High Arctic. So they did indeed have to adapt to that and to become accustomed to a new hunting experience.

When I arrived, they were already, I thought, well adapted to the area. I suppose I was naive in my thinking because I only experienced several years in Iqaluit and short dog sled patrols to Lake Harbour and to Pangnirtung. But I did go hunting with the people in those areas and saw the way they lived. When I got to Grise Fiord I found nothing really too different. They were somewhat similar conditions. The houses they lived in, by today's standard, were terrible.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Thank you.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** Can you help us at all with respect to the conditions that the Inuit faced immediately upon being landed from the ship?

We were told at the April hearings that there was nothing but shoal, that they were just let off right on the shore and it was shoal-like conditions. So it was very difficult to pitch a tent, which is all that they had, because there was nothing to anchor it.

Do you have any knowledge of that?

**BOB PILOT:** At Craig Harbour, they stayed at Craig Harbour for a short

period of time and were transported from Craig Harbour to Lindstrom Peninsula by boat. I only go by what Corporal Sargent told me.

I have copies of his reports that indicate that he made two trips, he and the other constable made two trips between Craig Harbour and Lindstrom Peninsula. Lindstrom Peninsula was chosen because it was a grassy knoll on a point. Inuit houses were located there from by-gone days of the Thule culture, or whatever. So that was the reason they chose that site.

I could be mistaken, but I was under the impression that when they arrived and they stayed at Craig Harbour, that several trips were made around the area to look for a site that would be suitable for a community to set up. Craig Harbour was not suitable and would not sustain a small community. The harbour was very shallow. When the tide went out, you had about a half a mile of mud flats. It was late freezing up because of the constant movement of the ice. It wasn't a good area for even the detachment. Consequently, it was moved to Grise Fiord.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** You don't know or didn't hear anything about the conditions at Resolute Bay?

**BOB PILOT:** No.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you. I think that will be all. Thank you for coming and sharing this with us. Thank you very much.

This concludes the afternoon. We will resume at 7:30 with presentations on the sovereignty issue by Gordon Smith, Donat Pharand and Marc Denhez.

I would like to ask people who have the earphones to bring them back in order to get them recharged during dinnertime.

We will resume at 7:30 in this room.

Thank you

— Dinner adjournment at 5:35 p.m.

— Upon resuming at 7:40 p.m.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Good evening.

We are going to have a presentation on the sovereignty issue. We have three learned persons who will speak one after the other.

Mr. Gordon Smith will speak first, then Donat Pharand and Marc Denhez. I would like to ask you three to introduce yourselves more properly and give us a bit of your background for the record and then you may proceed. The understanding is that each of you is going to make a presentation and then possibly discuss among yourselves, have some exchanges, and the Commissioners will, of course, ask questions.

You may proceed whenever you are ready. Mr. Smith, please.

**GORDON SMITH:** My name is Gordon Smith. I am a former university professor and public servant, now retired, but still active. I think that is sufficient for a brief introduction of me.

**DONAT PHARAND:** Mon nom est Donat Pharand. Je suis un vieux professeur à la retraite que l'on appelle professeur émérite, ce qui veut dire que j'ai probablement déjà eu certains mérites avant ma retraite.

J'ai enseigné pendant 30 ans le droit international et un certain nombre d'autres matières que je ne connaissais pas mais que je devais enseigner,

The sovereignty panel consisted of three expert opinions on the history of Canadian Arctic sovereignty concerns and activities, providing context for the Commissioners ahead of the research presentations during the following two days that would debate the intentions and motivations of government.

Gordon Smith was a historian specializing in Canadian Arctic sovereignty

Donat Pharand was a Professor at the University of Ottawa and legal scholar, specializing in sovereignty and the international law of the sea pertaining to the Arctic regions

comme tous les professeurs. J'ai déjà cédé à la tentation d'écrire certaines choses sur l'Arctique, en particulier trois livres et peut-être une soixantaine d'articles; je ne me souviens plus, ça fait trop longtemps.

Alors voilà.

**COPRÉSIDENT RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Merci.

**MARC DENHEZ:** My name is Marc Denhez. I am a lawyer.

Between 1979 and 1982 I had the honour to be the senior counsel for the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada. At the time, one of the files which I was involved with was the question of various sovereignty claims pertaining to the far North.

That is, I think, sufficient at this point.

**GORDON SMITH:** As I understand this assignment, you want from us a brief overview in three different versions, I suppose, of the question of sovereignty, not so much to relate it to the subject which you have under consideration in particular, but rather to put it in a more general perspective.

I am going to try to give a very brief summary of the historical aspect primarily of sovereignty from the time when Canada first became involved until close to the crucial time that you have under consideration.

I realize, and I hope everyone else does, that this is literally impossible to do adequately in the time that is available to me. I will be attempting throughout to be very brief and concise. I will have to speak rapidly. I will only be able to hit the highlights as I go along.

For Canada, her involvement with the North came only after Confederation in 1867. Prior to Confederation, as everyone knows, there were only two little colonies in the St. Lawrence Valley. There were several colonies in the maritimes. There was the Selkirk settlement in what is now Manitoba, and there was British Columbia. None of these colonies came close to the North.

After Confederation, all of these territories came to Canada as a result of two great Imperial Orders in Council which transferred these territories to the Canadian government.

The first one came in 1870. This was the transfer of the Hudson's Bay Company territories. These territories were essentially two in number. First there was the traditional territory of the Hudson's Bay Company; in other words, Rupert's Land which, in the company's terms, included all of the territories draining into Hudson Bay, James Bay and Hudson Strait. This meant the entire drainage basin around Hudson Bay and also, according to this concept, the more southerly part of Baffin Island. That was Rupert's Land.

The second component was what was called the old Northwestern Territory. That comprised all British continental territory in North America west of Rupert's Land and Hudson Bay, excluding British Columbia and, of course, Alaska. It meant what we now call the Yukon and the drainage basins of the Mackenzie and Copper Mine Rivers, along with some other small rivers draining into the Arctic Ocean rather than into Hudson Bay.

These were the territories transferred to Canada in 1870. The transfer of 1880 was designed to put into Canadian hands all remaining British territory in North America. Essentially this comprised the Arctic islands. There were doubts in both British and Canadian minds about various aspects of this transfer.

But to make a long story short, it was accomplished by another Imperial

Marc Denhez was senior counsel to Inuit Tapirisat of Canada from 1979 to 1982, working on issues related to sovereignty in the far North

For further reading, see Lackenbauer (2020), Smith (2014), Smith (2019), and Smith (2020).



Order in Council dated July 1, 1880. It was stated to transfer to Canada all remaining British territories in North America that were not already within Canada with the exception of the colony of Newfoundland and its dependencies.

By these two measures Canada became proprietor of this enormous empire which actually included everything north of the American border in North America except for Alaska, Newfoundland and its dependencies and Greenland. It was, of course, an enormous empire. So much for the transfers.

I am going to try now to pass rapidly through several different phases bringing us down to the date which is of most concern to you.

I would say there was first a phase of about 15 years lasting from 1880 until 1895. This was a period of inaction and relative unconcern. Actually, little was going on.

What the Canadian government tried to do initially was to find out what legislative or other measures it might take in this vast empire to which it had fallen heir. They made inquiries, particularly of the Hudson's Bay Company.

These inquiries were unrewarding. They couldn't in fact find out anything that seemed to need attention. So in effect, they decided to do nothing. A Canadian Order in Council was passed in 1882 saying that until there seemed to be some need for legislative or other measures in the North, nothing need be done.

Actually, two or three things did happen that are of some significance. In 1876 they had already carved out a provisional territory from this enormous empire, Keewatin, located approximately where Keewatin is today. Then in 1882 they created four more provisional territories in the south, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Assiniboia, Athabaska, these occupying approximately the area of Alberta and Saskatchewan today. Nothing much happened other than that in this 15-year period.

That brings me to the next phase which I would date from approximately 1895 to the eve of World War I. This, in contrast to the first period, was a period of considerable concern and considerable action.

There were a number of things going on at the time that were of concern to the Canadian government and about which the Canadian government was becoming increasingly worried. I will try to summarize very briefly.

There was the dispute over the Alaska boundary which was heating up. There was the dispute over the first seals in the Bering Sea, which was settled, but left a rather bad taste in some mouths.

There were the activities of whalers, largely American, in the Beaufort Sea, in Hudson Bay and in the waters of Baffin Island. The Canadian authorities were concerned about two things here. They were concerned about unlicensed whaling and they were concerned about what was going on between the whalers and the Native peoples that they encountered.

There had been some explorations mainly by Americans which were also of concern. One thinks here of Greely and Shawatka (PH) and George Tyson, who was actually working for an American proprietor named Howgate. That one is of particular interest because the expedition that was sent out, the Tyson expedition, planned to take a number of Eskimos, as they were called then, from Baffin Island and settle them in Greenland.

It seems to be a sort of foreshadowing of what happened about 75 years afterwards. It came to nothing. They never got the Eskimos to Ellesmere Island and the whole scheme fell through. But that was the sort of thing that

For further reading, see Kikkert and Lackenbauer (2014).

For further discussion of this period, see S. D. Grant (2010).

was of concern to the Canadian government.

There was also the gold mining industry which was developing in the Yukon and that was bringing a lot of lawlessness and the like to that area.

These were at least some of the things which were of concern to the Canadian government. In consequence, the Canadian government took some rather comprehensive action.

First they passed a couple of Orders in Council in 1895 and in 1897. The one in 1895 organized the remaining unorganized territories into four more provisional districts, the Yukon, Mackenzie, Ungava and Franklin. That meant that there were now nine provisional districts altogether and they took in all of these new territories which Canada had received. The one of most direct interest here is Franklin, of course. That comprised roughly the Arctic archipelago.

They found a few things wrong with this Order in Council, so they issued another one in 1897 trying to correct the first one. It made some adjustments. The adjustment that is of most concern here is the territorial delimitation of Franklin District. The earlier Order in Council simply said that Franklin District comprised all the lands within a line drawn around the archipelago as it was then known.

The 1897 Order in Council, on the other hand, established boundaries along the 141st meridian on the west and the 60th meridian on the east, that one having to go down through the channel separating Greenland from the Arctic islands.

Also they sent a number of expeditions to the North under William Wakim in 1897, A.P. Low in 1903-4, Major Moody of the Mounted Police in 1904-5, and the famous Captain Bernier in 1906-7, 1908-9, 1910-11. These were to a large extent sovereignty voyages. They landed on various islands and made proclamations of sovereignty. They were also supposed to look after things like whaling. They were supposed to license the whalers. They were supposed to gather customs duties on goods that were being brought in.

They passed an amendment to the Fisheries Act in 1906 which said rather obliquely that Hudson Bay was completely territorial water of Canada. Then in 1907 Senator Poirier made his famous pronouncement in the Senate on February 20th of that year in which he stated more definitely than had been done up until then that Canada was entitled to claim all the lands between the meridians which had already been laid down, the 141st on the west, the 60th on the east, all the way up to the North Pole.

This illustrates the sort of action that the Canadian authorities tried to take to establish their control over these vast new territories.

In the meantime, other worries were appearing. Between 1898 and 1902 the Norwegian explorer Otto Sverdrup carried on his great expedition which resulted in the discovery and the claiming for Norway of the so-called Sverdrup Islands west of Ellesmere.

Between 1903 and 1906 another Norwegian, Roald Amundsen took a ship through the Northwest Passage for the first time. Then in 1909 the American explorer Robert Peary got near the North Pole and claimed the North Pole and all the surrounding area for the United States.

In the meantime, another American, Frederick Cook, had claimed to reach the North Pole. After the first flush of excitement, not many people believed that he had actually got there.

The Sector Theory was an early approach to determining sovereignty over the uncharted Arctic Islands. See Kikkert and Lackenbauer (2014)

Also, Americans in particular were making strong statements to the effect that sovereignty in such territories was not valid without genuine occupation. In this they were supported by the outcome of the Berlin Conference on Africa which had taken place in 1884 and 1885. There was a statement out of that conference to the effect that sovereignty in such territories – they were thinking particularly of Africa then – sovereignty would not be valid without genuine occupation. The Americans were saying that they would not recognize sovereignty anywhere without true occupation.

By the eve of World War I, the Canadian government was taking action as best it could to attempt to establish sovereignty over these northern territories, but there were things to worry about.

The next period is another period of quiet, essentially during the period of World War I, lasting from approximately 1913 or so until 1919. Everybody was occupied with the war. There was not much going on in the North.

The only thing that needs any particular mention is the Canadian Arctic expedition led by the explorer Stefansson. The only thing that needs to be noted about that, I think, is that Stefansson discovered and claimed a number of new islands west of the Sverdrup Islands. He was authorized to claim such discoveries by both the Canadian government and the Imperial government.

So much for that sort of interlude.

Then comes another period of very considerable worry and a great deal of activity. This takes us from approximately 1919 to 1930. What were the causes for concern? I will try to summarize.

There was first the little embroglio with Denmark over Greenland. This was in 1920 and 1921. As the matter developed, Canadian authorities were afraid that Denmark was going to try to take over Greenland.

I am going to pass this over for the moment, just saying that this matter was conclusively settled in 1921. But there is a little story here which needs to be told and has never been told.

If one of the members of the Commission feels inclined to put this in the form of a question when we get to that period, I would be glad to provide a little more detail. If I am able to do so, I think I can say that this will be spoken of publicly for the first time. It is something that has remained unknown. But there is a clear answer to it and I think I can give it to you.

There were continuing activities by American explorers which were not particularly acceptable to the Canadian government. The Canadian government, of course, was trying to establish regulations. Some of the foreign explorers, particularly Americans, were not always careful about observing Canadian regulations, such as Donald MacMillan and Bob Bartlett in the 1920s.

This was also the beginning of the air age, and now there were plane flights taking place over the Arctic. Some of them were going over Canadian territory, plane flights by such as Amundsen, George Hubert Wilkins, and particularly Richard Byrd. Byrd in particular got in the bad books of the Canadian authorities because he landed on Ellesmere Island and carried on some of his flights there.

There were continuing American statements to the effect that the United States would not recognize sovereignty without occupation. One of the most famous of these was made by the American Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes.

Then there was the little embroglio, if I can use that phrase again, with Norway over the Sverdrup Islands. This was settled conclusively in 1930 in Canada's favour. I am going to pass that one over too. If possible, I would like to come back in the question period to that because here again there is something that needs to be said that is often overlooked. There is a mistaken impression about this affair which should be corrected.

What steps did the Canadian government take to counter all this? Their action took several forms. First they organized the Northwest Territories Council in 1921. It was charged with responsibility for administration in the northern territories. They returned to the Low-Bernier northern voyages, now in the form of the Eastern Arctic Patrol, which became an annual event starting in 1922. Again the purpose was to assert Canadian sovereignty, to carry on a certain amount of administrative work, to license activities that were going on, and so on.

The federal government and the Northwest Territories Council passed a number of laws and ordinances regulating activities in the Northern Territories. There was, for example, an ordinance making it necessary for scientists and explorers to get a licence if they were going to go north. There was another one protecting Eskimo archaeological sites. There were others.

Perhaps the most significant in this context was a measure – I forget whether it was an Order in Council or a Territorial Ordinance. I think it must have been a federal Order in Council. At any rate, it established the Arctic Islands Game Preserve. This Arctic Islands Game Preserve intended to protect the game in the North and followed again the sector lines on east and west going right up to the North Pole.

All of this had rather happy consequences for the Canadian government. By about 1930 after the little affair with Norway had been settled, the Canadian government was able to take satisfaction and say things are going very much our way.

The explorers were now getting their licences and obeying Canadian regulations. The American government had shown no disposition to support explorers who got into trouble with Canadian authorities.

I should have mentioned both in connection with the earlier period of stress before World War I and in connection with this period of stress, the Canadian government had sent up Mounted Police in both periods and there had been a number of Mounted Police posts established, particularly in the second phase starting in 1922 when the police established posts at Pond Inlet and at Craig Harbour on Ellesmere Island.

It seemed that Canada was out of the woods, at least for the time being. The 1930s from approximately 1930 to 1941 was a period of relative quiet. This was, of course, the period of the great depression and there was quite a withdrawal from the North anyway. But there seemed to be not very much to worry about.

One event that took place in the 1930s which was of very considerable importance, I should think, and yet was apparently almost completely overlooked in official circles, was the settlement of the dispute between Norway and Denmark over eastern Greenland in 1933. This went to the World Court, the Permanent Court of International Justice. The Court confirmed Danish sovereignty over all Greenland, which meant the major island and the little surrounding islands in the face of this Norwegian attempt to establish a Norwegian territory in part of eastern Greenland. The decision, again, was in

The establishment of the Arctic Islands Game Preserve indicated that the area was under the administrative and regulatory authority of Canada – an initial step in solidifying jurisdictional sovereignty.

This is an important, if minor, indication of the acceptance of Canadian sovereign authority.

For further reading, see Morrison (1985) and Dick (2001).

favour of Denmark.

I have seen a memo signed by the Under-Secretary of State, O.D. Skelton, which says that this settlement was really of practically no concern to Canada.

The memo said that about the only significance this would have for Canada might be in regard to minor matters of trade. I think he and others who thought in those terms missed the point completely. What this did was confirm Danish sovereignty over this enormous island which was about 90 or 95 per cent unoccupied. It established, if there ever were need for support in this for Canada, a very powerful precedent which Canada undoubtedly would have invoked if her sovereignty over the Arctic islands had ever been seriously challenged.

Of course, the Arctic islands are not the same as Greenland. Greenland is one huge island with a number of little islands around it. Our Arctic islands are an enormous archipelago comprising islands large and small.

But I think the parallel is sufficiently close that if there ever had been after that any serious legal challenge to Canada's sovereignty over the Arctic islands, no court could have done other than rule in Canada's favour.

There was another bit of business going on at that time which would have made the Canadian authorities feel better still if they had known about it.

Some few years ago I ran into an article which was written by somebody who was doing a doctoral dissertation on these matters. He had been able to get access to a number of documents in Washington which had previously been unavailable.

These documents – he was able to cite them. I don't remember the author's name and I don't remember the journal and I don't remember the name of the article at the moment. I guess it doesn't matter.

Anyway, he cited these American statements emanating from high officials which said that there seemed to be no longer any reason to deny Canadian sovereignty over the Arctic islands. Needless to say, the Americans didn't tell us that. But it is there for anyone to see today. This dates from the mid-1930s.

I come to the final phase.

How is my time, Donat?

**DONAT PHARAND:** You are doing fine. Take another five or ten.

**GORDON SMITH:** This takes us from 1941 to the present so far as these hearings are concerned, in other words, 1953.

Here I am going to try to be very brief because what I am saying, in a way, is repetition of what Gordon Robertson said this morning.

There were two periods of stress here between 1941 and 1953, first, the period of World War II after the United States entered the war and then, after an interval, the early stages of the cold war.

The World War period was particularly troublesome from a Canadian point of view. Here were these vast defence projects going on in the North. They were instigated and carried out largely by Americans, but with Canadian consent, co-operation and permission. But it meant a massive American presence in the North. There was some concern that Canada was losing her grip on these northern territories.

I should point out in passing that in this war period almost all the activity took place in the continental area, not the islands. The only islands that

were involved in any major way during World War II were a few in the southeastern extremity, particularly Southampton and Baffin where there were American bases. Otherwise, the activity took place in the northern part of the continent.

One thinks of these vast projects, the Canol project, the Alaska Highway, the northwest staging route and in the east the ferry routes to Britain, the crimson route, and in the central part, meaning essentially northern Ontario, a defensive line of sorts there.

As Gordon Robertson pointed out this morning, there was not really much Canadian concern that the United States was about to make an effort to actually take over the Canadian north. It was not seen as a direct American challenge, nor was there any great fear that there was anything wrong with all the arrangements that had been made.

All of these projects, of course, required a lot of negotiation. There were agreements at various kinds, treaties and so on.

But the Americans throughout showed themselves as being willing to accommodate Canadian wishes. They said repeatedly that they had no wish to interfere with Canadian sovereignty.

Why, then, quite a large amount of Canadian worry?

Canadian worries arose from the fact that in spite of all of these favourable arrangements which had been made and in spite of all of the assurances that the Americans were continually giving, nevertheless, it seemed as if events were transpiring in such a way that the real control in the region might become American rather than Canadian. Just as events were going on, there seemed to be danger of an actual American takeover in spite of all the agreements that had been made. It was, if you like, in legal terms, the contrast between *de jure* sovereignty and *de facto* sovereignty. They weren't so much concerned about the *de jure* aspect, but they were very worried from time to time about the *de facto* aspect.

I will cite a couple of instances of how this Canadian alarm manifested itself. There was a famous MM memorandum, as I like to call it. This was the memorandum written by the British High Commissioner Malcolm MacDonald when he came back from a trip to the northwest in early 1943. He wrote this lengthy memorandum to Prime Minister Mackenzie King and he scared the daylights out of the responsible officials in Ottawa.

He said, in effect, that in fact the Americans were taking over the Canadian north. He said that action must be taken.

The other little thing I will cite is what you can read in Mackenzie King's diaries, the diaries of the Prime Minister. This applies both to the war period and to the early cold war period.

Mackenzie King, as everyone knows, confided his thoughts to his diaries. He expressed the fear time and time again that there was going on or there was danger of being an American takeover in the north.

There was a period of relative quiet for two or three years, a couple of years anyway. The Americans were withdrawing from the north. Before the end of World War II their withdrawal continued. By about early 1946 there were hardly any Americans left. So all of Canada's concerns relating to the World War II period had been satisfactorily settled.

But then came the cold war, and there was a repetition of what had gone on in World War II. Again, a massive American presence in the North, this time extending into the islands. Huge projects going on. One thinks partic-

ularly of the far northern weather stations, the joint Arctic weather stations, JAWS, as they were called, and the warning lines, especially the DEW Line along the northern coast.

So for a time there was a renewal of Canadian concern over such matters, again, not so much caused by any fear that the Americans were going to try deliberately to take over the North and not that there was anything wrong with the agreements which had been made. They seemed to be quite air-tight and favourable to Canada. Again, there were repeated American assurances that they had no intention to interfere with Canadian sovereignty. Again, it was a fear of an actual takeover by the Americans in spite of all the arrangements that had been made. I think it is fair to say that Canadian fears on this score lessened as the cold war proceeded.

That really brings to a close what I was going to say, but I would just like to leave one thought with you. It may not have been apparent in what I have tried to say but in fact during almost all of the period that I have had under discussion, right from the transfers in 1870 and 1880 until about the end of World War II Canada's concerns about Arctic sovereignty related almost exclusively to land. The issue of Arctic waters had not yet arisen in any significant or tangible way. They were worried about their sovereignty over land.

I like to think of there being three major periods here: one is the period I have just mentioned; the period up until 1945 when concern was almost exclusively with land issues; and then there is what I like to call a period of transition lasting from about 1945 until 1960.

In that 15-year period approximately, the land issues receded and were virtually settled, but the water issues were coming to the fore. And after 1960 the concerns were almost exclusively with Arctic waters.

I will mention briefly some of the landmarks here. I think my colleagues are likely to have more to say on this.

The issues that were arising were briefly as follows, at least some of the major ones: There was a British agreement with Venezuela in 1942 about dividing the subterranean part of the Gulf of Paria between Trinidad and Venezuela. That is number one. There was President Truman's declaration in 1945 about the Continental Shelf and also about fisheries. There was the Corfu Channel case in 1949 about the passage of ships through this channel between the Island of Corfu and the European mainland in the vicinity of Greece and Yugoslavia. There was the fisheries case between Britain and Norway settled in 1951. It dealt not only with fisheries but with water passages, with islands, and with archipelago waters. There was the work of the International Law Commission starting in 1947 leading on to the two great law of the sea conferences in 1958 and 1960. All of these were international things.

Of more concern directly to Canada were such things as American plans to sail ships through the Northwest Passage in the concluding stages of World War II and afterwards. There were submarine voyages under ice up there. There were American naval exercises in Arctic waters. There were American and Russian landings on ice islands which drifted around and sometimes came into the so-called Canadian sector. There were the resupply voyages once the northern weather stations were being established, starting in 1948, which were during the first few years essentially American.

These are some of the reasons why Canada's attention became increas-

Maritime sovereignty became an important discussion in the mid- to late-1950s, particularly as international discussions related to Antarctica developed. In Canada, this prompted internal discussion about management of Arctic waterways and ice islands. See Kikkert (2015) and Lajeunesse (2018).

ingly focused on the Arctic waters and why the Arctic waters became the major issue rather than Arctic land.

With that I will conclude. I am afraid my machine gun staccato presentation perhaps has made it a little difficult to understand everything I have said. I have had to try to rush. I know I have gone over my time limit.

Thank you for your kind attention.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you very much.

Mr. Pharand, please.

**DONAT PHARAND:** I am always pleased to follow Gordon because of his encyclopedic knowledge and computer-like memory with anything to do with the Arctic. I never cease to be amazed, Gordon.

The second reason, and more precise one, that I am pleased to follow you is that I think you have covered no less than about two-thirds of what I was going to say. So I should then be quite brief.

I have prepared a single-page outline. I presume that you have in front of you that outline.

What about those sitting over there. Do you have a one-page outline with you? Well, then, I have a few pages to hand out to you.

I will not take more than 20 minutes. It is now 8:30. Just in case you should think that because I have been geared for 50 minutes for some 30 years of teaching, I will not take 50 minutes. I will only take 20 minutes and at ten to nine I will end.

I have a few preliminary remarks before I begin. There is a reason for this little chart over here to my right. The reason is to emphasize what has already been mentioned by my colleague Gordon that the question we are now studying, sovereignty, is limited to territorial sovereignty. It does not concern at all the status to the waters between the islands. In other words, all of the waters here which were encircled in 1985 by straight base lines by Canada we are not concerned with at all.

I might just in passing mention that the United States has never recognized the international legal validity of the straight base lines which Canada drew in 1985 and thus claiming sovereignty over those waters which are now, according to us and according to myself – at least that is the conclusion I came to after studying the matter in this book published in 1988 – that Canada does have full sovereignty over those waters. But that is not the question here. We are only concerned about sovereignty over the islands.

What do we mean by sovereignty? That is the number one question. I know of no term in international law which has been so misused and abused.

Can you imagine when you think, if you read the *Globe and Mail* this morning, that prominent states in the world – at least one, but it is not the first one – allege that an attack was to protect its sovereignty over some attempt at the head of state which took place some three, four or five months ago? Sovereignty in self-defence. It is inconceivable that one can stretch beyond all possible imagination the meaning of sovereignty and misuse of sovereignty.

The only meaning, I suggest to you, is the one which was given by the International Arbitrator in 1933 in the *Island of Palmas* case and then confirmed by the Permanent Court of International Justice in the *East Greenland* case, as you have referred to a moment ago, in 1993.



The meaning is simply this: Exclusive jurisdiction over a certain area of the globe. Here we are talking, naturally, about a land area. This, of course, is exclusive jurisdiction not only horizontally but vertically. So much so that strictly speaking there is no right of innocent passage in the air space above. Of course, by convention and by treaty, yes, but in the absence of, no.

So that is what territorial sovereignty means.

I should like to quote to you just three lines from the Island of Palmas decision which says: "Sovereignty in the relation between states signifies independence. Independence in regard to a portion of the globe is the right to exercise therein to the exclusion of any other state the functions of a state."

It is no more complicated than that. That is the end of the matter. This, as I said, was taken up again in the 1933 case of East Greenland and developed a bit. With your kind permission, I would like to read a little passage of that case because I am, after all, addressing this question strictly from the legal point of view. The Permanent Court which, by the way, rendered a quasi-unanimous decision. There were just two dissents, one by the judge *ad hoc* and another one by one of the permanent judges of the 15. So it is a very strong judgment.

In that case in 1933 the Court said this: "A claim to sovereignty based not upon some particular act or title such as a treaty or session..."

It really, mind you, does not matter all that much because even in this case there were such an act, but the court did go on to apply the traditional rule of effective occupation or, more precisely, consolidation of title.

The court goes on: "... but merely upon continued display of authority involves two elements: (1) the intention and will to act as a sovereign; (2) some actual exercise or display of such authority."

You will recall the discussion which took place this morning between Commissioner Wilson and Gordon Robertson with respect to the question of acts of a sovereign, and Gordon Robertson was quite right and Commissioner Wilson was quite right in emphasizing the importance of this aspect.

Let me continue: "Another circumstance which must be taken into account by any tribunal which has to adjudicate upon a claim to sovereignty over a particular territory is the extent to which the sovereignty is also claimed by some other power."

If there is no claim by any other state, then the acts of authority, the manifestations of sovereignty, to use the words of Max Hubert the Arbitrator in the Island of Palmas case, do not have to be all that extensive because there is then nothing to compare. There is nothing to balance, to evaluate.

In other words, the question to answer normally as the question here was: Are the acts of sovereignty or authority on the part of Denmark heavier, more important, than the acts or manifestation of sovereignty on the part of Norway? In the case of Canada, I suggest to you – and I think this is quite evident in the presentation made by my colleague and by Gordon Robertson this morning – there was no challenge by any other state.

To finish my quotation – I will no longer quote after that – on this last point, always from the judgment in 1933:

"It is impossible to read the records of the decisions in cases as to territorial sovereignty without observing that in many cases the tribunal has been satisfied with very little in the way of actual exercise of sovereign rights provided that the other state could not make out a superior claim. This is particularly true in the case of claims to sovereignty over areas in thinly

populated or unsettled countries.”

I think that I have said enough on this question of the meaning of sovereignty and the manner of consolidating a title or consolidating sovereignty for you to understand the main elements involved.

Speaking of the attitude of other states, in respect of Canada’s claim over the Arctic islands, only on two occasions – and they have been mentioned by Gordon – have other states indirectly or directly challenged Canada’s claim.

In 1919 and 1920 Denmark subscribed to the view expressed by its explorer Rasmussen that he considered Ellesmere Island as no-man’s land. Canada – and I believe you probably said that – asked Great Britain, in charge of her foreign affairs at the time, to make representations, which Great Britain did and this ended the matter.

Another time was in 1930 – this was more serious – when Canada finally had to settle the question of a possible claim over the Sverdrup Islands over here to the west of Ellesmere, these islands over here, which have been explored by the Norwegian explorer Sverdrup. Canada and Norway concluded an agreement by way of exchange of notes whereby Norway recognized the territorial sovereignty of Canada over those islands without, mind you, recognizing thereby the Sector Theory, as it was called, which Canada had occasionally invoked. This was specified by Norway in this exchange of notes.

You will see that on my outline I also have a third instance with a question mark and that is 1925. The reason for the question mark is simply that I believe it is quite doubtful that this can be considered – I don’t know what your view is on that, Gordon – to have been, shall we say, a challenge or even a doubt expressed by a foreign power, by the United States. This was an American citizen, MacMillan, who refused to comply with an amendment to a law passed by Canada requiring the issue of a licence to foreign scientists coming on Canadian territory and the Arctic in particular here, Ellesmere Island.

I believe one can say that the matter was resolved in Canada’s favour in the sense that he did not proceed with his expedition in 1925, and then the following year, 1926, 1927, I believe perhaps in 1928 he did obtain a licence and therefore did conform with the Canadian legal regulatory requirements.

We can come back to that question later.

Gordon mentioned that after World War II and the cold war and under the Continental Defence Policy of the United States and Canada, the United States, after negotiating the matter with Canada, built a certain number of weather stations.

I have indicated here by red dots – I don’t know if you can see them – the positions of those five joint weather stations. The only reason I put them on the map is so you will see that they are confined to the northern group of islands called the Queen Elizabeth Islands north of the Northwest Passage.

This, of course, required an arrangement, an agreement. Indeed, an agreement was made, perhaps not an agreement in the strict sense of an international treaty. There was none. But nevertheless, talks and negotiations took place and Canada was assured that the control over those stations would be under Canada.

I have here somewhere – yes. C.D. Howe, who was the Minister of Reconstruction and Supply at the time, reported to the House on the 4th of March,<sup>1</sup> 1947:

"The United States has undertaken to assist Canada in the establishment and operation of these northern stations which will, of course, be under the control of the Canadian government which will supply the officers in charge."

Then in 1955 there was the DEW Line agreement, the Distant Early Warning Station Agreement. In that treaty concluded by way of exchange of notes, a copy of which I have here, Canada took the precaution to protect its sovereignty fully. Indeed, the treaty provides for the application of Canadian law and states: "Nothing in this agreement shall derogate from the application of Canadian law in Canada..."

And insofar as the operation and manning of the stations are concerned, it was also provided that Canada reserve the right on reasonable notice to take over the operation and manning of any or all of the installations.

These are just some of the protective measures which Canada took and are included in this treaty for the establishment of the DEW Line in 1955, May 5th.

In spite of these protective measures, Canada, as was pointed out by Gordon a moment ago, nevertheless expressed concerns, in particular Pearson, who was our Ambassador in 1946 and 1947 to the United States and then became Secretary of State for External Affairs, and then by St. Laurent in 1953 and 1954. Why? Simply because there was a considerable presence of American military personnel, and a certain number of civilian, but particularly military personnel. And it would appear that sometimes at least some of the junior officers might not have followed always the right procedures and might have presumed on occasions permission rather than asked permission. This sort of thing does happen occasionally.

So in order to, shall we say, remedy the situation without overly offending our partner, the United States – partner, that is, in the Continental Defence – I have listed here a number of measures which were taken. This is not an exhaustive list by any means.

I have three more minutes. The famous Sector Theory referred to by Gordon was started on a map in 1904 and then presented to the Senate by Senator Pascal Poirier in 1907 in the Senate, by the way, which motion was never even seconded.

Pearson picked it up in 1946 and even wrote to Ottawa when he was Ambassador to the United States, suggesting that perhaps we should invoke the Sector Theory. Then when External Affairs was not too receptive to the idea, he wrote an article in July 1946 and published in *Foreign Affairs*, entitled "Canada Looks Down North" in which he reiterated that Canada was claiming, of course, everything within the meridians, the 60th over here and the 141st over there right up to the Pole. You might see even on this chart that supposedly boundary lines go right up to the pole.

Of course, you do not acquire sovereignty by drawing lines on a map, particularly when you are doing it yourself for your own advantage on your own maps.

Also we published for the first time in 1951, as Pearson pointed out in that article in 1953, a map for general distribution showing Canada all of the Arctic islands north of the mainland.

In 1953 when St. Laurent on the 8th of December moved the adoption of a bill changing the name of the department to Northern Affairs and National Resources, he stated that the objective of the bill was designed to give more

Minister of External Affairs Pearson's political concerns were raised in Cabinet in 1953 and are often cited in discussions of the relocations and sovereignty. His concerns about the over-representation of American personnel at technical, research, and military stations throughout the North were not shared by Northern Affairs or the military. In response to Pearson's concerns, the ACND was reconstituted to provide updates about Northern activities, the DNANR was created in late 1953 to signal a new focus on Northern issues, agreements were finalized with the Americans to hand over the operation of these stations, and Canada began making larger financial contributions to defence developments in the North. For further reading, see Pharand (1988), Lackenbauer and Heidt (2019), Lackenbauer (2020), and Heidt and Lackenbauer (2022).

emphasis to the fact that the people of Canada are greatly interested in this northern territory and regard it as an important part of the territory subject to the sovereignty of the Canadian nation and then went on to say:

"We think that the new name is rather important. It is indicative of the fact that the centre of gravity of the department is being moved north."

This is taken from Hansard on the 8th of December 1953.

The next year the new Minister of the department, Jean Lesage, obtained the Queen's permission to name the northern group of the islands, all of these island here, the Queen Elizabeth Islands and stated:

"We must have no doubt about our active occupation and exercise of our sovereignty."

He stated that it was for administrative convenience that we were using this collective name of this group of islands.

The last thing I want to mention – and I am concluding – Canada did, during the course of those years, from 1947 to 1955, send the odd note and diplomatic communications to the State Department to the United States as the need arose bringing to the attention of the United States that Canada had sovereignty over all of the islands north of its mainland.

So the conclusion is, insofar as the legal point of view is concerned, there is no doubt as to Canada's sovereignty over all of the Arctic islands. There was no doubt as to that sovereignty in 1953, nor was there in 1955. Indeed, there has not been any doubt, in my opinion, since 1930 at the time of the conclusion of that agreement by way of exchange of notes with Norway.

This, I repeat, however, does not mean that the presence of the United States during the years in question after 1947 and up to, let us say, 1955 that there was not some cause for concern insofar as what has been termed – and I think you used that expression, Gordon – the *de facto* sovereignty of Canada. I don't think that it was ever a serious challenge even to the *de facto* sovereignty.

That is the end of my presentation. I thank you very much.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you.

**MARC DENHEZ:** Mr. Chairman, as Professor Pharand can probably expect, I take a slightly different view on some of the features of what has happened over the last number of years, but not because I disagree in any sense with the conclusions that have been expressed, but that it simply may be that at any given time not all people in the federal government who were discussing the issue of sovereignty necessarily were of a common mind about everything at all times.

There were some contradictory signals issued from time to time. Where I would like to start is on the issue that you have heard expressed that the subject of waterways was an issue which arose only relatively recently.

Our difficulty in this exercise is that we are trying to put a finger on motives. And that is always, of necessity, an extremely difficult thing to do. We are trying to identify motives which could have been behind decisions made in the 1950s. We are talking about the motives behind various actions that were taken by the Canadian federal government dating back to the turn of the century.

I am certainly in no position to point to a smoking gun. I am in no position to deliver a knock-out punch. I cannot tell you that I have a pipeline into the minds of some of the civil servants and some of the senior government

This is an important caveat and one that is supported by internal disagreements at all levels of government about the nature of Canada's sovereignty claims. See Kikkert (2015) and Kikkert and Lackenbauer (2014).

officials who made decisions at any of those times.

But there are certain things, I think, that we can infer. First of all, whether or not all officials in the federal government at the turn of the century felt the same way, it is true that the question of Arctic waters was a hot topic. Canada was claiming title to the waters of Hudson Bay. Czarist Russia was claiming title to the waters of the White Sea. These were hot topics at the time.

One of the peculiarities of the Sector Theory is that if you decide to walk up to the map and you are going to take your 1907 equivalent to a felt marker and draw a line from the North Pole on south, your sovereignty claim and its distinction between land and water becomes deliberately fuzzy, possibly in a calculated way. Maybe people are putting their oar in the water, or in the ice, if you prefer.

The fact of the matter is that in 1907 a statement was made in the Senate announcing this full-blown Sector Theory. In 1909 Captain Bernier in the Arctic repeats the full-blown Sector Theory. We then have a whole series of measures which take place in order to assert sovereignty.

We know definitely that they are assertions of sovereignty over land, and maybe or maybe not assertions of sovereignty over the waterways. We have a whole string of expeditions which are conducted in the Arctic between 1912 and 1917. You have posts that are established. You even have RCMP posts and even a poor benighted post office, of all things, established on Ellesmere Island in 1926.

In 1926, incidentally, the Russians come out in their full-blown version of a Sector Theory which is about four times as large as Canada's Sector Theory at the time. In 1926, you will also have a particular legislative enactment called the Arctic Islands Game Preserve which Mr. Smith alluded to.

Originally in the legal description – and being a lawyer I have to rely on funny things like legal descriptions. In the legal description in 1926 they refer to the Arctic Islands Game Preserve as including only lands.

In 1929 they rewrite the legal description. In the 1929 version of the legal description of the Arctic Islands Game Preserve, first of all, the word "lands" is deleted. Secondly, they define the boundaries several hundred miles out to sea in some cases.

I find it difficult to believe that the people who did that weren't thinking about the sea when they did it. Furthermore, technically speaking, under the wording of the Arctic Islands Game Preserve as it existed in 1929 if you were sailing your Norwegian ship and you crossed this invisible line way out to sea, according to that particular enactment you were committing an offence unless you had a permit.

So there is this confrontation between Canada and Norway. In the confrontation between Canada and Norway, the Norwegians are claiming hunting, fishing, industrial and trading rights in the area of the Sverdrup Basin. By 1930 with British help, Canada is able to settle the dispute with Norway.

In the settlement of the dispute with Norway, the reasons for the settlement are clearly spelled out in the agreement itself. First of all, Norway is not settling on the basis of the Sector Theory. The Norwegians wanted to make that 100 per cent clear. They were, however, settling on the basis of the Arctic Islands Game Preserve which the Norwegians acknowledge to have been enacted for the protection of Canadian Natives. It is written right into the exchange of diplomatic notes.

Speaking personally, I can understand why, perhaps, the Norwegians were prepared to acquiesce on the subject of hunting or acquiesce on the subject of industrial activities or acquiesce on the subject of trading. What I can't understand is why they would acquiesce on the subject of fishing. Nor do I understand why they would acquiesce on the subject of being even be able to enter the Arctic Islands Game Preserve several hundred miles out to sea without a permit. It seems to me that in 1930, however it occurred – and I don't know how it occurred – Canada was able to score some points on the subject of extending its claim to sovereignty to areas potentially several hundred miles out to sea. I see no possible alternative explanation.

A number of things happened subsequently. We have, of course, in 1933 the East Greenland case, as was ably presented by Mr. Smith, which the Canadian government didn't seem to register about.

We have in 1939 a decision coming out of the courts of Canada which recognize that Inuit have a fiduciary relationship with the federal Crown.

This is important and I emphasize this because within the living memory of the people at the time – you have to remember that at the turn of the century right up to 1914 Canada was moving around populations of gigantic proportions. There were twice as many immigrants entering Canada in 1913 every single day as entered Canada today in 1993. There were all kinds of people who were being settled in all kinds of utterly appalling conditions with absolutely no preparation and no infrastructure there to accommodate them. And memories were still fresh in the minds of a lot of people even 30 and 40 years later. But the difference between somebody who arrived from eastern Europe and landed on the prairies outside of Regina and was stuck having to build a sod house was that this person was not in the same legal category as an Inuk who was living in the Canadian North because Canada had no fiduciary responsibility to the people who were settling on the prairies. It did have a fiduciary responsibility acknowledged from 1939 onward having to do with Canadian Inuit.

We have a number of other measures which take place in the following years. We have in 1942 the Arctic Islands Game Preserve being extended again. The boundaries are reiterated. The legal description of the boundaries continues to claim that the Arctic Islands Game Preserve extends, in some cases, hundreds of miles out to sea.

I suspect that there must have been somebody in the federal government who must have clued in at some point along the line. Think about this: you have a claim to sovereignty which is at least in part based upon an enactment for the protection of Natives. That was the card that won the game with Norway.

Somebody in the federal government – it doesn't take a rocket scientist to figure out that you can't claim and you can't sustain a claim to sovereignty indefinitely on the ground of the protection of a Native population where there is no Native population to protect. And this was the case in great chunks of the High Arctic.

In 1948, of course, you have another study on sovereignty by the advisory committee on northern development. In 1950 you have two reports on sovereignty. There is the MacDonald Report and the Report of the Department of Mines. There is another kerfuffle in 1950 over Greenland muskox. There are reports which Professor Soberman has documented fairly extensively.

See, for example, the Vincent C. MacDonald report in March 1950 on *Canadian Sovereignty in the Arctic* (Document 31 in Kikkert and Lackenbauer (2014).)

As I say, there is no smoking gun here. It is not possible to provide any evidence short of somebody's diary which is going to say conclusively "when I made this decision this is what was passing through my head."

But there is one thing that is absolutely plain, and that is after having listened to Mr. Smith and having listened to Professor Pharand and having looked at the materials that you have from Professors Gunther, Soberman and various other experts, there has been an immense profusion of Canadian claims to sovereignty. Those claims have certainly applied on land, and I would suggest that there were at least some people within the federal government who for a long time were also hedging their bets as far as claims to the offshore as well. I don't think it is possible to read the history of the Arctic Islands Game Preserve without concluding that there was a very overt claim in the Arctic Islands Game Preserve to sovereignty offshore based upon the Native presence.

We arrive in the mid-1950s and what are we supposed to believe? On the one hand we can believe that suddenly the government, all the officials, developed collective amnesia and forgot about all the claims of sovereignty that had ever been made. Or alternatively, it is possible to argue that, since every single other gesture that the Canadian government ever did in that part of the world was at least coloured by the sovereignty argument, suddenly somebody in Ottawa woke up one morning and said "Okay, we don't have to do that any more, let's do something else."

With all possible respect to Professor Gunther's argument, that is the thrust of the argument, at least as I read it. I have basic difficulty in terms of being persuaded by that argument because it strikes me a little bit like saying that if Ebenezer Scrooge did 999 things to make money, by the time he got to 1,000 he did it for strictly altruistic reasons because the commercial stuff had already been taken care of. I don't think the human psyche works that way.

I would find it far more credible and persuasive strictly on the balance of probabilities to believe that there were people in the federal government who assumed – I think possibly correctly – that if some assertions of sovereignty over the course of years had proved satisfactory, then more assertions of sovereignty will prove more satisfactory.

As I say, it is not possible to deliver proof beyond a reasonable doubt in a situation like this where we are trying to figure out motives that go back sometimes many, many decades. But I would suggest to you that on the balance of probabilities here we have a clear situation where virtually every decision of the Canadian government for decades was permeated by the sovereignty issue in one form or another.

I invite you to consider whether it is credible at this stage to think that at some point the Canadian government just changed horses in midstream.

Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you.

Before we move to questions by Commissioners, are there any additional comments any of you would like to make on what was said? Mr. Smith?

**GORDON SMITH:** Are you putting the question to me that I suggested I would like to have put to me respecting Denmark in 1920 and 1921?

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Yes. In fact, you have two questions, sir. You decide which one you answer first.

**GORDON SMITH:** I do have two. But I am conscious of taking up quite a

This argument implies that activities in the Arctic only took place for reasons of sovereignty and fails to account for the many other activities of government in the territorial North.

bit of the time this evening, but I really do think these two issues ought to be settled once and for all. If you will give me a few minutes, I will try to do both. If you let me, I will do the first one and then we will see about the second.

There are two ghosts which are still extant about these two matters. They have been around for a long time. They should have been laid to rest long ago. They haven't been and they keep on reappearing. One has to do with the little embroglio, as I called it, with Denmark in 1920 and 1921. The other has to do with Norway in 1930.

As to Denmark, there was this fear which arose in Canadian government circles that Denmark was about to try to take over Greenland. Stefansson had come back from his great expedition. He gave a talk in Ottawa to a circle of high government officials in October 1920. He raised the alarm.

As one of my colleagues said, there had been this Canadian protest to Denmark about the Greenlanders coming over and killing muskoxen in Ellesmere. Rasmussen, who was in charge of the station at Thule, had said that this was no-man's land, there was no authority there except that which he exercised himself. The Danish government said they thought they could support what he said.

This stirred up a hornet's nest behind the scenes in Ottawa. They had all kinds of plans to counter this assumed threat. They were going to send an expedition up there to occupy Ellesmere. Stefansson wanted to lead it. By this time, Stefansson was getting into bad repute in Ottawa. They soon let him know that he would not lead the expedition. I don't think Stefansson ever quite accepted that, but they told him at an early stage that he wouldn't lead it and they appointed another leader who became the leader the following year when the expedition did sail – excuse me, the year after that, 1922.

Stefansson was invited to go along with the expedition with a small party. When they got to Ellesmere, there was some fantastic idea, which was partly Stefansson's own, that he take this small party and go from island to island and get across to Wrangel Island north of Siberia which Stefansson wanted to occupy and claim.

Well, there were all kinds of other fantastic plans. One plan was that Stefansson might get there faster if he took off immediately and went by foot over land all the way to Ellesmere Island, presumably on the land west of Hudson Bay. There was one fantastic idea that came up that they would send a dirigible or an airship over from Scotland which would make a quick flight and land on Ellesmere Island before the Danes could get there. This took extreme ridiculous proportions.

In the meantime, the British explorer Shackelton, it appeared, wanted to lead an expedition. He became a sort of rival to Stefansson's for the leadership of this expedition. As I said, Stefansson never quite accepted that he was not going to be the leader.

They had already told Stefansson that he was not going to be the leader. He might lead a party.

They then told Shackelton that he wasn't going to lead it. Shackelton had the misfortune to run into Arthur Meighen, the Prime Minister of the day, and he thought he would push Meighen around and soon found out that he couldn't.

After they had told both Stefansson and Shackelton that they were not



going to lead this expedition, they cancelled the expedition. The expedition was cancelled in May of 1921. All of this is fairly well known, except there is still some doubt about what went on behind the scenes.

Now we come to the denouement of this little story, and this is what I wanted to get at. This is the part that has never been made public. I have never seen a word mentioned of it anywhere. I have written it up myself, but what I have written hasn't been published.

The Danes became aware of all of this, all of the excitement that was going on in Canada and they were surprised. We still don't know just what was in the Danish minds. I have never seen any Danish documents on this. There must have been some.

If you can believe the outward reaction that the Danes made, they claimed to be very surprised at all of this. They communicated with the British authorities in London. There was an oral message from the Danish representative in London to the effect that Denmark had no designs whatever on Ellesmere Island and no designs on British sovereignty, as it was then called, in the Arctic. Rasmussen himself wrote a message saying essentially the same thing.

What happened then was that Winston Churchill, at that time the colonial secretary in the government of Lloyd George, sent an urgent clear the line cable across the Atlantic to Ottawa saying just what he had got from the Danes. The Danes disavow completely any intention to interfere with Canadian sovereignty and they do not dispute Canadian sovereignty in Ellesmere Island or in the Arctic. That was that.

How come this remained literally unknown over the years? I have my own guess about it. I think that the Canadian officials were so embarrassed and so red-faced over having made such an enormous mountain out of what turned out to be such a little molehill, they were ashamed to publicize their own discomfiture. This episode, so far as I know, has never been brought to light from then until now.

Of course, this was conclusive about any Danish threat to Ellesmere Island. If at any time after that there had been any Danish gestures whatever against Ellesmere Island, all the Canadians would have had to do would be to wave in Danish faces these documents which showed clearly that in 1921 Denmark disavowed completely any intention to challenge Canada's sovereignty in Ellesmere Island.

There is an interesting little sequel to this. Suspensions die hard in these matters. There was still Canadian suspicion about the role of Rasmussen himself. A few years after that, after Rasmussen had completed his great fifth Thule expedition which had taken him right across the Canadian Arctic and across Alaska to Bering Strait, word got around that he was going to come to Ottawa.

The Canadian officials of the day said "Now is our chance. We don't know what this fellow has been up to. We will get him on the hot seat when he comes to Ottawa and we will find out what is going on here and what he has been up to."

Well, things didn't turn out as they expected. Rasmussen came to Ottawa. He talked with quite a number of Ottawa officials and I think it would be fair to say that he bowled them over like nine pins. Rasmussen was a very fine person, completely honest. He spent his life trying to serve the people he was living with in northern Greenland. He was transparently honest and

sincere in every way and he dispelled all suspicion in these interviews that took place in Ottawa in 1925.

Some of those who were particularly impressed with him were such people as Diamond Jenness, R.M. Anderson, O.S. Day, all of whom had northern experience and had lived with Natives in the North.

After that you don't hear any more, you don't see any more in documents about any suspicions of Rasmussen.

So much for this little story, this little revelation, I think I am entitled to call it, about the Denmark affair and the Ellesmere Island affair in and 1921.

Do I have time to give a similar little comment on the Sverdrup Islands situation in 1930? I can do that more briefly.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Very briefly, yes.

**GORDON SMITH:** There is another misunderstanding which persists about this one.

It is true that Norway recognized Canadian sovereignty over the Sverdrup Islands in 1930. But there is a misunderstanding – I think I have heard it two or three times already in these hearings – that persists. It needs to be dispelled.

Here I think of the old baseball manager Casey Stengel, who will be familiar to some, manager of the Brooklyn Dodgers, the New York Yankees, the New York Mets. Whenever Casey got into an argument with the opposing manager or the umpires, which was pretty often, he used to say "I am only telling youse guys the truth. If you don't believe me, then go and look it up in the book." That is what I would say here to any doubters.

If you don't believe me, go and look it up in the book. The book in this case is the Canada Treaty Series for 1930 in which you see these documents. The document in which Norway recognizes Canadian sovereignty over the Sverdrup Islands is short and plain and clear. I think I can quote it almost verbatim. It goes like this. Get a load of this:

"The Norwegian government who do not, so far as they are concerned, make any claim to the Sverdrup Islands hereby recognizes Canadian sovereignty over the Sverdrup Islands. At the same time, they wish to emphasize that this recognition is in no way based upon what is commonly called the sector principle."

The truth of the matter is that Norway never did claim the Sverdrup Islands. So it is quite incorrect to say that she withdrew her claim in 1930. She didn't have one.

What happened was that Sverdrup after his discoveries in his voyage of 1898 to 1902 did claim these islands for the Norwegian king. He spent the rest of his life trying to get Norway to take up this claim officially, but Norway never did.

What Norway was interested in when these negotiations were going on was in getting compensation, personal compensation, for Sverdrup himself. In the end, the Canadian government paid Sverdrup \$67,000 for the sacrifices he had made, the work he had done, and some other things like his diaries which in due course were returned to him.

What Norway did do quite late in proceedings in 1928 or 1929 or early 1930 – I forget the exact date – what Norway did was reserve all her rights. But it was made quite clear, perhaps via the grapevine, to the Canadian authorities that in reserving all her rights Norway was interested only in

getting compensation for Sverdrup himself.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you very much for this additional information that you shared with us.

I would like to ask any of you, Mr. Pharand or Mr. Smith, to explain a bit more the *de facto* sovereignty that you referred to as opposed to the *de jure*.

Is this a legal concept or a factual one? I think we all grasp what is meant, what is underneath. But Mr. Pharand, for example, you spoke about from a purely legal point of view. You said there was no threat but in the minds of people that the occupation of lands by the U.S. could have brought a kind of *de facto* sovereignty or control of the land.

Could you expand on what is involved here?

**DONAT PHARAND:** I am very pleased that you are putting the question.

I have to admit to you that it is the first time that I use this expression "*de facto* sovereignty." The reason I did is because this morning Gordon used it. Commissioner Wilson then in a question to Gordon Robertson used it. And then I used it this evening.

In my mind, *de facto* sovereignty, as I called it, simply means that there is a possibility of the legal sovereignty to be, in some distant future, questioned because of the fact that you have some foreign presence, in this particular instance the United States military, even though well protected from the legal point of view. Canada's sovereignty was quite well protected from the legal point of view.

Nevertheless, because of the presence of a foreign power through its citizens – and particularly when you are talking about the military – and because of the, shall we say, freedom exercised by some of those citizens, particularly if the country in question does not restrain, as it were – apparently, in any event – sufficiently its citizens in that freedom, that is, in the sense of not asking permission when they should and not following the right procedures, et cetera.

I didn't mean anything other than that. I don't think there is anything more to it than that. In other words, we are talking about the possibility of sovereignty being questioned in the very distant future, at least insofar as I am concerned. I did not mean any more than that.

I don't know what Gordon would have to say on it. You used it as well, I think.

**GORDON SMITH:** This relates in a way to what in international law is called prescription. It is one of the five classic methods of obtaining sovereignty over territory.

A prescriptive right is one that is established in the face of an earlier right and events transpire in such a way that over the course of time the second right displaces the first so that, suppose we put this in terms of states, the state making the later claim or acting like a sovereign in this territory in due course becomes the genuine sovereign replacing the original sovereign.

There have been authorities who have disputed that prescription is a legitimate term to use. Others pay credence to it.

It has been used on several occasions. For example, in the dispute over territory between Venezuela and British Guiana in 1895 when the United States took the side of Venezuela and Great Britain, of course, acted for British Guiana, it was agreed among the parties that a period of 50 years possession would constitute valid prescription. That, I think, is the outstanding

case where a prescriptive right has been recognized.

To come back to present terminology, a *de facto* right in the sense that we have been talking about in relation to the American occupation of the Canadian north in World War II and in the cold war, that relates to this concept of prescription. In other words, if a *de facto* right goes far enough and if it becomes permanent enough, it could eventually become a *de jure* right.

Fortunately for us this did not turn out to be the case in either World War II or in the cold war. Again, as Gordon Robertson tried to emphasize this morning, apart from certain incidents and periods of worry about one thing or another, I don't think the Canadian government was really all that concerned about it.

Here, of course, perceptions vary from person to person. We all know that King was quite a neurotic old man by this time and he was afraid of a lot of things. But the arrangements we had with the Americans were so firm and the American assurances were such that I think the typical official Canadian view was that even though embarrassing things were going on at the time, in all probability this wouldn't result in anything permanent.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** In relation to the last discussion, is it the case that *de jure* right to sovereignty can be defeated by the exercise of exclusive jurisdiction over that territory by somebody else?

**GORDON SMITH:** Of course it is possible. It depends upon how events go.

The sort of thing that was going on in World War II, say, or in the cold war, if this had been maintained permanently and if it had been accentuated, if it had become more all-pervading, you can easily visualize that in such a situation there could be a genuine takeover of territory.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** That leads me to ask the question whether the population of the high Arctic by Canadians would constitute a contribution to the maintenance of Canada's *de jure* sovereignty or not, or has it no relevance? You were talking about sparsely populated areas.

I am interested in knowing whether you think as a matter of law the population of those sparsely populated areas by Canadians supports their right to sovereignty over the area, particularly if there are other powers also exercising some or attempting to exercise some authority over that territory.

**GORDON SMITH:** I think this is very difficult to answer categorically because it would vary from situation to situation, wouldn't it. I should think, just to put it in a general way, that in the case of a country like Canada claiming sovereignty over a territory such as our Arctic archipelago that a measure of occupation would be of significance.

As my colleague Donat Pharand tried to point out, in such cases often not very much is required, in international legal terms, in occupation to confirm sovereignty. So obviously, this could vary from situation to situation.

I would like to add an oblique comment, if I may, in relation to that. This was something else I wanted to get across.

I thought I had something interesting here. After listening to Gordon Robertson this morning, I am not so sure any more.

But I think back to the talk that has been mentioned several times in the House of Commons by Louis St. Laurent on December 8, 1953 when he presented the bill to create the Department of Northern Affairs and National

Resources. As everyone quotes, he says "We have governed these territories in a fit of absence of mind," and then he says "We must take care we exercise our sovereignty continually all the way up to the North Pole."

What has not been noted is something which I thought was perhaps of great relevance in connection with these hearings which comes right at the end of St. Laurent's speech, the last three paragraphs. In the first paragraph he is talking about the need to occupy these territories.

"We must take steps to make sure that they are occupied. We must send up administrators. We must send up departmental representatives. They must be active up there. They must do things that are necessary to provide for sovereignty."

Then in the next paragraph he goes on to talk about the Inuit. He speaks of the Inuit in very complimentary terms, very kindly terms. We all know what St. Laurent was like. He says:

"These people seem to show great potentiality and we must try to bring them forward so that they will be able to play a full role as Canadian citizens." Then he goes back to say something about the need to have government representatives up there to look after occupation.

The oddity is, as I have seen it, is that he does not in any way connect the two. Why doesn't he? He is talking about occupation. He is talking about the people who live in the North. He does not say that they will have any particular role in occupation from the point of view of sovereignty.

I thought I had a guess at what may have been back of this omission on St. Laurent's part. The juxtaposition of these two ideas is all too obvious.

I thought that quite likely St. Laurent was doubtful that the Inuit would have a genuine role in regards to sovereignty because they were not fully fledged citizens, and perhaps that would limit the value of their occupation from a sort of an international legal point of view.

The only other explanations I could think of were that he – and I should add, of course, the obvious – he made no mention whatever of this relocation in 1953 which had taken place only three or four months before he made his speech. Why didn't he mention that?

I thought it possible that he didn't know about this relocation. I thought also that perhaps he simply overlooked it.

It was my first answer that appealed to me and has appealed to me for quite a long time, that he thought that Inuit occupation would not be fully valid from an international point of view. But after listening to Gordon Robertson this morning, I am inclined to think that my second guess may have been the right one, that he simply didn't know about it.

Gordon Robertson said this morning that this matter was never brought before Cabinet. I am wondering now if the fact that St. Laurent did not mention the relocation was that he just didn't know about it.

**DONAT PHARAND:** Could I add two little comments with respect to the question.

The concept of effective occupation, as pointed out by Gordon, came out in the Act of Berlin to replace the notion of fictitious occupation, which was really until that time very prominent. For a little while perhaps people thought that it had to be a physical presence everywhere. But no, it was never interpreted that way even after 1897.

What it has come to mean in the acquisition and maintenance of sovereignty was simply effective control exercised by the power, the state, claiming

Despite the concerns about sovereignty happening at the Cabinet level, the relocation was not brought to Cabinet. This suggests that the two are not intrinsically connected. Even after it is brought to ACND on a list of activities in the Arctic, it is not discussed in sovereignty terms nor brought up at any point as an indication that it was a contribution to sovereignty efforts. It doesn't come up as part of the contribution to sovereignty until a report completed in 1960 *links* the presence of Inuit in these communities to sovereignty, and not until the 1980s Environment Canada report that sovereignty is suggested as a *rationale*.

sovereignty over a certain territory.

The second comment with respect to the consequence or effect of having a presence on the part of the state's population or part of a population, I would think yes, that the presence of Canadian citizens on an island claimed by Canada would help solidify the claim to sovereignty if that claim were ever challenged. Yes, I would think that one could consider that, therefore, as a contribution to the solidification, if the word exists in English, of, in this particular instance, Canada's sovereignty.

I don't know whether this is too much of a round-about way of expressing myself there.

Have I managed to make my point or not?

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** That was really what I was trying to get at by my questions. Thank you.

**MARC DENHEZ:** Surely the issue here, if we are trying to determine what were the factors which led to the move of the Inuit population to Ellesmere, it is not so much the question as to whether the officials were right or wrong. It is not whether the officials with the benefit of today's hindsight should have viewed threats to sovereignty as being less important or more important. The issue is what in fact they perceived to be the threats of sovereignty.

The record is quite clear, whether or not physical occupation was obligatory or not, there were certainly people in Ottawa who felt it was obligatory to try to get at least as much physical occupation there as you could get.

There were RCMP posts. There was a post office, of all things. There as a move of an Inuit population to Dundas Harbour in 1934. There were weather stations. Over and over and over the Canadian government tried its darnedest to get a physical presence on to Ellesmere Island.

The question of whether these threats to sovereignty from other countries really would have amounted to a hill of beans in a court in Holland really, perhaps, should not be the primary issue here. The primary issue is how those threats were perceived.

It seems to me that whether William Lyon Mackenzie King was chronically paranoid or not, the fact of the matter is that if people like Mackenzie King or St. Laurent and various other people still perceived a threat to sovereignty, either directly or indirectly, that is the germane issue.

The question is: Does a population, the presence of a population, actually help your claim to sovereignty? Clearly it does.

Among other things, having a population helps you rebut the notion of the area as no-man's land, an expression that was used more than once in relation to that part of the world.

As I have pointed out, if part of the Canadian claim to sovereignty was purportedly the protection of a Native population and if it was able to play that card successfully in the international arena, it didn't do your case much good if there was no Native population there to protect. The sooner you got a Native population to protect into that location, the better your chances were of being able to sustain that argument if ever you had to use it again.

Finally, if indeed a part of the argument for claiming the Sector Theory originally – and as Professor Pharand pointed out – it was sort of presented in a wobbly fashion in 1904. It was presented again in a fairly wobbly fashion in 1907. It was again presented in a fairly full-fledged fashion in 1925. It has sort of percolated up and down to the surface at various times off and on

This line of argumentation suggests that relocation was necessary to justify a specific type of claim to sovereignty. However, there is no indication that this was a consideration in the decision-making process for relocation.

ever since. You are going to have a hard time claiming a waterway in an area where you have no coastal population.

So it seems to me that the imperatives that were perceived by officials over the course of 50 solid years were fairly constant.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** There are clearly two separate questions that we are addressing. One has to do with the motivation for the relocation, which is what you have just been talking about.

I was applying my mind to the question whether sovereignty was any part of the motivation or not. And even assuming it was not, did the relocation of the Inuit to the island at great personal cost and suffering to them, if what they have told us is correct, contribute in any way to the strengthening of Canadian sovereignty.

I am now moving away from the motivation aspect that you seem to be focusing on and asking a different question which I think Professor Pharand has responded to.

**MARC DENHEZ:** I am sure Professor Pharand has more views on this to express.

Let me just mention one thing. In 1966 the Arctic Islands Game Preserve was abolished. At the time that it was abolished, regardless of all the gigantic file that had been accumulated over the years as to the Arctic Islands Game Preserve's role in things like the dispute with Norway, at the time that it was abolished, not a single word was mentioned in 1966 about the sovereignty dimension to the Arctic Islands Game Preserve.

I am not sure exactly what to make of that. It may mean that nobody read the file. Or it may mean that the people who abolished the Arctic Islands Game Preserve had concluded that now that the population was on Ellesmere Island, the work was done and the necessity of keeping this particular piece of legislation around any longer had disappeared. I don't know. This is a matter of conjecture.

But I do find it odd that during all the course of the debates pertaining to the Arctic Islands Game Preserve's abolition in 1966 the issue of sovereignty did not arise at that point.

**DONAT PHARAND:** My opinion would be yes, that the presence of part of the Canadian population – in this particular instance, Inuit families – would contribute to the strengthening of Canada's claim if ever that claim were challenged in the future, particularly when you consider that Canada did have legislation and regulations which are applicable to those inhabitants.

I made a list, by the way, just in reading and preparing a little bit for this presentation. I thought that I would, in reading the cases, make a list without any particular order of importance of acts of states or state authority or manifestations of sovereignty which have been taken into account, aside from the presence of inhabitants, et cetera, just as a matter of interest.

Number one, I suppose, is legislation, of course, or regulations.

My colleague mentioned the question of the post office. This is the first thing usually that a state does, establish some kind of a post office to issue stamps. This, of course, was done by all countries claiming in Antarctica.

Then, of course, you have such things as customs inspections; approval of official geographic names; naturally the official taking of possession such as Bernier did, as you pointed out – when was it, in 1909, was it not – and the question, of course, of flying the national flag; the issuing of licences

of various kinds for whaling and fishing; the general recognition of your maps and charts by other states, not of course making any claim on the basis of your own charts exclusively or what you might have put on your own charts; the regular visits by officials, particularly the police, and particularly here the RCMP. You cannot have a stronger presence, it seems to me, insofar as Canada is concerned, than having an RCMP post. Customs officers I mentioned.

Another thing which has always been considered quite important is the exercise of state jurisdiction through inquests, criminal proceedings or judicial proceedings of any kind, but particularly criminal proceedings, and naturally the levying of local taxes, the registration of fishing boats, works and constructions of various kinds.

This is just a list that I have put down when I was reading these cases. I thought it might be of interest to you.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** Thank you very much.

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** I have one further question on the same issue.

Is it open to argue that the establishment of a civilian population in assessing the *de facto* occupation of Canada, would that comprise, in the eyes of the relevant tests such as those that have been listed just now, occupation of a different kind from, say, non-civilian establishments of the kind that in fact existed in the High Arctic at that time, both American and Canadian? That is, can it be contemplated reasonably that the addition of a civilian population would add something to strengthen, as it were, the claim of Canada to effective or genuine occupation of the territory, or is that relevant at all?

**GORDON SMITH:** I am afraid I didn't quite get the question.

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** Perhaps I don't understand the law that has been ranged over here in the last little while. I thought that the question concerned how by prescription *de facto* occupation could dislodge a previous right. I thought that the prescription involved an assessment of different kinds of occupation.

What are the kinds of actions that are evidence of the occupation? You have just been listing legislation, regulations, post offices, and so on.

When assessing the occupation, would it assist to show that there was a public administration of services over civilians? I imagine there are different kinds of occupations. Please correct me if I am wrong, but let me just use or two or three hypothetical examples to illustrate what I have in mind and you might tell me if it is not relevant.

One might conceivably occupy a place by going there once in a while and fishing but not setting up any permanent houses. Presumably that might be a kind of occupation.

Another kind might be the establishment of only military bases or perhaps oil extraction industries.

On the other hand, one might populate with a civilian population a particular territory. One might do that to the extent that there is such a broad base of civilian population that in fact the existence of military installations of other countries doesn't matter much because they are entered into by way of agreements, for instance, between the Philippines and the United States. So I apprehend that there are different kinds of occupations. I am supposing



that they all have some relevance in assessing the effective occupation of a state for the purposes of asserting its sovereignty.

I am asking if there is any distinction that is relevant between on the one hand non-civilian populations and on the other hand civilian populations.

It seems to me here when we are talking about the relocation of the Inuit people, we are talking about a civilian population as opposed to a non-civilian population. But I am be wrong in that.

**GORDON SMITH:** I don't think I have ever seen any comprehensive attempt to assess just what sorts of activity would in time validate a prescriptive claim or would create a *de facto* sovereignty that would displace a *de jure* sovereignty. Again, I don't think there have been attempts to put this in such detailed and precise terms.

I would say, just to put it very briefly, that what would count would be the collectivity of activity and manifestations of a second sovereignty. They could presumably take quite a variety of forms.

I should think in all those different forms that the factor of occupation, whether by civilians or non-civilians, would rate very high.

Let me refer again to St. Laurent's talk, which I think would be worth anyone's while to read, the last few paragraphs. He says at the end:

"Having a demonstration of what they, the Inuit, can do it is probably a responsibility that the Canadian people would want to have their government discharge to provide them with opportunities for developing their talents and making themselves real citizens of the Canadian nation."

I see relevance in this in the sense that he does not seem to look upon them as being fully fledged Canadian citizens. I take it that if that is true, his view of their occupation would be that it would be less valuable legally than the occupation of the fully fledged Canadian citizens that he mentions, the government people, the administrators, and so on.

But I would think that nevertheless the occupation of Canadian subjects, even if they were not fully fledged Canadian citizens would not be without some weight.

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** Do you think that the view of the Prime Minister might have been motivated by the notion that there continued to – in here in the Inuit some residual sovereignty as a consequence of their historical circumstance?

**GORDON SMITH:** As a consequence of?

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** Their historical circumstances; that is, one must contemplate the process by means of which it is expected that Canada has in fact exercised control over the Inuit people. One might contemplate that at one point in time there was not Canada here; there were only Inuit people.

**GORDON SMITH:** That is a problem, isn't it, that goes back centuries and centuries. I don't know that I can give a very good answer to that.

But I do recall that in the early days of European discovery and exploration and later settlement in the Americas generally and in other parts of the world too, there was in these early times an ongoing dispute about the rights of the native peoples who were encountered and whether these could simply be brushed aside by the European explorers and settlers.

I recall that in those days there was quite a strong feeling among the

legal authorities of the time that the rights of the native peoples could not simply be brushed aside as if they did not exist. It happened that most of the legal authorities in international law, at least, at that time were churchmen. I suppose you would expect that they would take a somewhat more generous and sympathetic attitude towards native peoples than the typical explorers or naval captains or governors or whatever.

I can't answer that in very precise or specific terms. It is obviously a question that has been under consideration and a subject of argument literally for centuries.

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** Thank you.

**MARC DENHEZ:** This is not an exact science. When a country is asserting a sovereignty claim to anything, there is a whole series of things that they try to do. Professor Pharand outlined a number of the kind of routine ways that a country tries to have its sovereignty recognized by other countries. Sometimes it works, sometimes it doesn't.

It is almost like a question of throwing as much as you possibly can to the wall and seeing how much of it sticks. What sticks in the view of some countries like the United Kingdom, or Norway, or Holland may not necessarily be the same thing that will satisfy a country like the United States.

As I say, it is not an exact science.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Mary Simon and I wondered about this, so I will ask it. You said that in the mind of the Prime Minister at that time Inuit were not considered full-fledged Canadians. Could you explain to us why not?

**GORDON SMITH:** The Inuit were not which?

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Full-fledged Canadians.

**GORDON SMITH:** I was simply reading what he said in his speech.

"...developing their talents and making themselves real citizens of the Canadian nation."

I don't know just what St. Laurent meant by that. But the assumption, it seems to me, would be that he was not saying that they were at that time fully fledged citizens. They need to be developed and they need to be, as he puts it "develop their talents and become fully fledged citizens."

I am doing no more, really, than quoting what he said. I am sure I don't know exactly what was in his mind, but that is what he said.

**MARC DENHEZ:** Among other things, Inuit didn't have the right to vote until several years later.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** You have said it is not an exact science, but in relation to the tests of sovereignty, is there a hierarchy perhaps, and if there is one, is the hierarchy of a state enforcing laws higher than actually having a population of people in a particular area?

If one was to try to suggest one was more important than the other, which would it be? Would it be the ability of a state to enforce laws in an empty part of its territory, its claims, or actually physically having people living there? Which is more important?

**DONAT PHARAND:** If I may express an opinion in answer to your question – and it is only an opinion – I would think that the enforcement, the actual enforcement of one's authority over the territory claimed is more important.

Indeed, this is basically what exclusive control means. When we say that a state has sovereignty, it means that it has the exclusive jurisdiction and exercises exclusive control or may exercise exclusive control if need be.

So in answer to your question, I would think that the capacity to exercise exclusive control, which would include sometimes the exclusion of foreigners, is more important than the presence of a population without, for all that, discounting the significance of having a certain number of residents in part of its population there.

But between the two, that would be my answer.

**GORDON SMITH:** I would strongly support that. I don't think there is any doubt about it.

The whole thrust of the cases that Donat Pharand has mentioned, and one or two others that he didn't mention – the Clipperton Island case, the Palmas Island case, the East Greenland case, later on the Minquiers and Ecrehos case, which was a number of years later. The whole thrust of these cases and their decisions was that in such remote or thinly settled or rather uninhabitable territories, occupation was not the primary requisite.

The primary requisite was control.

**DONAT PHARAND:** Indeed, I am awfully sorry, I should have mentioned in the list that I have, there was one that I forgot. It is barring or control of foreign visitors.

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** Is it fair to say in this area not necessarily might is right, might is better, at least.

**GORDON SMITH:** That is what sovereignty is all about. There are people in recent years who have been saying that conquest should not be recognized as giving sovereignty. But facts are facts and if a conquest is made permanent, ultimately the law has to catch up with the facts and that sovereignty has to be recognized, even if it came about in a very unpleasant way.

Here again I think there is no doubt about the ultimate legal situation except, of course, there are cases – and I suppose there are still potential cases – where a people that has been defeated and has suffered occupation and has been put under foreign rule do not accept what has happened and they will maybe lie low for 50 or 100 or 150 or 200 years waiting for a chance to regain what to them would be their legitimate sovereignty.

But so far as existing circumstances are concerned, there is no doubt that conquest can lead to genuine sovereignty.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you very much. I think this leads us to a natural conclusion.

At this point I would like to thank each and every one of you for sharing your knowledge with us and helping the Commissioners to get a better understanding of this very complex issues of sovereignty.

Thank you very much for being with us. It was a very pleasant evening as far as we are concerned and informative. Thank you.

Tomorrow the Commission will resume at 9:00. We are going to hear Bent Sivertz, Gerard Kenney and Graham Rowley in the morning, and in the afternoon, Robert Williamson. Then we will move to the researchers with

Bud Neville and Shelagh Grant.

Thank you.

— Whereupon the hearing adjourned at 10:10 p.m. to resume on Tuesday,  
June 29, 1993 at 9:00 a.m.

**Royal Commission on Aboriginal  
Peoples Testimony: June 29, 1993**

ROYAL COMMISSION ON ABORIGINAL PEOPLES  
 LOCATION: OTTAWA, ONTARIO  
 DATE: TUESDAY, JUNE 29, 1993  
 VOLUME: 2

Ottawa, Ontario

— Upon resuming on Tuesday, June 29, 1993 at 9:00am

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Good morning. We will be starting with Bent Sivertz, a former Commissioner of the Northwest Territories. He will be assisted by Gerard Kenney. Mr. Kenney will read the presentation, and Mr. Sivertz will be available for answers.

**GERARD KENNEY:** I will be giving Mr. Sivertz' speech, because Mr.

Sivertz isn't feeling as well as he would like to this morning, but he will be prepared to answer any questions.

The first part is an introduction of Mr. Sivertz, basically who he is. This is Mr. Sivertz speaking:

In 1946, after 24 years of formative employment and study, I terminated my wartime service in the Royal Canadian Navy and entered External Affairs as a Foreign Service Officer.

In the late 1940s, Prime Minister St. Laurent asked Dr. Hugh Keenleyside to serve as Deputy Minister of Mines and Resources. Dr. Keenleyside asked that I be drafted as his Executive Assistant.

Dr. Keenleyside directed me to work first on schooling. He called for public schools of top quality to replace the church-managed residential schools that constituted about nine-tenths of all schooling in the Northwest Territories.

Here let me remark on my satisfaction in discovering the same level of quality among civil servants in Northern Affairs as I had found on entering External five years earlier. In External there would be a higher proportion of erudite persons, but the rule held that Canada's civil service was a remarkable aggregation of people who were able, who respected human beings' rights and principles and who used kindness as their normal attitude.

When Keenleyside left in mid-1950 to become the worldwide Director of Technical Assistance for the United Nations, General Hugh Young took his place as Deputy Minister of Resources and Development. Later I worked under Gordon Robertson who was appointed Deputy Minister in 1953 when the department was renamed the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

These three Deputy Ministers were towering personalities, brilliantly competent. These exceptionally good men set patterns for those under them.

General Young wanted me to get to know the junior and intermediate level employees, especially in the field. He ordered me to go for two and a half months to the Mackenzie in 1952 and to travel to every community, discuss the work with our employees and with the public, the police and other departments. I found it a mind-opening experience. Also I found the quality of the field employees to be high.

Cantley and Stevenson opened to me many vignettes of the High Arctic, the Eastern Seaboard and the Inuit people. They answered my questions not just willingly but with obvious pleasure that the gates of their field were opening.

(Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, "Testimony," June 29, 1993, *The High Arctic Relocation Special Hearings*, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada))

Gerard Kenney took an interest in the High Arctic Relocations, researching them extensively in the early 1990s, and presents his findings to the Commission following Sivertz's.

Hugh Keenleyside was Deputy Minister of DRD from January 1947 to November 1950, before leaving for a posting at the United Nations. Before becoming Commissioner of the Northwest Territories himself, Sivertz served under three different Deputy Ministers in charge of the Northern Affairs portfolio (DRD and subsequently DNANR)

Major-General Hugh Andrew Young served as Deputy Minister of the Department of Resources and Development (DRD) and Commissioner of the Northwest Territories from November 1950 to November 1953

Among other matters, they told me that Inuit group decisions are not by open vote but by veiled consensus, which is time-consuming and difficult for outsiders to follow, let alone enter.

In addition, I made friends and consultants of several other scholars then studying the Inuit world: Dr. Edmund Carpenter; Dr. Frank Vallee; Dr. and Mrs. Elmer Harp; Dr. and Mrs. Honigman. I talked of the relocation plan with many of them and can recall advice but no dissension.

Cantley and Stevenson had spoken to me of Inuit in northern Quebec who were destitute because of the shortage of game and fur-bearers. They thought certain regions of the High Arctic might provide livelihood for a moderate number from northern Quebec if the department would undertake to move them.

I took it up with General Young, our Deputy Minister. He discussed it with Commissioner Leonard Nicholson of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police who thought the plan fitted the police idea of curtailing the periodic incursions of Greenland Eskimos who crossed to Ellesmere Island to kill polar bear, muskoxen and white fox.

I had conversations with Superintendent Henry Larsen who was in charge of that region for the RCMP. He was a man of broad human compassion with particular interest in the Inuit, wanting to see opportunities for them in education and every aspect of human endeavour.

The plan was discussed with Mr. Graham Rowley, who enjoyed the confidence of both Commissioner Nicholson and Superintendent Larsen. He knew them to share his own keen interest in the Inuit and their welfare.

As you may see, I am the person who carried out the plan from justification of the idea to consultation with Inuit families who might wish to go and describing to them the conditions they should expect, to arranging space on the ship for Inuit who decided to go – and I stress that it was their own voluntary decision – with their dogs and household and hunting equipment and two departmental employees to supervise.

The second point Mr. Sivertz wants to make is to say why he is here today to testify. Again, these are his words:

Because I knew of several statements made at the April hearings which were not true. Some of them were completely unfair to people I knew well and whom I knew to be honourable, like Ross Gibson and other people who were involved in the planning and execution of the relocations.

I was especially concerned by statements that the Inuit were forced to be relocated. This was not true.

Alex Stevenson was once asked if he sometimes forced Inuit to do what he wanted them to do. He said that, if any force were attempted, the proposer would not be given a direct refusal, but the action the Inuit disapproved of just would not happen.

Nor would I have attempted such ill-advised actions of applying force to any of my subordinates in executing the relocations.

Why did the government propose the relocations? I would like to quote the report of RCMP Constable Mansell of the Port Harrison Detachment which describes vividly the poverty in which these people lived.

This is dated September 23, 1949.

The tendency amongst all the natives in this district [is] to congregate in large camps as close as possible to the various posts. It is suggested that this is due to the ingrained fear of starvation which every Eskimo

Sivertz coordinated much of this planning and implementation from Ottawa, alongside Alex Stevenson and James Cantley, who had more Northern field experience.

This report describes the information that would have been available to government officials in Ottawa regarding conditions at Inukjuak. Annual reports submitted by RCMP detachments, along with reports of the Eastern Arctic Patrol (EAP), and less frequent correspondence with the HBC and the churches provided government officials with most of their information about conditions in the North. The establishment of the EAC in May 1952 provided a forum for more regular discussion about conditions in the North among a larger number of organizations and people.

has.

In the past they have seen whole camps die out from starvation and they are still afraid of it recurring. They are afraid that if they get into camp a long distance from a post they may become stranded sometime and not be able to get in for food. There is a certain amount of good reason to this too as the past winter in Port Harrison has demonstrated. When there was a great lack of seals during January and February it was not uncommon for a camp to hunt for two or three days after their last food was gone before coming to the post for assistance. For this reason, the writer and the H.B.C. post manager had to keep close check on the condition of the various camps as if they had got to the end of their food and they were holed up for a few days by bad weather, it is conceivable that starvation could have resulted ...

From observations by the writer in the last two years it is considered that the Eskimo in this district, with a very few exceptions, are not lazy; considering the amount of hunting and travelling they do as compared to the return they receive for it, their effort is very great and they do it willingly.

However, as has been seen in the Port Harrison area in the past winter, despite their efforts, they have not been able to earn enough either to feed or clothe themselves and it is considered that if this situation carries on for any length of time Eskimos are going to become fed up with making the effort and not getting any return for it. At the present time, they have to depend on relief issues to tide them over for times when they haven't enough to eat, etc. Also, they have to depend a lot of the time on relief for the necessary ammunition, nets and walrus hunting outfits which they use to obtain their country food ...

That is another name for game.

It is the desire of the department to have these Eskimos continue to live the Eskimo mode of life and support themselves but I would submit that these people have nothing on which they can depend for their support.

The point is that at present, the Eskimo has nothing that he can definitely depend on and plan with. He is not sure whether he will get any seals during the next week, he is not sure how many fish he can catch at any one time. He knows he will be kept from starving but he is not sure that he will get enough for what he considers his needs. He is not sure that he will get enough foxes this winter, or next winter with which to replace his worn out rifle or buy a new tent etc.

This, then, was the situation on the Quebec coast in 1949.

The next step was a consultation with the destitute people themselves.

This is again Mr. Sivertz speaking:

I asked that this be undertaken by our social welfare people and our "Arctic hands."

As I mentioned previously, Inuit group decisions were not by open vote but by veiled consensus. Therefore, we sought out persons among the Inuit whom we thought to be leaders. After a number of consultations, the leaders we had sought out stated that they and their families desired to make the move to the High Arctic.



It was thought helpful, in orienting the Port Harrison people to conditions in the High Arctic, to have some near-High Arctic residents join the relocation. Pond Inlet people were suitable for this purpose and, when approached, were pleased to go.

The next point that Mr. Sivertz wishes to address is: What were the conditions like for these people in the High Arctic after the relocations?

To answer this question, I would like to quote a number of authoritative, on-the-spot observers who have left us some marvellous word pictures of the conditions.

Number one is the C.J. Marshall Report: On November 12, 1953, a little more than two months after the four families bound for Resolute Bay were dropped off there, C.J. Marshall of the Secretariat of the Advisory Committee on Northern Development reported on a visit that he had just paid to the new community. His report caused a small uproar. It was very critical of the planning, or lack of it, associated with the relocation. He blasted the inappropriateness of many of the items sent in with the Inuit.

His criticisms were repudiated by an indignant Lt. Col. F.J.G. Cunningham, Director, Northern Administration and Lands Branch of the Department of Resources and Development, but the important fact remains that he was very critical of the government. When he came to the Inuit themselves, however, he was quite enthusiastic about their well-being:

Although it is too early to make any definite statement I feel personally that the experiment will be an unqualified success. The people are well fed and happy and seem to be satisfied with their new environment.

The next item is a visit by National Geographic. In April 1954, a National Geographic writer and photographer stopped in at Resolute on a trip to a number of Arctic weather stations to gather material for an article. Exactly one year later, the April 1955 issue of the magazine contained a story entitled "Weather from the White North."

The men from National Geographic, accompanied by RCMP Constable Ross Gibson, visited one of the Inuit families in their igloo. They wrote:

We plunged down snow steps, crawled through a tiny vestibule, then along a dim tunnel and through a plywood door hinged with straps.

A world of warmth, comfort and life opened to us. The domed snow-house was about 12 feet in diameter. Light flooded through a slanted pane of smoothed ice set into the roof. On an upended crate burned an open stone lamp, its wick drawing polar bear oil from the bowl. In one corner lay a red haunch of bear meat.

We don't have to take the word of the National Geographic team about this cozy scene. Their article contains five photographs of Resolute Bay Inuit both inside and outside their tidy igloos. These are obviously not of people living under hardship conditions. These are pictures of very lively, healthy, smiling, happy looking individuals. Living in igloos was not an adversity for these people; it was their life. It had been their way of life at Inukjuak. The igloo pictures show a scene of cleanliness, order and prosperity not seen in the habitations of the Inuit living under hardship conditions.

Mr. Sivertz has a copy of these pictures and would like them to be an exhibit and form part of the record. I am not sure that they are here right now, but we will get them to the Commission.

This report, often called the Marshall Report, was extremely critical of the planning, but Sivertz is right to note that Marshall did believe that the relocation as a project did address the issues it sought to. See Document 57 in S. Grant (2016)

The next item is the so-called Donald the Arctic. The Reverend Donald B. Marsh was Anglican Bishop of the Arctic Diocese in the 1950s. It is common knowledge that there was no love lost between the government administrators of the Arctic and the Bishop. Marsh was outspokenly critical of the government's administration of the North and its people. In what was a major understatement, Marsh states in his book, "Echoes into Tomorrow":

The official reaction within the Department of Northern Affairs to my 'letter' to the prime minister wasn't particularly happy, as I had expected. I can well imagine the consternation in the Department when they received a copy. Moreover, to the day of the writing of this letter, I haven't been terribly popular in Government circles.

If Marsh had found Inuit suffering hardship at relocation sites, he would not have been shy about letting the world know about it. A little more than a year after the relocation, Bishop Marsh visited Craig Harbour and had this to say in a report in the "Arctic News" of October 1956:

The clean and orderly tents were typical of the Port Harrison Eskimos but gone were the knick-knacks that every Eskimo acquires living near a trading post; no tins, bottles, pots or fancy useless articles – just essentials and piles of skins for clothing and fresh meat. The women and children were the picture of health. The little ones, chubby-cheeked, rosy and bright-eyed, were very happy and contented.

Stretching across to Devon Island was the clear blue sea that forms the passageway for countless seals which gather there at certain times of the year. The walrus also pass by on their way to feeding grounds, while the white whales, curving and sporting themselves in the water as they feed, can be readily seen and pursued. Thus, close at hand is an abundance of food not only for these families but also for the long lines of dogs chained along the shore. Underfoot the snow was heavy. It was chilly but not too cold, for August 26th is still summer time.

From being the most southerly Eskimos in the Canadian Arctic, these people were now living in the most northerly region and were experiencing great changes. Mentally I compared this new location to their southern home. Here no mosquitos plagued them; no blowflies ever contaminated their cached meat; vegetation was lush in the few valleys fed by the mountain streams. Across the water could be seen Devon Island, its ramparts cut by great floes of ice as they streamed down toward the sea. The icebergs which drifted from the base were probably some of those which grounded on the shores of the fiord and provided an abundant supply of fresh water and ice during both winter and summer. This indeed is a paradise for these people from the southern Arctic. Perfectly happy they have no desire to return to their former location.

Were the Inuit forced to move to the High Arctic? Bishop Marsh would have been the first to inform the world of this if that had been the case, for he did not silently suffer what he thought were inappropriate government actions. On the contrary, he had this to say in the same article:

The Eskimos at Port Harrison were asked if some would like to start a new life there [in the High Arctic]. Quite a number volunteered and that summer, when the government ship arrived, men, women,

children, dogs, bundles, boxes and bales were loaded on the ship and they sailed for the unknown.

The next item is when Henry Larsen stopped over. In 1956, three years after the relocation, Henry Larsen, on one of his tours of the Arctic as Officer Commanding "G" Division of the RCMP, stopped at Grise Fiord where the Craig Harbour Inuit were now located. He reported:

The new location of Grise Fiord is very good ... this is also an ideal spot for them and they are very happy there ... All told, thanks to the assistance and effort made by our men, the native(s) settlement has prospered and it was hard for me to realize that they were the same people that I saw landed there in 1953 all in rags and with little or no equipment of any kind.

Margery Hinds meets her former pupils: Miss Hinds was a so-called welfare teacher in Inukjuak in 1953. She helped in the selection of the families to be relocated. She was a feisty lady who, like Bishop Marsh, had some less-than-favourable opinions of government administration in the north. If the government had done wrong by the Inuit, she would not have hesitated to blow the whistle.

Her opinion of the conditions at Resolute Bay when she visited it in 1958 are particularly valuable since she personally knew some of the Inuit who had been relocated from Inukjuak when she had been a teacher at that community in 1953. Miss Hinds was in an excellent position to make an educated comparison between the Inuit in their new home and the same people in Inukjuak before the move. In her book, "High Arctic Venture," she wrote that, while anchored off Resolute Bay waiting to go ashore:

Eskimos came on board from time to time, among them people I had known at Port Harrison. It was difficult to recognize many of them. All were well dressed. Younger ones had grown tall, and older ones fat, so that even before they said life was good at Resolute Bay, it was obvious they were no longer destitute as they had been five years previously.

Fortunately, there came on board the late Superintendent Henry Larsen, RCMP ... 'They're doing very well now', he commented. 'You must see for yourself.'

From the top of a slope we could see a row of small wooden houses overlooking a bay. They were painted in various bright colors and made a gay streak across the brownish-grey landscape. Parallel with the houses was a row of tents, all big and new looking.

'Just look at the tents,' I exclaimed. 'Obviously there are no poor Eskimos here.' The last time I visited these people in their homes was on an island in Hudson Bay to check their belongings so as to know what new equipment they needed to equip them for life in their new location in the High Arctic. They had certainly reached rock bottom, everything was worn out. That human beings could even exist with so little in such a harsh land, amazed and depressed me.

Here, at Resolute Bay, the older women spoke of that visit, and house-proud as they are now, they were delighted to show us, among other things, pretty china cups and saucers, electric steam irons and electric sewing machines and washing machines. Some had upholstered arm-chairs and settees. 'The base [RCAF] supplies us with electricity,' one of them explained.

This discussion of how quickly Inuit adapted, particularly in Resolute Bay in just five years, points to varying interpretations of what "success" meant for this project. Regardless of the outcome, the hardships caused by the planning and implementation process or during the first five years are not addressed in this excerpt. For further reading on the government's initial evaluation of the relocation project, see Hossack (2025).

'What about food? the Superintendent [Larsen] asked. 'Hunting is very good here, and trapping better than we have ever known,' was the reply. 'We still like our own kind of food best, but when the men are too busy to hunt, we have plenty of money to buy store food.

That is the end of examples of quotations from authorities.

The authorities I have just quoted present an accurate picture of conditions in Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord after the relocations. It is not possible to ignore this impartial testimony from the past.

At this point I would like to end my testimony by offering an exhibit consisting of a letter from Wilfred Doucette, a story from Salluviniq, a quotation from "High Arctic Venture" by Margery Hinds, a photograph of Annie Padlo and Mary Panegosho Cousins, and an article on Annie Padlo. Please accept these as exhibits to my testimony.

I request that the written material be reproduced verbatim in the printed record of my testimony, together with a copy of the photograph of Annie Padlo and Mary Panegosho Cousins. I have the material here.

Yesterday a photograph of Mr. Gibson and Allie Salluviniq was circulated. Mr. Sivertz would like to present this as a gift to Mr. Allie Salluviniq if he is here today – and I am not sure that he is here. Could it be on the record that this photograph was presented in the absence of Mr. Salluviniq, but that it will be gotten to him as quickly as possible.

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** Thank you very much.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Thank you for the presentation and thank you for assisting in this presentation, Mr. Kenney.

Perhaps we could ask a few questions now, if you would answer some.

The first question is: Could you tell us, Mr. Sivertz, what kind of planning went into the preparation of selecting the sites?

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** That was of a necessity. It was impossible to think of transporting a group of people to an area already occupied – and almost all accessible areas were already occupied by hunting Eskimo groups.

This area on Ellesmere Island and Cornwallis Island was empty of resident Eskimos. We were able, therefore, to propose to move these relocated people to these almost only accessible areas. There were lots more among the many islands of Canada's northland, but not accessible to the annual Eastern Arctic Patrol, not accessible to aircraft. This was a made-to-order place.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Did you have any studies done on the wildlife in the area, or were there studies done by other people that you used to figure out how many animals there would be in this area?

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** No. The Canadian Wildlife Service had almost no data. We were relying on anecdotal reports of various people. We knew a good many people who had travelled through the area, and we consulted them as to the abundance of game.

We kept the group small, because we did not want to over-tax the game resources of the immediate vicinity of the translocated people.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** What were you using, then, as information that there was game there?

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** I just told you: anecdotal reports of Arctic hands of all kinds.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** What were they telling you?

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** They were telling us that there was a good deal of game up there, that there was a big population of polar bears, a big population of seals and in fact, they thought, a good population of wildlife capable of supporting a moderate group of relocated people.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Were the specific sites very important or could they have been anywhere in that particular area, anywhere in the islands in that area? Was there any specific reason why these sites were chosen?

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** They were accessible to the Eastern Arctic Patrol, an important link to southern Canada supplies.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** The term "experiment" is used in looking at the old documents. What was meant, in your understanding, when this term was being used?

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** Exactly what it says. It was an experiment. We used that term a great deal. We had been using it before we were talking about this particular subject, and we continued to use it. We had no hesitation in using the word "experiment" for the next many years of my service on this sort of work.

Each time we engaged a person to serve the department in the Arctic, we would explain to him and his family that this was an experiment.

You might not be able to work and live in this very different environment from that which you have known. After a year in the North, you and your wife may come and tell us, 'This is not for us. We have found that we do not wish to carry on with this life.

We used the word "experiment" in this sense quite often.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** This was the Inuit that you are talking about, that this was explained to?

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** No. I just said: When we were engaging a person to work in the Arctic who had come from southern Canada –

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** These were staff people one way or another.

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** Yes.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Was the same kind of explanation provided to the Inuit when they were being asked to volunteer?

When the Inuit were first approached in northern Quebec in the Port Harrison area, were they provided with this same kind of explanation?

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** No, because they were not from a different world. They were from the north, and they were presumably going to continue with a northern life.

What you are driving at, I take it, is: Did we say to them that this could end in some kind of disappointment to them, which they would wish to withdraw from? We certainly did explain that to them. We said, "You may not like it up there. If you don't like it for any reason at all, we will return you to northern Quebec."

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** On that particular promise, what kind of preparation did the department take in relation to possibly bringing people back if they were unhappy? What kinds of plan were in place?

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** Simple. The Eastern Arctic Patrol carried them north and the Eastern Arctic Patrol would carry them south if they decided that was what they wanted done.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** How did you get your information to the Inuit that they could return if they wanted to, when you were first contacting them?

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** By words.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Through what messengers? Through what people were you providing this information?

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** Everybody that we talked to.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Who were your agents who were providing the information to them? What individuals? Were you using the RCMP or were you using your own officials? Who were you using?

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** We were using resident RCMP members and we were using special envoys from Ottawa who went north – social workers and northern hands. We had three of them who spoke Inuktitut, and we used them to go on special trips to northern Quebec to explain about the High Arctic and its characteristics.

We explained to them that we thought the game resources were going to be satisfactory. We explained to them that the characteristic of the High Arctic was different from here, that there was not very much in the matter of temperature. The temperature was somewhat lower, we thought, and I don't think we had very specific data on that, and it did not seem to be important in the minds of the Inuit people anyway.

We did explain to them that there was a difference that seemed to be important to human beings, and that is the long period when there was no sun each winter. We explained to them that in the months of December and January one did not see the sun at all and that this is capable of being depressing to human beings.

You might find it so; you might find that you do not wish to live in a land where you will not see the sun for two months in the winter.

Our officers explained this to them, and it was not misunderstood. You should remember that these people of northern Quebec had long periods of approaching that, when the sun set early afternoon and rose late morning – not totally dark, but darkness.

Miss Hinds, the teacher there, entered into this. She had experience in remote places in other parts of the world. She was enthusiastic about taking some of the population of northern Quebec away for a better livelihood. She entered into the explanations to the people. She did not speak Inuktitut well. She did speak it, and she tried her best, but a woman of her age doesn't find it easy to acquire a totally new language like that and be really fluent in it, as were our other Arctic hands who had come into the north as young men and became thoroughly fluent.

She did, however, explain to them what the winter darkness was like, because she had spent some time up there as a welfare teacher.

I don't think there was any chance that she was misunderstood because she was well aware of the fact that it is not just depressing to people to have no sunlight for two months of the year, but it is a difficult matter for women who have sewing as a very important work. It is very difficult to sew in the dark. Men who are working at dog harness or repairing weapons don't find it easy in darkness.

We said we would do our best and they would do their best with equipment that was better than old times – good coal oil burning lamps; electric-powered flashlights – that would enable people to go and get about tasks.

Margery Hinds did her best to explain this to all of the people she knew. As I said, the police officers there did the same, and our special envoys who went up, I believe, three times – that is my recollection.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** In your mind, how long was the promise to return for? If it wasn't taken advantage of in two or three years, did you feel that perhaps –

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** Two or three years. If they found this a satisfactory life – I don't think I would want to hear about it ten years later.

Surely, they would be able to decide in two or three years, yes.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** In your own words, even though it is in your testimony, could you tell us what you think was the main goal of this relocation. What were you trying to achieve?

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** A better life for a few of the people who would be transported; a better life for the remainder of the people in northern Quebec where there would be less of a heavy pressure on the very limited game resources.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** How would you define "a better life?" What would we mean by a better life in this case?

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** Being able to provide their own livelihood instead of living on relief as they were in northern Quebec.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** How was the Eskimo Loan Fund used to finance this particular relocation? How was it actually carried out?

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** I don't think I can answer that because we had officers in the financing section of our department, and they handled that sort of work. We asked them to use the Loan Fund. The inception of that ante-dates my entering the service of that department, and the Loan Fund was in existence when I first joined them.

We consulted our finance officers about what we could do about the expenses of the relocating voyage for the Eastern Arctic Patrol and the transportation of these people. They did not say, "Simply put it into the estimates for the year, and we will provide the money." They didn't say that. They said, "The Eskimo Loan Fund was set up for this sort of thing, for some kind of project that needed financing."

Money was accumulated and put into this account entitled the "Eskimo Loan Fund." It had been used variously in small sums and repayment made. It did not, as I recall, go to individuals; it went to groups, as so many things were done in connection with Inuit life. When this came up, all concerned seemed to think this was an ideal objective for the Eskimo Loan Fund. I

think \$5,000 was the first advance of the Eskimo Loan Fund, so that purchasing agents in the department could make purchases and charge them to the Eskimo Loan Fund. I think the Eastern Arctic Patrol made a charge for carrying the passengers on the ship, too. Payment would be authorized and charged to the Eskimo Loan Fund.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Did this mean that, once the relocation was over and the Inuit had arrived in their northern destinations, they ended up with a collective debt?

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** I don't know that that is the case. The income from furs – you spoke of our planning. I am now talking about the actual operation, and that is what you mentioned last.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Yes.

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** There was income from furs that the relocated Eskimos turned in at their new Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord posts. These furs were marked, these shipments were marked, and those furs were marketed, and the proceeds placed in the Eskimo Loan Fund to repay the debt. This went on for the next few, certainly months and I think for a couple of years, and liquidated the debt.

There was, I think, some work done by Inuit residents of Resolute and of Grise Fiord, and money allocated to the persons who had performed the work on behalf of the group. This then would be paid into the Eskimo Loan Fund as partial repayment.

I have heard complaints expressed that work had been done and no payment. I suggest that, as a rule, that would be the reason, that it was paid into the Eskimo Loan Fund.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** This is a bit technical but, if you can remember, it would be of assistance.

Do you remember if the loan had to be repaid before any new expenditures could be made?

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** Absolutely not.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** So, expenditures could be made and it would be a debit to the account.

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** Yes.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** What, for you, would have been the indicators of either success or failure of this relocation?

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** The satisfaction of the people.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** The process at Resolute at least of keeping the Inuit community from the base at Resolute – we have heard other people's opinions on why that took place. Could we ask you for your opinion on why this was going on.

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** The most obvious sort of thing in my mind concerning this postulate you have expressed – let me speak, for instance, of my experience in arranging for the activities of the United States Air Force in the Eastern Arctic Patrol sites.

I sat with the Americans and the Canadians, the Department of Defence and the police, drawing up the regulations. We said,



This will mean encampments of considerable numbers of men. We do not think it a good thing to give these men freedom to visit Eskimo encampments or Eskimo villages. We want not to grant holidays to your workmen in the north to enable them to go looking for women in Eskimo encampments.

They said, "This is reasonable," and they agreed to this, and they obeyed the regulations that we drew up.

We exercised the same kind of thought in connection with encampments of men and groups of Inuit men and women nearby. We thought it unwise to allow free mixing, or to encourage it I should say. I can't remember whether this would be relieved or rescinded temporarily at Christmas time for a party or something, but by and large we thought it undesirable to have this group of unsophisticated hunters and trappers, speaking a totally different language, to go to a military encampment where liquor was served and where a good many of those men would try for intimacy with Eskimo women.

If that is small-minded in your estimation, I confess to being small-minded. "Protective" is the word that I would use.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** In relation to the dump at the Resolute Base, what were your views on the Inuit having access to this particular dump?

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** I am not strongly opposed to the idea except in terminology for the name.

Garbage dumps are repositories for useful articles in certain circumstances. In connection with dumps used by military establishments, this is especially the case.

The military discard equipment, materials, that you and I or a householder would usually not discard, that can be reused. My own inclination is to reuse it if it can be reused. I have, myself, in building a house British Columbia gone to the local small garbage dump in the country and found a lot of useful materials, and I have personally used them.

We heard that foodstuffs were sometimes thrown out on the dump and that the Inuit would retrieve these foodstuffs. This is not an easy thing to bring regulations on. This waste foodstuff from the kitchens of the military camp is actually valuable for some purposes. The ordinary purpose of pig-feeding, and that kind of thing, which is carried out with waste food in this part of the world, is not possible to arrange for in permitting or forbidding access to a garbage dump in Resolute Bay or Grise Fiord.

Therefore, as I have been reading the comments that you people have made and others here about the restrictions applied to the garbage dump in Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord, I think Constables Gibson and Fryer handled this very gently and effectively. They put up an argument that you should not be taking stuff out of the garbage dump to eat, but they certainly wanted them to take out wood, lumber, that was capable of being reused. They helped them do it.

I think they had exceptions in their minds. I recall hearing about aircraft coming north with a large number of men on board, sometimes bound for a different place, maybe Alert. This aircraft, leaving from a base in southern Canada, would have lunches for all the men on board. With changes in their plan in the aircraft flights, they would find that these lunches were not going to be required because the men would be taken off for a dinner or a breakfast

This generally reflects Sivertz' feelings toward alcohol and protecting the Inuit population from its effects. His time as Commissioner (1963-1967) also reflects his uncertainty about managing alcohol ordinances and allowing free flow of liquor in the territories generally, and particularly in Inuit communities.

or something at the camp en route. Maybe they had encountered weather that made it impossible to pass a certain place, and they had had to spend the night there. They had 45 box lunches on board and, when they got to some place, they would throw them all into the garbage dump.

I recall this sort of thing being distributed to nearby Inuit – first-class food available for their coming to get it. This happened every now and again when you were transporting service men in remote parts of the country.

The Mounted Police Officers, who were representing us and you and all the people of Canada, had to use their best judgment and their kindness in guiding the people whom they were helping.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Thank you for that. Was there any consideration given to the fact that the foodstuffs at the Resolute dump might be used for the Inuit dogs?

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** Of course, yes.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** There has been a lot of opinions on this. If you wouldn't mind giving an answer, I will ask you, for the record, whether or not these relocations had anything to do with Canadian sovereignty at all.

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** They did not.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** It wasn't a secondary issue; it was not considered at all.

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** Not at all. I point out to you that I am in possession of a copy of a Privy Council document on sovereignty, and I have seen it in other people's hands. It is marked "Top Secret."

We never saw things marked "Top Secret." This has been declassified since that time. Certainly, documents marked "Top Secret" were not sent around to departments indiscriminately.

The one that I speak of, which I have a copy of, did mention sovereignty, but we were not instructed to take any care in that matter. We did, of our own accord, think of Canadianizing the north because we were full of thoughts of the Oblates and Mary Immaculate operating all over the north as missionaries for the Roman Catholic Church and the fact that the headquarters of the Oblates in Fedalchuk(PH) and all of the men that I met in the Canadian north were from some place or other in Europe. None of them ever lived in a Canadian city. They were missionaries in the north, and they went back to Europe for their studies and their holidays, and they went there to retire – unCanadian, incapable of describing anything of Canada to the people where they delivered service.

The Anglican Church was almost the same. They recruited nine-tenths of their missionaries from Britain, Scotland and Ireland, and they recruited replacements. The Hudson's Bay Company recruited most of its servants in Scotland. They went there for holidays and they went there to retire. They were unCanadian.

Canada had the services of wonderful people from Europe doing scientific work of all kinds in the north. Canada had benefited greatly from geographers, anthropologists, surveyors, oceanographers, glaciologists, making studies in the Canadian north and leaving their findings in our libraries – wonderful.

This is an important reminder that information and context now available to researchers was not necessarily available to decision-makers at the time.

Canadianizing the Arctic missionaries is a context for what "Canadianizing" meant to department officials at the time that is not discussed elsewhere.

But we thought, as our minds turned around to these things, it would be nice if we could have these activities done by Canadian universities, by sending young Canadians out there. So we did have the idea of Canadianizing the north, and this often sort of got tangled in people's minds with sovereignty.

Actually, we didn't think there was any danger of international difficulty over ownership of the land of the Queen Elizabeth Islands. I wrote an article on the subject myself – and this is an entirely different subject – long after my retirement just a few years ago, pointing out that the danger of Canada's losing any of these lands is zero.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Did your thoughts of Canadianizing the Canadian Arctic include the relocation of Inuit? Did you see this as one of the side benefits of moving the Inuit to a better hunting place, that they would also be in the Canadian High Arctic?

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** Yes, we thought that here was empty land, not occupied by other Inuit hunters. This was something that we liked to see. One of the papers that alleges that I had attributed something to sovereignty was exactly that.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** When they thought the quote was sovereignty, it was really Canadianizing the north. That is really what you would have been meaning.

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** That's all I ever had in mind.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** In relation to the Pond Inlet Inuit, what role did they have in this and what exactly was in it for the Pond Inlet Inuit, outside of assisting the Inuit from northern Quebec to adjust to the High Arctic? What else was in it for them?

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** They were part of the Eskimo activity, and the Eskimo Loan Fund applied to them. We thought this could be chalked up to neighbourly, kindly help, that they would be glad to receive a group of friends and neighbours from southern Canada who spoke their own language, although with a different dialect, that they would be happy to receive them and make them welcome in a land they were not using and which did have wild animals for the newcomers to make use of. We thought this was fine.

We did not intend to pay those people from Pond Inlet. In fact, at least two of them that I know of wanted, themselves, to go to those sections of the country. They did, in fact, join the relocated people. They didn't just go and help them and then go back to Pond Inlet. They went there and they stayed. Sons and daughters of theirs are still there.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** So in the same way as with the people from Inukjuak and Port Harrison, there was some cost to them to the Loan Fund; the same thing happened to people from Pond Inlet.

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** Yes.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** In relation to some of the amenities that were being left behind in Inukjuak – there was a Hudson's Bay store, there was a teacher, there was a church, a nurse – they were not receiving all of the same kinds of amenities in Resolute.

How did you feel this was going to be taken care of – that over time they would get this again?

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** You mentioned first a store. We set up a store.

I was from the outset, from the first moment of my touching anything to do with Inuit people and the remote lands of Canada's north, in favour of co-operatives. I proposed them as soon as I got into the work, but I was not given permission to set up co-operatives by the government that was in power at the time. It was not until a change of ministers took place that I was given permission to set up co-operatives, and they were highly successful wherever they went into use.

You mentioned nursing stations. We did not handle the nursing stations; the Department of National Health and Welfare did. I mentioned in my report on the Eastern Arctic Patrol that the Department of National Health and Welfare regarded themselves as the authorities in the matter of health care for the Inuit people. They did not welcome discussion with us at that time.

We approached them again and again, and we came into very close co-operation with excellent people there, from which resulted the Northern Health Service, a system of nursing stations and hospitals all across the Canadian north, with complete co-operation and planning of everything between the two departments. But at the time we are speaking of there was a standoffish atmosphere in this regard. We didn't feel able to go to them and say, "How about setting up a nursing station here?"

Remember that at the time we were thinking of this as an experimental operation. These people would go to the north and see if the game resources were as accessible as they hoped, see if they liked the country, see if it all went well. Then we would think about schools, nursing stations and other things if the people said, "We are staying here." But we thought it quite possible that the people would say, "We don't like it up here, and we will take advantage of your offer to return us to Port Harrison." If they had said that, I would have asked the Department of Transport to arrange to embark them on the next summer voyage of the Eastern Arctic Patrol and take them to their homes.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** We are getting differing opinions on what occurred – one version from a number of Inuit that were involved in this –

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** The Inuit who have testified have no knowledge whatsoever of the arrangements or of the possibility. Go on.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** I wonder if you have an opinion on whether it is possible that people who were involved in this might have had one perception of what was going on and the organizers might have had yet another. In your working in the north with Aboriginal people and, in particular, the Inuit, have you ever had an occasion, some other instance, where there might have been one understanding by the Inuit and yet another understanding by government officials of the same event?

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** I do not recall any misunderstanding.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Those are my questions. I have a number of others in case they are not asked, but I think we have many other Commissioners who want to ask questions.

Interdepartmental jurisdictional boundaries were unclear in the late-1940s and early-1950s. The creation of the DNANR in late 1953 was, in part, an attempt to consolidate the activities of the government in the North and to clarify departmental responsibilities. For further reading, see Jenness (1964).

Commissioner Mary Sillett, please.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Thank you very much.

We have heard many people say that the Inuit were relocated from Inukjuak to the High Arctic because of the possibility of starvation, the depletion of wildlife resources. I am just wondering how you got your information about the state of wildlife resources in the Inukjuak area in the 1950s. Also, did you talk to any hunters in getting this information?

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** I don't recall any conversations reported to me with Inukjuak hunters. We did have reports of Royal Canadian Mounted Police members there and of the nurse in charge of the nursing station. We also had the results of our studies of the demand for relief supplies which were larger than any other place in Canada.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** I was just wondering how you decided who would be relocated. We have heard conflicting information from people who have said that the people who were chosen were the people who were the greatest strain on the relief, and then we have heard other people saying that that wasn't the case, that in fact many of the people who were chosen for relocation were extremely capable hunters and more capable carvers.

I am wondering what your response to this is.

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** We did not choose them; they chose themselves. As I explained to you through the speech that Mr. Kenney read, the Inuit in those days, perhaps still, made their decisions by a consensus into which it is not easy for government administrators to penetrate. Nor did we wish to.

We wished that, if there be a group of them at Port Harrison who decided they wanted to go north in response to our question, the group would be put together by them. This is why, for instance, we saw a pregnant woman as one of the members going to the High Arctic. This was criticized by a researcher: "How dare they send a pregnant woman with a group to the High Arctic?" I replied: "How dare we not?" She was a member of the family, and there was no place for her to go if the family went off without her. The Eskimos didn't for a moment think it sensible to leave such a person behind.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** There were some separations of families anyway.

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** Pardon? We didn't separate them. We didn't choose them. They chose themselves. They put together the group themselves.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** That is what you say, but I understand, too, that there were times when they were separated. For example, on the *C.D. Howe*, some people got off at Craig Harbour and others went on to Resolute.

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** That is true, but that is not the putting together of the original group.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** I know, but I am talking of separation of families here. What we have heard anyway was that there was separation of families at all stages – putting them together, throughout the –

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** I agree with you that the government did interfere with this after the voyage started, with the landing and the separation of people who had not wished to be separated, I think, but I don't know.

However, putting together the original group was in response to our question: Do you want to go to the High Arctic? This was a question that we put to a person who we thought was a leader capable of putting together a workable group, largely founded upon family. It is that group that we stayed away from in setting it up, in deciding who were members of the group and who were not.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** We heard in April that there was a real epidemic of TB, particularly in Resolute and some in Grise, and that caused families to be separated for long periods of time. I thought the objective was to make sure that the relocatees had a clean bill of health, so something must have happened. Could you explain what may have happened there.

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** I don't know about it. I never heard of it.

The doctor on board the *C.D. Howe*, when they embarked, said they were all healthy.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Did you know that, for example, there were people who had had TB who were in Resolute? If you were listening to the April hearings, just as we were, I am sure you would have heard that. Did you not know about that?

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** No. I tried to get to the April hearings and I did not succeed.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Another question I have is that we heard that people who had relocated from Inukjuak to the High Arctic had their family allowances cut off and their pensions for the aged cut off. Could you comment on that, please.

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** No, I know nothing about it. Incidentally, I can't imagine any mechanism through which this would happen. I can't imagine it.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** When Mr. Kenney was giving your presentation, one of the things that struck me was the memory of my own childhood. I grew up in Hopedale, Labrador. There was a Canadian base there, as well, and there were rules of separation. Clearly, the local people were under instruction never to go to the base, and the base was under the same kind of instruction.

But there were times, for example, when the base people would come down and they would usually visit our family because my grandfather was a Chief Elder in my community. They would come down, and often there would be photographs taken. I still have some of those photographs, and if you look at all of us, we were happy, we were smiling, and I am sure that, if anyone had written a book, they would give a very positive impression.

I guess what I am trying to say is that sometimes there is a different side of the story to be told by people who actually live in those circumstances. I heard what you said, but I wonder if the people who gave those stories just saw or did they live there? In April we heard stories about people who had been relocated; we heard many stories about the early years of relocation, the kinds of hardship they endured.

Did you not know about those? Did you not hear those stories before? Did you ever hear that the Inuit relocatees might be unhappy

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** The first time I heard any story of unhappiness concerning the relocatees that we are talking about from northern Quebec to the High Arctic was about 1975-76. I didn't hear it at the time but, looking back at it now, we heard nothing in the way of criticism until the 1970s.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Those are all the questions I have. Thank you very much.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Commissioner Paul Chartrand, please.

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** Mr. Sivertz, I would just like to ask a question to clarify a small point, if I may.

You were talking about the explanations made by various officials to the Inuit people in Quebec prior to their moving. One of these individuals was Margery Hinds, if I follow.

Do you know about her fluency in Inuktitut?

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** Did I know what?

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** Was she fluent in the Inuktitut language?

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** I already said that about 10 minutes ago. She spoke Inuktitut, but not well. She didn't come to that employment until she was a woman of perhaps 40 years of age. It is not easy for a person then to become fluent. She tried very hard, and she made a great many friends.

I say that because she is quoted as a person that I recognize as reliable. I inform you that she asked to be transferred after the relocated Eskimos went from Port Harrison to Resolute and Grise Fiord. She went there on a transfer. She did this in order to be near her old friends from Port Harrison.

She wrote a book after that, and she mentioned seeing them and how all of them reported to her that they were very, very pleased with it.

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** Thank you for that. I am sorry I did not hear you the first time you mentioned it. I was doing my best to follow. Thank you for the clarification.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Commissioner Viola Robinson, please.

**COMMISSIONER VIOLA ROBINSON:** Thank you.

Mr. Sivertz, you said your messengers were RCMP and other officials that were situated in Inukjuak at the time. When we talk about the Inuit people making statements of being forced to move, and you say that these were untrue, I wonder if we look at how we view force.

At the time the government, I suppose, had officials in Inukjuak who were administering to the Inuit there, and the Inuit people looked upon these administrators as people who were trying to do the best things for them. If they were approached and if they were told – and maybe not too clearly; we don't know that – that there was a better life for them somewhere, even if they didn't want to go, maybe they felt they had to go in their own minds.

This has happened more than once in Canada to some other Aboriginal people. Today, when the Inuit look back, they see that as force.

Was there ever a time during all these times that the Inuit took offence or objected to something they were being told to do, or were they always saying, after a little bit of talk, "Yes, yes, yes, you're right; we have to go?" What would your view be on that?

Commissioner Viola Robinson, a Mi'kmaq woman from Nova Scotia, founded and was president of the Native Council of Nova Scotia and was a national leader of the Native Council of Canada

I think maybe we have to look at the thinking of the Inuit at that time and how people were relating to them.

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** I had occasion to inquire into this subject a good many times. I put into the main body of the speech that Mr. Kenney read that Inuit did not, as a rule, feel inclined to obey forceful measures that anyone might propose. Mr. Kenney read the situation that, if anyone tried to force anything upon an Inuit, the Inuit would give him smiling replies and he would never give him a refusal. But, if the Inuit would then take home the question and turn it over in his mind and perhaps talk it over in the community that he was a member of, if disapproval was the result, the proposal of the white person that he intended to enforce – it would just not happen. This is because the Inuit have always considered themselves the pinnacle of the human race, and they have always considered the white intruders into the northland as astonishingly ignorant people.

Every Inuit at the time that I started working in government service among them, every Inuit that I ran across, seemed to act in a way that indicated his opinion that Inuit were smarter than any other human being and that white people have these wonderful machines, but they are stupid in other matters concerning living and working in the Arctic. You must never do what a white man says about travel plans without considering it critically, because it is probably not a good plan. Certainly, if it conflicts with the plans or is criticized by Inuit, it is certainly not to be followed.

This was the opinion that I got concerning the views of the Inuit on the people of the white race that had moved in among them. Whether they were Hudson's Bay post managers – and many of those men were of long years of experience; many of them had many friends among the Eskimos – or whether they were Mounted Police, because our department only came into the scene at a late date, it was the same. They seemed to regard the Inuit as having independent minds, that they did not yield to forceful methods.

I, myself, had a good many experiences with Inuit because I set up training programs. Most of them were training in diesel mechanics, electricity, in the techniques of running the railroad. We had the railroad at Pine Point run by Eskimos for a time, until a change of management brought in a person who wanted not to have any Aboriginal people around.

I, myself, was in touch with many Eskimos who were graduates of these training programs and who helped us select others to go to these training programs. I had them tell me things or show me things that supported the idea that I have expressed a few minutes ago, that the Inuit men that I was dealing with were not ashamed of themselves, were not afraid of white men. They believed that they were members of a race that was the top of the human race. This is a healthy attitude for a human being to have, and I think the Inuit did have it. Maybe they have lost it since.

**COMMISSIONER VIOLA ROBINSON:** Thank you. I have just one more question.

This relocation, we hear, was an experiment. You said there was a store put there and that later on there were nursing stations and hospitals all over the north.

How long did this experiment go on before they got hospitals and nursing stations and other amenities? How long was this experiment, or how long did they propose it to be?



**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** I don't know. I left this Arctic work only about two or three years later and took on broad responsibilities where this was only one of many communities across the north that was having developmental experience. When a nursing station came into effect there I don't know.

We were not inclined at the outset to equip this new, small, relocated group with – people ask, “Why didn't you set up a school? Why didn't you set up a nursing station? Why didn't you set up a store?” Had the group replied to my inquiries in 1954 or 1955, “Do you wish to stay here or do you wish to go back to Port Harrison?” we would have put them on the next available Eastern Arctic Patrol and taken them back. I did not want to have the costs of building a school up there wasted in that way.

I was going to take them back and call the whole thing off if that was what they asked for. Nothing else would be possible. But they were not suffering at that time. The people who replied to my officers' questions, “Do you want to go back to Inukjuak?” said “Absolutely not.” This they said for several successive years while I was still in charge of the Eastern Arctic.

**COMMISSIONER VIOLA ROBINSON:** Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you. Mr. Sivertz, I have only one question because you have been quite explicit on most of the issues.

I understand that there were many relocations in the past, where Aboriginal people were moved from their area of origin to another for all kinds of reasons. What is striking about this particular location is its magnitude. The distance is quite different and the consequences that were there for the people – the relationship with their families, the period of darkness, and on and on.

In fact, the question which I think is in the minds of many people is the proportion of the action that was taken in 1953, given the situation in Inukjuak.

My question is: The factors like Canadianizing the north, to see whether Inuit could adapt to the High Arctic and maybe have, in the longer term, a better future there, also the fact that demands for government relief were increasing and this was getting more costly to government were part of the picture, in addition to the immediate well-being of people in Inukjuak.

Given the standard at the time and the situation that was there, was the move, with the risk involved and the planning, which you mentioned was in many aspects anecdotal with regard to wildlife and so on, in proportion with the problems that were being experienced by the Inuit people? Underlying this you have mentioned that everything was explained to the Inuit, but the assessment of their situation was essentially made by people who were not Inuit, looking at the record of increased government relief and so on.

I think we are getting quite close to the crux of the matter in this whole issue. My question is: Do you feel that at that time this move, with all the risks involved but maybe also some benefits, was proportionate to the harms that could follow – the fact that people didn't have their school and they would have to decide whether to stay or to resume the kind of life they had in Inukjuak, Quebec? That might take 10 years; in fact, it took quite a few years before the young people were able to resume their schooling – I believe it was in 1958.

Do you feel that this was proportionate to the situation? What role did these motives play in the overall assessment as to whether it was really for

The expansion of the department meant Sivertz took on broader roles within the Department, becoming Chief of the Arctic Division (Northern Administration and Lands Branch) in 1954 and Director of the Branch by 1957.

the well-being of those people that this was done? I know it is not an easy question, but I think we are getting closer to the real issue in addressing that question.

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** The situation was that Canada was really just getting on to her first post-war readjustment, and an early stage of this was the decision to become more active in the north, as referred to in my speech that Mr. Kenney read. Canada was just getting on her feet.

The north was not equipped with schools as it is today. You say, "Why didn't we put a school up there?" We did not –

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** I am sorry, that is not what I am saying. It was quite clear that there would not be a school at the start. My question was more: As there was a school in Inukjuak and Port Harrison, was the decision to offer this move and to make this move happen proportionate with the risk of hardship that was there?

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** There was no risk of hardship. There was no hardship, and no risk of hardship at all.

The implication of this is that this is an experiment and, if it failed, it would be through the deaths of the people. No! We were equipped with wireless facilities and capable of bringing foodstuffs to the people as they required it by air at any time, bringing health supplies. But we were not going to set up a school for three or four families there.

You say there was a school in Inukjuak. Well, it was a school that Margery Hinds conducted on a very small scale for only a few of the people. The vast majority of the people of northern Quebec had no schooling at all.

Had we set up a school or gone into any other activities, it would have been out of all proportion to the facilities that were elsewhere in northern Quebec, Baffin Island, Boothia or any part of the Northwest Territories, except the Western Arctic where we did get under way early, building upon the earlier church-operated schools that were already in existence.

The Eastern Arctic, from northern Quebec to the High Arctic, was not being serviced in this way at all.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you.

Again, I just want to be clear and be sure that I am understood.

I will just leave you with the question. The basic question is whether, given the planning that was put into it, the time frame for the operation, given the fact that it meant moving people 200 kilometres north with no immediate possibility to keep relationships with their friends and extended families in the south, the fact that there would be for some of the people a break from their schooling for a few years and for younger Inuit no possibility to get schooling for a while, this was out of proportion with the hardship suffered in Inukjuak and Port Harrison in 1953. To what extent was this decision influenced by factors that are recognized, such as Canadianizing the north, getting people out of government relief support, trying to see, as an experiment, whether those people would adjust and adapt to the High Arctic situation, judging by the standards that were available to those who made the decision in 1953? That is really the question I put to you.

I understand your answer, in part, but I think this is a very fundamental question that is in the minds of certainly the Commissioners and the Canadian public. It is not an easy one.

This is, fundamentally, the crux of what the RCAP Hearing is about: was the risk of hardship in relocating Inuit proportionate to the risk of hardship of not relocating Inuit? It is unfortunate that Sivertz does not fully understand this question as it is posed, though the testimony of April and June suggest that the answer to this question varies significantly from those who planned and implemented the relocation (i.e. Government officials) and those who experienced it (i.e. Inuit).

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** You are saying that these people were deprived of schooling that they would have had had they remained in Inukjuak. This is not the case.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** I am listing this as one item for some of them. The medical services were not exactly the same, and there are other items. I am not singling out one specific item.

It is just that the magnitude of the move was quite striking. Moving those people to the High Arctic had a magnitude that other relocations which took place in Canada didn't have. Because of that, one would think that planning and organization measures would be taken to lessen the risk as much as possible. This is essentially the question.

I am asking about the proportion. When people are literally starving, you have to do something, but I think there is general agreement that this was not the case. It was not in the sense of starvation that we see on television nowadays, but there was a genuine concern. The perceptions which the Inuit had and which non-Inuit people had may have differed quite a bit on the assessment of the situation.

That was the background for my question. I suppose it crossed your mind and the minds of others as to whether, from a human point of view, the proportion was correct and whether it was worth doing it. Obviously, the judgment was made that it was worth doing because it was done. That is the question I put to you, and I wanted to know if you had additional views.

You told us your views on the schools, and I appreciate that. If there are no further comments on that, for my part, I would like to thank you for being with us this morning.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** We are not quite finished yet. We have one or two more questions, Mr. Sivertz, if you don't mind. Commissioner Sillett has one or two more questions.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Thank you again, both Georges and Mrs. Wilson, for giving me a second opportunity to ask questions.

I can't help but say that so many issues have been raised since I last asked my questions, but due to time I will limit my questions.

When you talked about the Inuit believing themselves to be superior, a thought went through my mind. My grandfather, my great-grandfather – and I don't know who my father was – and my mother, whenever a *Qadlunaat* would sit beside them and tell them something, to them it was the law. To them, they would never talk back.

But I am of a different generation. I really think that we speak out a lot more.

I have as much experience in working with Inuit right across Canada and, in my experience, I feel confident in saying, with respect to Mr. Sivertz, that what I heard in April about Inuit feeling that the *Qadlunaat* was someone to be afraid of, someone to be revered, whose words were to be acted upon, I believed.

We heard from Ross Gibson yesterday. He was an RCMP in Resolute. He said that almost every single order that he gave was accepted and was acted upon, not only by the Inuit but by the RCAF in that community.

If the Inuit thought they were so superior, why then did they obey every single order given by Ross Gibson? I think he described the Inuit as being very co-operative.

That's my preface. I have three questions.

In April we heard in very much detail about the differences between the Pond Inlet and the Inukjuak Inuit. It was probably felt that they were all Inuit, so they shouldn't have much problem communicating; they certainly shouldn't have any problem getting along. There was some recognition that the Pond Inlet were somewhat accustomed to the conditions north of 60, so they were in a position to help the Inukjuak Inuit adjust.

We heard that there were so many differences between the Pond Inlet and the Inukjuak Inuit, including dialectal differences. The Pond Inlet Inuit use a *quilliq*, and no wood stove; the Inukjuak Inuit use the wood stoves. The Pond Inlet use factory tents – and the differences go on. Clearly, there were major differences.

We heard also from the Pond Inlet Inuit who were in the elderly category that they went to the High Arctic to make their life better. They had a choice. They wanted to, because they believed they would get paid for their services.

We heard from one man who believed he would get enough money to buy a boat, so he accepted to go to help the Inukjuak Inuit. We heard this morning that there was never any intention to pay them. There is a contradiction there.

First of all, could you clarify that issue for me.

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** There were no arrangements to pay the Pond Inlet people and no word of that subject was uttered by any of our officers either way. I don't know of any inquiry being made by the Pond Inlet people.

I already explained to you that I believed that they were offering friendly assistance to other Inuit people in relating to the High Arctic, which was a field of special knowledge to them. I reminded you that several of these people had the intention, when they accepted the idea, of remaining there and that, in fact, they did remain there in Resolute Bay.

In those circumstances, I don't see how the department is wrong in saying that this is part of the settlement of the two High Arctic locations. This was charged to the Eskimo Loan Fund, and it is being repaid to the Eskimo Loan Fund, so that the Loan Fund is an ongoing pool of money that can be drawn upon by Inuit people in any part of Canada.

A thing that was said, I think – and I don't hear very well – is that there was hardship. There was no hardship, madam. There was no hardship in 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958. There was only very great satisfaction expressed by all the Inuit people of Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord, expressed to my officers on their annual patrol, expressed to other people of the highest level of integrity – and I have given five of them as examples.

If the things that you are saying are true, then you must be implying that these five persons who appear in my letter to Madam Justice Wilson are lying. This has to be said, if you are staying with your story.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** You said earlier that the Inuit leaders at the camp were told very clearly that, if they were dissatisfied, they would be able to return.

Yesterday, when we had a telephone meeting with Ross Gibson, we asked him that question, and he said that he didn't know about any promise of the Inuit being able to return if they were not satisfied.

Could you explain to me why the difference.

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** He had nothing to do with it. He was an agent

helping with the operation of the communities. He had nothing to do with the promise or its execution, carrying it out.

Had people said to us that they wished to return to Inukjuak, what ought I to do? Had a person come to my officers and said, "I want to go back to Inukjuak," we would have said to him, "You came here as a member of a group, of a family-connected group. I am not going to respond to a request from you to be sent back all by yourself. You came to the decision to come up here as part of a group." If that group spokesman comes to me and says, "My group wants to go back," then we would send the group back.

This is the way decisions were made by the Inuit in those days. Obviously, they are not being made by the Inuit nowadays.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Could you just tell me, then, who knew about this promise.

**MR. BENT G. SIVERTZ:** Everybody did. It was talked about right, left and centre throughout the High Arctic and throughout northern Quebec at the time. Everybody knew that they could go back if they didn't want to stay.

But I would not deal with individuals any more than I dealt with individuals to go north. I dealt with a spokesman for the Inuit. This is the way all arrangements were made between government representatives and the Inuit people of Canada at that time. As I just said to you, obviously it is very different today.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Are there any other questions?

It has been a very long morning for you. I would like to thank you for being very patient and answering these questions. I realize that at times it was emotional for you. Thank you for doing this, even though this morning you didn't feel as well as you could

have. Thank you very much for coming forward.

We are going to take a short break.

— Short Recess at 11:17 a.m. — Upon resuming at 11:35 a.m.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Our next witness is Gerard Kenney.

Please proceed when you are ready.

**GERARD KENNEY:** Good morning. I would like to introduce myself with a short bit of personal history so that you know who I am and why I am here.

My name is Gerard Kenney. I am more commonly known as Gerry Kenney. As a telecommunications engineer in the sixties and earlier seventies, I was responsible for Bell Canada's telecommunications network in the north – in Labrador, Arctic Quebec and the eastern part of the Northwest Territories. My work took me into many northern communities, including Pond Inlet, Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay.

The north and its people captivated me. I developed a lively interest in both the Inuit and their land, an interest that I have maintained over the years even though for some time now my work no longer takes me into the north.

I followed with great interest the media reporting of the Inuit allegations concerning the 1950s relocations of some of their people from Inukjuak and Pond Inlet to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay. Like almost everyone else, I became convinced by the media reporting that the Inuit had been relocated

Gerard Kenney was a telecommunications specialist and researcher with an interest in Arctic history. His 1994 book *Arctic Smoke and Mirrors* examined the High Arctic Relocations

to the High Arctic to protect Canadian sovereignty against the covetous ambitions of foreign powers, especially the Americans.

It seemed logical and almost self-evident in the light of Inuit representations and media support.

There was one disquieting gap in this thread of so-called logic, though. No one had ever presented any hard facts to support the allegations in spite of much archival research. The evidence was virtually all anecdotal, recounted by the Inuit of today and reported by their supporters and the media. I felt this was a gap that should be filled.

Somewhere in the archives, I thought, there must exist official documents which would prove that sovereignty concerns were really the motive for the relocations. Where others had failed, I would find this “smoking gun”, as I described it to my friends with whom I spoke of my research. It had to be there; it was just that no one had found it yet.

This would not be the first time that I had supported the Inuit cause. My work with the Arctic Institute of North America, with now Senator Willie Adams, the CRTC and the CBC in the early 1970s was instrumental in bringing Native language TV and radio programming into the north.

In the fall of 1991, I started haunting the Canadian National Archives in Ottawa in my spare time, on weekends and in the evenings, poring over thousands of yellowing pages of official government documents, many marked “Secret” or “Top Secret” but now declassified. I spoke with many people who were involved in some way with the events of the 1950s – government officials, Hudson’s Bay Company traders, RCMP officers, Inuit and other researchers. I applied for a Canada Council grant to travel north and speak with the surviving Inuit who had been relocated. This step became unnecessary as the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples decided to bring some 35 Inuit south to Ottawa to testify.

As I plunged further and further into my research, I became frustrated. The “smoking gun” was as elusive as ever, and I felt that I must soon join the ranks of my fellow researchers from whom it had escaped as well. In fact, I turned up not one pertinent document that remotely tied the 1950s relocations to national security concerns for protecting the Arctic against claims of foreign powers.

Then, to my surprise, I realized that in my search for the smoking gun, I was uncovering instead a mass of hard documentary evidence pointing to another reason for the relocations, a reason just as plausible as the supposed sovereignty reason for the relocations – in fact, far more plausible since it was backed by ample written documentary evidence. That reason was a sincere concern on the part of the government for the welfare of the Inuit living on the stark and unproductive “hungry coast” on the eastern side of Hudson Bay. This included Inukjuak.

I found much documentary evidence to show that that part of the north was indeed an area of inadequate resources and destitution. Government concern for the welfare of the Inuit is obvious in the instructions given to James Cantley who was Officer-in-Charge of one leg of the 1951 Eastern Arctic Patrol. I quote from his instructions:

As you are aware, northern Quebec is the area where the Inuit problems are most acute and it will be necessary for you to inquire into what can be done to alleviate conditions there.

The mythical smoking gun faded into oblivion as I continued my re-

For further reading on Kenney’s search for the “smoking gun”, see Kenney (1994).

search.

Further surprises awaited me. Where the Inuit have said that they went hungry and underwent terrible sufferings in their new High Arctic homes after the relocations, I found absolutely no documentary evidence of this. What I did find, though, was plenty of hard documentation showing that the Inuit were far better off in their new homes than they had ever been in Inukjuak, that they had more food and fur resources, that they were the healthiest communities of Inuit in all the Arctic, and that their communities were financially prospering, especially Resolute Bay. Much of this documentation to which I refer is in the form of letters written by the relocated Inuit themselves living in Resolute Bay.

It has been said that the Inuit were promised they could return to their old homes within two years if they were not happy. This contention is, in fact, supported by documentary evidence. What is not supported, though, is that they asked to go back. Instead, there is documentary evidence to the effect that they were so satisfied with their new homes that they did not want to go back.

Again, much of this evidence is found in letters written by the Inuit themselves. Where requests to go back were expressed in the Inuit letters, they were almost invariably for temporary visits to see relatives or to take care of aging parents. The wish for the visits to be temporary and the desire to return to the High Arctic after the visits are evident in the letters.

The letters also show that the people of the High Arctic wanted their relatives to join them because the conditions were better in their new homes than they were in Inukjuak.

There is evidence to show that the people remaining in their old homes on the Hudson Bay coast after the relocations had been convinced by their relatives in the High Arctic of the better conditions there and did indeed want to join them, to the extent that one RCMP officer in Resolute Bay complained in an official report of the danger of over-population at Resolute Bay if all who wished to move there were accommodated.

I don't expect the Commission to take only my word for what I have said. I have therefore gathered together a small part of the evidence that I have uncovered which I would like to present now. I wish to assure the Royal Commission that I have been absolutely objective and non-selective in presenting the evidence, other than that I selected every letter that I could find that bore any relevance to the relocations, positive or negative.

If the evidence appears to be heavily one-sided, that is because the documented evidence is one-sided. There is virtually no documentary evidence supporting the Inuit allegations relating to hardship, suffering and wrongdoing in connection with the relocations. In fact, the evidence is much to the contrary.

The evidence I will present is only a small part of what I have uncovered in my research, but it is particularly significant since it is in the form of letters and articles written in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s by Inuit themselves who were relocated. With one or two exceptions, the original letters, written in syllabics, which I will be quoting from are in the files of the Department of Indian Affairs. I will be quoting from translations made by Inuit translators.

The following excerpts are from 20 letters written by relocated Inuit in Resolute Bay to people in the Canadian government department responsible for Indian Affairs at the time in Ottawa. I have omitted the names of the

writers and have substituted alphabetic letters since I am not certain if I have the right to make the names public. I tried to check with the Privacy Commissioner, Mr. Grace, but I understand he had a heart attack, and I could not get an answer on that.

However, I have prepared an index relating alphabetic letters to names if the Royal Commission is of the opinion that it is proper for me to release them to the Commission.

The first four letters were all written by the same person whom I call "Inuit A."

**Letter No. 1: May 1956, a letter from Inuit A to Mr. B.G. Sivertz, who just made a presentation here:**

I want to speak to you about the fox I sent. Without the thought of money in return and thinking of all the help I have been given by the Government in the past, please accept it as of my gratitude.

This place has more polar bear, foxes, walrus and seals in the summer than Pond Inlet. There are also more caribou here than anywhere else.

I am happy here and do not wish to return to Pond Inlet for a long while yet.

The Port Harrison people seem to like it here too.

**Letter No. 2: May 1956, from Inuit A to Leo Manning of the Department of Indian Affairs:**

I am contented where I am at and not wishing to go back to the Pond Inlet area.

I would like more people coming here from Pond Inlet to help out in the teaching of the hunting ...

**Letter No. 3: December 1956, letter from Inuit A to Ben Sivertz:**

... we have enough food and our dogs are not hungry. We have seal, walrus and whale for food.

I like Resolute fine. There are enough seals, lots of walrus, whales and polar bear.

There is food enough here for more than a hundred people if there were that many here.

**Letter No. 4 by Inuit A to Leo Manning:**

No. Leo I don't want to live at any other place than here. I want you to know that I do not intend to go back to Pond Inlet because I think Resolute Bay is a better place for game.

**Letter No. 5: October 1958, letter from Inuit B who, by the way, also testified at the April hearings:**

My brother Inuit C would get more help if he stays with me here ... He is in Port Harrison and I was wondering if he could come next summer. And there is more country food here.

"Country food" is game.

**Letter No. 6: October 1959, letter from Inuit D to Robert Williamson, who will be testifying later on in these hearings:**



I want my mother-in-law and my brother who are at Port Harrison to come and stay with us next year.

I really do need someone to help me because this place of darkness has white foxes. It is a good place. Also people never go hungry here, because there are lots of animals to hunt.

**Letter No. 7: December 1959, letter from Inuit E to the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources:**

This is the person I would like to come, his name is Inuit F and also his wife, Inuit G because she is our daughter. If they come, she could help her mother. I want them to come to our settlement.

Because we here in our settlement are helped by the white man, we are grateful. Because there are not many people here in our settlement, we have never been hungry.

**Letter No. 8: March 1960, letter from Inuit H to Robert Williamson:**

Inuit H. is writing to Bobby. I want to know what you think and I want you to tell me. Inuit J ... wrote to me and saying that he wants to come here to live in the High Arctic ... If he can come here to live I will be very glad to have him. He also said in his letter that he was not to(o) happy in Port Harrison, because he finds (it) very difficult to get the dog food this winter and he has been trapping and hunting. There was nothing at this area –

Meaning Resolute.

– (but) lots of walrus and plenty of seals, and it has more foxes than Port Harrison, and lots of square flipper seals, lots of whales. He can get more dog food here at Resolute Bay than Port Harrison. It is a good place to live.

**Letter No. 9: April 1960. Letter from Inuit A, the same Inuk who wrote the first four letters, to Robert Williamson:**

Three of us ... are working at the Air Force Base. This year there are still less foxes, but there are some polar bears and many caribou.

**Letter No. 10: July 1960, letter from Inuit H to Robert Williamson:**

We are getting a lot of help making money because of the white people are very kind to us.

We are happy to work and all of us are well look(ed) after. And the police is very kind and he is alright, but sometimes we do not obey what he asks us to do.

All of us Eskimos are receiving help from the white people and we should be grateful about this and listen to the police.

**Letter No. 11: August 1960, letter from Inuit A to W.G. Brown, Chief of the Territorial Division:**

... our weather is not too warm here, we don't even have any mosquitos and it's beautiful country. Too bad that our police always want to go away very quickly we liked him very much because he helped great deal for the Eskimos. We may be sorry when he leaves, I wonder?

**Letter No. 12: August 1960, letter from Inuit K to the Department of Northern Affairs.** This letter is particularly poignant because of the writer's obvious feelings of being torn between personal wishes and duty:

I am living at Resolute Bay right now. I was living at Port Harrison (Inukjuak) in 1957. I came to Resolute Bay by the *C.D. Howe*. Right now, I am thinking that in 1961, I would like to go back to Port Harrison. This is Inuit K...I want to stay one more year at Resolute Bay. Next summer I want to go back to Port Harrison. Anyhow I am thankful that they are looking after me so well. I am still living at Resolute Bay. Someone wanted me to return but I don't want to return myself. The one who wants me to return is living in Port Harrison. I want to agree with him...He is getting old...He wants me. If I can, I should go back to him if transportation is available. If I can't it is alright.

I want to try and stick it out here this coming winter. The white people are helping me a lot but I still need to go back to Port Harrison...My wife's father lives at Port Harrison and he is very old. I want to go back for a while next summer. I still want to go hunting this winter at Resolute. I am able to live anywhere – Port Harrison or Resolute Bay.

This was the first request for somebody to go back that I found in the letters. I would like to note that on October 6, 1961 the Department of Northern Affairs answered Inuit K saying:

Leah is writing to Inuit K on behalf of worker for the department. We received your letter requesting to return to Inukjuak...we hear that you could, in fact, return to Inukjuak. We knew that you and your father are happy about this. We hope you will have a successful winter and plenty of foxes.

So arrangements were obviously made for this person to go back to Inukjuak.

**Letter No. 13: May 1961, letter from Inuit A to W.G. Brown:**

We like the policeman here because he helps us a lot. The White men seem much nicer now than they used to be, and also the Eskimos are becoming more accustomed to their ways...Our land is pleasant in the spring and summer because we can do any kind of hunting and we have lots of seals, deer and polar bear...We are happy as well that our children are learning more and more English.

**Letter No. 14: August 1961, letter from Inuit L to Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources:**

We are just fine and have good food here in Resolute Bay. All the children are happy here. We have enough food for the dogs this year, and all the Eskimos here have enough money also.

**Letter No. 15: September 1961, letter from Inuit H to Gordon Robertson, Deputy Minister of Northern Affairs:**

...I want so much to see my relatives. I need to know about my sister. I came to Resolute Bay in 1955, it is now 1961 that's how long it's been since I've last seen my relatives back in Inukjuak. I am longing for my sister. It's been too long without seeing them. It was made clear to me

that we could see them again when they moved us from Inukjuak...I'm old now and my thoughts of my loved ones lives in my daily life. It is time now that I see them, as it's been so long without seeing them. I would like to go to Inukjuak as early as possible. Please write and let me know.

The answer to this person's letter was as follows:

This is in response on behalf of the Deputy Minister of the Department of Northern Affairs. He asked me to reply to your letter of Sept. It is very expensive to fly from Resolute to Inukjuak, return. The department cannot pay for a trip if you only want to visit with your sister. Maybe there's another reason for wanting to go to Inukjuak, and if so, you must tell the police up there, they will inform the government (and) let them know why you need assistance to go to Inukjuak.

This clearly indicates the department's unwillingness to pay for a temporary visit but also shows willingness to consider a more valid reason for returning.

**Letter No. 16: March 1962, letter from Inuit M to the Department of Northern Affairs:**

I came here in 1953, 9 years ago. I was the first to land before anyone ever lived here.

It's nice of the government to be helping and the government have started to provide housing for some families, what I want to say in Inuktitut Magazine is that I want to know from the government why we must live in shacks built from scrap when Resolute is one of the coldest places if at all possible it would be best if we have a proper house to live in and I want to hear what the government have to say to this and as soon as possible, because I'm going to keep writing to you.

The answer on May 1 of the same year from the department was:

Elijah is writing on behalf of the department. We received your letter of March 5, thank you. The reason we were not shipping houses was because we knew that none of you were asking for a house. We also knew that the houses which were built by the Inuit are warm and bigger.

Anybody who wants to buy a house in Resolute can inform the local police and they will let us know.

Furthermore, if you or anyone else wants to buy the government built housing they can also contact the police and they will let us know.

I'll just say goodbye for now. Elijah.

**Letter No. 17: April or May 1962, from Inuit A to W.G. Brown:**

Our country is once again very beautiful and never gets dark even at night. Three dog teams came in yesterday bringing in 20 caribou plenty of food for people and dogs.

**Letter No. 18: November 1962, from Inuit A to W.G. Brown:**

Here at Resolute Bay, we have enough food and there are still a lot of animals.

It does not seem to be too dark out here now, because we are used to it. My family and I are very well.

The next two examples are letters of complaint which were received in the same year from two different people who were probably writing of the same event. I have purposely omitted dates as well as names.

**Letter No. 19, from Inuit M:**

I am writing to inform you that a dog team came in January the coldest month, very hungry some of their dogs had died of starvation. (Blank) and his wife were nearly starving and some other people came in with no food. They left with absolutely nothing from the store. What I want to know is if there has been changes made with respect to helping those in need. Because this is the first time I've known a policeman who just doesn't care about Inuit in need of help.

**Letter No. 20, from Inuit N:**

I am going to write a few lines to Ottawa to find out something I'd like to know.

There were some Eskimos came to Resolute Bay in February from quite far away. They were starving and many of their dogs died from hunger.

They went away again this month and they bought only few goods as they didn't have much money. We feel sorry for them that we didn't help them because we thought our policeman was going to give them some relief like they usually do.

Other policemen use to give our visitors some relief even when they were not hungry. Our policeman says that the law has been changed.

Those Eskimos will live far away from whitemen and we didn't give them too much ammunition. We will worry about them until we hear from them and we won't see them until next year. I would like to find out whether the law really has been changed or not.

These two letters are significant since they show that, if the Inuit had a complaint against the RCMP, they were not afraid to write. Had there been cases of stealing money, destroying mail, lying and sexual abuse on the part of the RCMP officers, as has been alleged, there is every reason to believe that the Inuit would have written to complain.

That is the end of the 20 letters. In addition to the above quotations from Inuit letters in the files of Indian Affairs, there are three other sources of Inuit opinion about the relocations and the situation at the time that are pertinent.

Item No. 1 is a personal letter from Idlout, the famous hunter, to Bent Sivertz, dated March 1957, in which he says:

I am very happy now at Resolute Bay. It is very good Resolute Bay the land. Resolute Bay is very good. I hope I will stay at Resolute long ago.

We found some now the land have some lot's caribou in the BATURS-ISLAND (Bathurst Island). We are hunting sometimes in this winter in the hole seal. It's like Pond Inlet.

I had this winter 45 seals and my son 35 seals and Port Harrison Eskimo can hunt hole seal now in the winter like me now.

There are very good hunting this year now from the last year.

He must be comparing the situation between the two years.

We are very happy time and we have now for dog food enough. Ross –

This is RCMP Constable Ross Gibson.

– is very good for the Eskimos. Thank he very much for the Eskimo. I am very happy now last year.

I am stop to speaking now.

The next item is a letter from Salluviniq which was published in May 1977 in Nunatsiaq News in which he says:

We used to live in the Port Harrison and Povungnituk area. My father was a very poor man. We almost starved to death. That year our family was living all alone. My mother used to go out to try to find lemmings for our food. My father was too sick to hunt animals. When the sea ice froze over, some people found us. That's when I got the name Sudluvinik (skinny) because I was so skinny. That wasn't my real name at all.

I will remember for a long time how it was the time when we were very hungry. I remember living on nothing but lemmings that time in Quebec. I remember that well. We also lived on dog meat. When the dogs were fat, their meat tasted like polar bear meat. We also used to cook and eat wolverine meat.

I've heard people telling stories on the CBC radio about being hungry, but I don't think any of them were as hungry as we were. Our igloo had no lights, and there were holes in it. I used to have snow on my blankets. In the morning we would go out to look for lemmings and other small animals for food.

There were some families who starved in the early 1930s. In 1953 I moved to Resolute Bay. I hadn't been planning to move, but an RCMP came to me and told me that I could move to Resolute if I wanted to.

Salluviniq obviously did not consider himself a forced exile.

He told me there were a lot more animals up there. So I wanted to move, so that I could have more food up there.

Since I moved to Resolute, I have never wanted to go back to Inoucdjouac. If I wanted to move back to Inoucdjouac I think the Government might agree to help us. If I wanted to go back I would tell the Government and remind them that I was told that if I wanted to go back I could. But I'm not saying that I want to go back today.

In 1953 our relatives came to Resolute from Inoucdjouac, and in 1955 we started getting more people from other settlements. There are more foxes here, and it is easier to catch them. I don't mind living here at all. There aren't many birds like duck and ptarmigans here, and we have only one kind of fish, the Arctic char, no 'kopaskilik', also no dogfish or clams. There are lots of seal and polar bear.

Item No. 3 is an article appearing in Nunatsiaq News in November 1990, in which Annie Padlo is quoted. The article was entitled: "Interpreter Says Exiles Don't Need Compensation." Annie Padlo, an Inuk who worked as an interpreter for DIAND for 10 years during the 1950s and 1960s, was on the hospital ship *C.D. Howe* when the northern Quebec Inuit were taken north to their new settlements. She also visited the Inuit every summer over the next three years. She is quoted as saying:

Annie Padlo was born in Pond Inlet and worked throughout the north as an interpreter and CBC broadcaster

When we picked up the Port Harrison Inuit, they were starving and very skinny. Many were sick and had lots of head lice. One man told me how he had been living on nothing but lemmings. Can you imagine? There is not much meat on a lemming. No one was forced to go.

I would like now to finish the evidence I am presenting here today with two cases of Inuit testimony at the Royal Commission hearings in April 1993, which completely contradicts statements that the same person had made previously.

**Case No. 1:** The witness complained at the hearings that during the sea journey to her new home:

... the high winds, we could not take it and even the dogs were just howling and the *C.D. Howe* could not even have lights on because of the wind. We were in the dark during the high wind and we couldn't even eat and we couldn't see each other and we could hear our dogs howling. The food on the *C.D. Howe*, we really got sick of it and we were missing our regular food, the fish and we missed having a lot of tea. The Inuit usually have a lot of tea, but we were never given a lot of tea. We really missed our food. The trip was very long...I was so sick and tried of having to eat the same old food...on the *C.D. Howe* we had to eat or we were forced to eat the same old thing every day...at times when the water and sea was really rough, plates and bowls could not even stay still on the table. I, myself, was already longing to go back home, during the trip itself.

According to this lady's testimony, she obviously wasn't very happy about the boat trip.

On the other hand, in 1986, this same witness is shown on a CBC television program taped in Grise Fiord saying:

The trip here was OK. It was pleasant enough. I didn't mind that boat trip at all.

**Case No. 2:** On the question of availability of food in her southern home of Inukjuak, this same witness said at the April hearings:

We weren't hungry. I don't remember being hungry at all in Inukjuak...I remember we never went hungry in Inukjuak.

On the other hand, in an interview with Martha Flaherty reported in *Inuktitut Magazine* for December 1981, this same witness said, "We used to be very hungry in Inukjuak."

This concludes the evidence I wish to present here today. I would now like to make a concluding statement.

I believe there is a very important question that the Royal Commission must examine and resolve. That question is the following: We have been told at the April hearings that Inuit oral history is very accurate and that it must not be questioned. However, there are obviously two Inuit histories: that presented at the Royal Commission hearings last April and, on the other hand, that revealed by letters written from the High Arctic in the 1950s and 1960s by Inuit who had been relocated, by an article written by a relocated Inuit, and by magazine and TV interviews of a relocated Inuit. Which of the Inuit histories are we to believe? Which is the more credible – the history presented at the April hearings, which I will call History A, based on: - memories of events that took place 40 years ago, memories which at 40 years

Kenney's overview of the contradictions of these histories is reflective of the larger debates about the history of the relocations - about whose evidence to believe, about how to perceive the evidence, and about how to understand the context of the history that was experienced in multiple ways from multiple locations.

distance are surely not immune to fading and distortion due to the effects of passing time?

- memories of 40-year-old events recounted by witnesses, some of whom were three, four, five or six years old when they took place? Surely these must be discounted as relevant testimony.

- memories that are subject to tremendous peer pressure? How well received by peers would have been an Inuk who had testified at the April hearings about the good parts of his or her life as a result of the relocations?

- memories that are subject to the obvious distorting pressures of a potential prize of \$10 million if the Inuit are shown to have been victims? The distorting pressures of such a situation, especially when coupled with peer pressure, can be enormous.

To believe in the history presented at the April hearings, History A, one must also believe in something else. One must believe in an iron-clad, absolutely leak-proof conspiracy of secrecy starting in the early 1950s and remaining inviolate to this day, a conspiracy involving RCMP officers, government officials and everyone else involved in the planning and execution of the relocations, a conspiracy of silence put in place by people who had the foresight to know at the time that it would be necessary to protect against the allegations that would surface in the 1980s and 1990s and that we are struggling with today, a conspiracy of silence that has left absolutely no paper trail, that has never been violated by any of the players in the relations, nor have there been any death-bed confessions.

Is it reasonable to believe what I have just described, or is it more reasonable to believe in the following history, History B, based on the writings of the relocated Inuit in the 1950s and 1960s:

- history that is based on letters spontaneously written by adult Inuit in the 1950s and 1960s, in the period following the relocations;

- letters that had no possible hidden agenda but which are a true and innocent expression of the writers' feelings and opinions;

- letters that are not written to influence any potential \$10 million prize. There was no prize.

- letters that were not subject to any peer pressure. These were individual and private initiatives. No lawyers were involved.

- letters which said that the Inuit were happy in their new homes where game was more plentiful than in their old homes;

- letters that, with few exceptions, said the writers did not want to go back home. The exceptions were requests for temporary visits or to help out aging parents;

- letters that several times said the white people and the RCMP helped the Inuit and were good to them and, in particular, thanked Ross Gibson for the help he gave them because "Ross is very good for the Eskimos."

This, then, is the question that the Royal Commission must ponder and attempt to answer. Which of the two Inuit histories is to be believed – for there are two of them, diametrically opposed to each other, History A and History B.

May I remind the Commissioners that I started my research with a preconceived idea that the Inuit allegations were well-founded, and I was looking for a smoking gun to prove it. Far from finding the smoking gun, after a year and a half of research I have found instead evidence that completely contradicts the Inuit allegations. I have had to change my mind.

In closing, I would like to draw the Commissioners' attention to four important matters.

1. It is rumoured that Roger Tassé and Mary Simon will be writing the final report of the Royal Commission hearings. I do not know Roger Tassé and I do not know Mary Simon, but I know something of Mary Simon. Miss Simon appeared before the UN General Assembly on December 10, 1992, claiming that indigenous people urgently need "the protections that the United Nations can provide," while referring in the same presentation to "High Arctic exiles and their being victims of forced relocation to support Canada's claim to northern sovereignty."

Because her views are obviously less than neutral, I respectfully submit that it would be improper for Miss Simon to participate in the writing of the Royal Commission's final report.

2. I have been told by a member of the Inuit community that there are persons in the community who hold opposite views from those expressed by the Inuit witnesses at the April 1993 hearings. I respectfully submit that the Royal Commission has a duty to seek out these people and to make it possible for them to be comfortable about testifying. I understand that there is a certain reticence in the community about expressing differing opinions because of peer pressure.

3. I would like to say that I have written a book which covers the subject of the relocations in some detail. It will be in print by the end of the year or shortly thereafter. My book will contain far more documented evidence from which the people of Canada will be able to judge the facts for themselves.

4. Finally, Constable Ross Gibson, RCMP, retired, of Victoria B.C. wanted very badly to be here for these hearings. He could not come. Mr. Gibson is a sick man, a very sick man. In fact, he knows that he is a dying man. Mr. Gibson suffers from leukaemia for which he is undergoing chemotherapy at this time.

Mr. Gibson has been accused at these hearings, unjustly accused, of committing criminal acts while he was posted at Resolute Bay in the 1950s, actually, though, devoting several years of his life to working with and helping the Inuit. These accusations ring hollow in the light of Idlout's 1957 letter which said, "Ross is very good for the Eskimos. Thank he very much for the Eskimo."

Mr. Gibson's present-day accusers, however, have been given the protection of section 13 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms which ensures that they cannot themselves be incriminated by what they say. They are thus protected because no oaths were administered as part of these proceedings; yet, accusations of criminal acts were allowed by the Commission. This means that Ross Gibson has no means of clearing his name. His accusers cannot be cross-examined; they are immune from prosecution.

It would be truly unfortunate – it would be inhumane – if Ross Gibson were to have to leave this world under a dark cloud of accusations of criminal acts, acts that he did not commit.

This must not be allowed to happen. This, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, should not, and must not, allow this to happen. Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Thank you for your presentation. I am going to ask Co-Chair René Dussault to respond to some of the points you made in the closing part of your presentation.



**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you. Just before moving to the thrust of your presentation, I would like to recall the purpose of the Commission hearings from the start. I would like to say that our purpose is to look at relocations generally and at this specific one as an example, having in mind that these are facts of Canadian history and, most of the time, barriers to reconciliation. We are quite aware that perceptions are at stake most of the time; facts have been seen differently by different people.

We were told, and we knew from our going to Inukjuak, that very few Inuit people had been given a chance to tell their side of the story as they lived through it. We felt that it was necessary, in all fairness, to give them that opportunity.

We were struck by the fact that the position of the Canadian government tabled in the House of Commons last November had been reached mainly out of documentary evidence. This was stressed, in particular, by Professor Gunther in his report, which was referred to by the government. The government referred to many reports, and this was one referred to, in the position which was tabled last November. That is what Roger Tassé and Mary Simon told us in their report.

Also, we were struck by the fact that researchers had come to different conclusions. We realized, in reading the various reports and also the research referred to by other academics, that methodology had differed. Some of them had interviews with people; others acted out of documentary sources. They were written at different times on the same years.

We felt that it was our duty to try, as the government has closed its book on the relocation itself, to see whether there could be a better understanding, a more thorough examination of what has happened. In fact, the only examination was done by the parliamentary committee in 1990, with a supplement.

This was the purpose. The purpose was not for this Commission to act in a quasi-judicial fashion, to dig out the facts and to come up necessarily with the truth. We want to come up with as good an understanding and help the Canadian public to understand what has happened.

We are not saying that this should not be done. What we are saying is that our mandate is very wide and encompasses all facets of Aboriginal life. This was not the purpose of the Commission in setting up the two specific weeks of hearings, the one we had in early April and this one that we are having this week. We knew from the beginning that there were conflicting views all over the place, and we wanted to hear all views.

We don't know yet whether, out of the material that is given to us during this week and in April and the material we already had in hand before entering into the two weeks of hearings from the various researchers' reports and academic studies, we will feel comfortable as a Commission to come up with some conclusions. We have an open mind.

What we still hope to be able to achieve is to maybe shed light that will help both sides to come closer to reconciliation and to look forward instead of continuing to look back to those events. Frankly, at this point we don't know what we are going to do with it.

Obviously, when we decided to have these hearings, it was with the hope that we could make a useful contribution. Our contribution will be the Commission contribution. As with any Royal Commission, it is the sole responsibility of Commissioners who are independent under the Inquiries Act. Whatever help we get through those hearings and through staff or otherwise,

Although perhaps somewhat belated, this is a good overview of the purpose of the RCAP Hearings, and sets up the context for how the Commissioners structure their final report on the relocations.

at the end of the day, we are solely responsible as Commissioners for the documents or reports that we publish under the name of the Commission.

I don't know yet whether we are going to be able to produce one, whether we will feel comfortable enough to do so. We will have to assess the results of those two weeks of hearings.

I wanted to state that very clearly. This is the stand that we took from the beginning. We felt that acting in a quasi-judicial way, using our subpoena powers – and we have been asked often in all kinds of situations – would defeat the purpose of the Commission, which is working toward a better understanding and toward reconciliation. We are a research, public policy-oriented Commission, and we intend to stay that way.

I wanted to express that. I said that in other words in the opening statement, and I thought it was important to say so.

As far as the “evidence” which is before us is concerned, obviously it is our responsibility – and I had some discussion on that with Gordon Robertson yesterday. Obviously, many witnesses speak about things that they have witnessed. They start with elements where they were observers and were there, and then they move to areas where there is room for hearsay. Of course, then it is not as comfortable, and the Commission obviously will have to assess that in its overall assessment of whether it is going to be able to produce something that will be valuable for everybody.

Again, this issue has been with us for a long time. There is nothing new that came out in April that was not on the public record. What was new was the fact that many, many Inuit have had the opportunity for the first time. Maybe 10 or 12 of them were full-fledged adults at the time of the relocation, born in 1915 and onward, and this opportunity had never been given to them before.

We try to be careful in what we are doing. We are very happy this week to have an opportunity – and we knew that this not only had to be done, but that is the purpose of the whole exercise – to have this week to complete the picture. We realize that 40 years ago is a long time, and that at the end of this process we might not have all the evidence that one would like to have or that we could have had five years after the event.

The opportunity for you and others, such as Mr. Sivertz, to come and tell your story on the public record is very important, and it is the first time it has been afforded to everybody.

I wanted to say that at the outset before moving to the questions that Commissioners might have on your research.

Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Could you tell us first, with regard to the 20 letters that you quote, what was the purpose of these letters. Was there some reason that these letters were being written? Were there things that were being requested? What was the content of the rest of the letters?

**GERARD KENNEY:** There was nothing in the letters that I could see that could indicate why they were being written, other than that they felt like writing. For example, there is a letter which is not here, but apparently people sent baby clothes to families in the north. One of the letters was written to thank the department for getting baby clothes – no other reason than that. I could not see any other reason why these letters were written in the letters themselves.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** I notice that Inuit A, who was from Pond Inlet, not that far away – there is a lot of letters about how happy he is because the hunting is better. This was a sampling.

Were there other letters from Inuit from Port Harrison and Inukjuak that were saying the same kinds of thing? Inuit A, who is mentioned the most here, is actually from Pond Inlet.

**GERARD KENNEY:** Some of these Inuit were from Port Harrison. I can't at the moment tell you offhand which ones were from Port Harrison, but some of them were. For example, Salluviniq, who claimed that he was very happy where he was and didn't want to go back, was from Port Harrison.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** You said you have done some research and written a book. In that did you discover in your own work that the oral history is actually different from the written?

**GERARD KENNEY:** I am not quite sure of the question.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Did you go and talk to Inuit and discover that, when they actually talked to you, what they say is actually different from what you are putting in the book, which you found in written evidence?

**GERARD KENNEY:** I did not have that much conversation with Inuit themselves; I spoke to three or four. My purpose was to speak to them all but, as I said, I applied for a Canada Council grant. It was approved, although they said there was no money for it – and I am not quite sure what they meant. I felt that that was no longer necessary because I had gotten the Inuit testimony in April, that it was not necessary for me to go back up north and speak to these same people. I presumed they would tell me the same story.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Did you find in your research that, outside of these letters, there were very few other ways of discovering Inuit views in a written fashion outside of a government official writing about Inuit?

**GERARD KENNEY:** Are there more letters that Inuit have written? I am not sure. I want to investigate this further. All these letters were from Resolute Bay. Are there some lying somewhere that were written from Grise Fiord? I would really like to know that. I have not found any yet.

These were the only letters, amongst hundreds – literally hundreds – that are on file in the Department of Indian Affairs that had any bearing whatsoever, either negative or positive, on these moves and the conditions after.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Thank you.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** I have two opening comments, one with respect to Annie Padlo, who was mentioned. She interpreted on the *C.D. Howe* in the early 1950s. We had heard about her testimony, and we had invited her to come, but she was not able to. Just for your information, I pass that on to you.

As well, Mary Simon did want me to say, with respect to her presentation at the United Nations, that she was asked by six groups to represent them in that forum, and the text of her presentation was negotiated with those groups, so she was speaking on behalf of those groups.

Having said that, I want to say that I am not surprised to read the letters from the Pond Inlet Inuit. When we heard from the Pond Inlet Inuit in April, they basically said they liked the High Arctic. Their experience was positive, so it doesn't surprise me that those letters from them are very positive.

As well, we were told in April that in the earlier years, 1953, 1954 and 1955, they kept on asking if they could go home. Their requests were denied. They were told that there was another trip being planned for 1955, and that maybe their relatives could come up. I think the message by 1956 was fairly well out there that, "You can't go home, but maybe your relatives can come." That is what we heard, as well, in the hearings.

Your letters only begin in 1956. That is the evidence that is before us, from 1956 to 1960. I was wondering if you found any letters in the period 1953 to 1956, which was the early time, the time when many people were extremely homesick, when many people, we heard, were having a more difficult time adjusting. For that period, 1953 to 1956, did you find any letters?

**GERARD KENNEY:** I did not find any.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Why was that? Because there weren't any written? What would be the reason for not finding those letters?

**GERARD KENNEY:** I cannot answer that question.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Another thing that really struck me was the number of letters that asked for relatives to be sent to them. There is one letter in 1961 which asks for a visit home, and the visit is denied. The department said, "The visit is not very valid; you have to think of another reason."

Yesterday we heard from Bob Pilot that, when he became a senior official in the Northwest Territories, he first heard about Inuit wanting to go back in 1973. When he tried to pursue that request, he ran into major problems because the federal government wouldn't pay, the Province of Quebec certainly wouldn't pay, the territorial government wouldn't pay. So the issue was one of no money.

In these days that the letters were written – and maybe you don't know this – I have an impression that people could get their way paid from Inukjuak to Resolute Bay or to Grise Fiord, but they couldn't get their way paid back from Grise and Resolute to Inukjuak. Is that correct?

**GERARD KENNEY:** I have no idea what the arrangements were.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** It seems to me that that one request that is documented in your letters is "Can I go home for a visit?" and someone says, "No money." Obviously, there are so many requests asking for relatives, it occurs to me that there might have been money for people to go that way, from Inukjuak to Grise.

**GERARD KENNEY:** If I might mention, there was a letter prior to that one where the person did get back.

Secondly, you are right. The government did not feel that it was willing to pay for temporary visits. But it appears from that letter that they were prepared to consider another reason for a visit by asking the person to go to the policeman and tell him if there was a special condition in their life that they wanted to return for.

I might mention, on the question of writing to their relatives to come and join them, that there is a very interesting RCMP report from Port Harrison on

file where the person reports that a whole camp of 35 people from Povungnituk came down to ask him if they could move as a whole group of 35 people. They obviously had been convinced that things were better there than in Inukjuak.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** What year was that?

**GERARD KENNEY:** I can find that information for you. I don't have it with me right now.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Please do. Commissioner Paul Chartrand, please.

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** I just have one question regarding the selection of letters.

I wonder if you might be able to provide me with a bit more information.

I am interested in understanding where the people would have learned to write, and in English. We were told earlier on that schools were not common. I wonder if you might be able to assist with that question and to assist in explaining the context for the assessment of opinions from those letters.

Today people find what a general opinion might be by way of telephone – most people have telephones. Would it be important to understand the significance of the letters to have an appreciation of, in fact, how many people in a given community – and you are saying Resolute Bay in this case – do in fact write letters and to know something about the identity of the individuals, assuming that everybody doesn't write letters? Are there matters of background having to do with the criteria by which you decide that the letters, in fact, do represent a general opinion in the community?

Perhaps you could elaborate on those matters.

**GERARD KENNEY:** To answer your first question, the letters were written in syllabics. They were sent in syllabics to the department where Inuit people worked and translated them into English. The responses were then written by the department in English and these were retranslated into syllabics to send back to the people.

On your second question, it would be extremely interesting to have more background. Some of the people who wrote the letters, at least one I know of and there are two other good possibilities, are still alive today. I don't know exactly how many are still alive.

It would be possible to speak to those people who wrote those letters by phone, by going up to the places where they are or by sending a researcher up there. That is a possibility.

I could help the Commission in pointing out the ones that I think are still alive. When I say "I think", I have pretty well made the connection between the letter-writer and people today, but I haven't absolutely made it, except in one case where it is absolute. I would be willing to collaborate on that if the Commission so wishes, to try to identify these people and to get some more background into why the letters were written.

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** Where was the skill of writing syllabics acquired?

**GERARD KENNEY:** Some of these people already knew how to write syllabics; others did not. They learned them, presumably, with the welfare teacher in Inukjuak or whatever schooling they got in Pond Inlet. I cannot say.

Some of the letters are hand-written. Others are typed. What I suspect is that the typed ones were probably dictated by one who did not know how to write the syllabics to someone who knew how to type the syllabics and did it for them. This is conjecture, but this is what I believe happened.

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Commissioner Wilson, please.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** On the sovereignty issue, you indicate that you really started this research project looking for the smoking gun and focusing in on the sovereignty issue and came across this other material which, of course, is very valuable. I am wondering whether, in connection with the sovereignty issue, you saw anything in your research that indicated that the government had some concern about raising the sovereignty issue because it would be rather upsetting and a very sensitive subject to the Canadian government. I think this is referred to at some point in the Gunther report.

Did you see the references to the suggestion that a very low profile be kept on the issue of sovereignty lest the Canadian public be upset and worried about it? Did you see those documents when you were looking at the sovereignty issue?

**GERARD KENNEY:** I did not see a document that suggested that a low profile on sovereignty be kept in order not to disturb the Canadian public. I never saw that.

What I did see, though, were Cabinet documents, which were top secret at the time but are declassified now, which quoted Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent and other Cabinet members, which indicated that there was a concern of sovereignty. It was quite clear that the concern related to the military operations, the great mass of military people and civilian peoples, especially Americans, who had come into the north during the war and after the Second World War and that they were, in fact, controlling the operations of things up north, such as air traffic control, such as mail, such as delivery of goods, and that the government – and I am conjecturing now – felt embarrassed, as Mr. Gordon Robertson said yesterday, that this was not right, that Canada would not have control over its own land, that Canada should have control over air traffic, that Canada should have post offices up there, that Canada should undertake the delivery of goods.

I might mention that most of these concerns did not apply to Ellesmere Island. Most of them didn't because most of these American activities were farther south than that; they really applied to Baffin Island.

So it was not a consideration, in my mind, for Ellesmere Island and higher.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** I wasn't suggesting that. I was just adverting to the fact that in some of the reports, particularly I think in the Gunther report, heavy emphasis is made on the fact that there was so little reference to sovereignty in any of the high-level government documents and the fact that there was so little reference to sovereignty establishes that sovereignty couldn't have been an issue.

I am asking if you saw the documents on which the Gunther report bases its statement that there was a desire not to talk about sovereignty because of the impact it would have on the Canadian public, my point being that,

This is an important observation - concerns about the Americans were primarily about the American presence in the territorial NWT, and especially the Keewatin administrative area. The islands were less of a concern, in part because there was much less of an American presence.

if that is the case – that sovereignty was not to be talked about because it was sensitive and might alarm the Canadian public – then the fact that there was little reference to sovereignty in the government documents would not necessarily compel the conclusion that it was not a factor.

**GERARD KENNEY:** I never saw any such documentation, but I also am of the opinion that these documents that these references could have been in were top secret, high-level Cabinet documents and were not accessible to the Canadian public and, therefore, would have had no influence on the Canadian public. They could have mentioned these factors in these documents, and the Canadian public would not have known about it.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** That would be the reason for making them top secret, presumably, or not containing references to the sovereignty issue. That was the point that I think was being made in the Gunther report.

I have described it in terms of “let us keep a low profile on the sovereignty issue” – and I don’t think that is the actual wording, but that was the concept.

I was just wondering, since you were looking at this material for all references to sovereignty, whether you ran across that in your research. That is really what I am asking.

**GERARD KENNEY:** Nothing remotely resembling that.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Thank you.

Co-Chair Dussault, please.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you.

I would just like to add a few comments to the initial comments I made after your presentation.

I think it is very important to say that what the Commission is doing at this point is relying on sources that have been available, in some cases, for years and, in some cases, more recent years – documents and reports – and also to take all the evidence of witnesses to get as good information as possible. We did not enter into this to make our own inquiry to get to the bottom of it in a quasi-judicial fashion.

We wanted to have as much information as possible. For example, we know that Daniel Soberman and Professor Gunther have looked at many, many documents and have chosen those which would seem to be pertinent, so we are not redoing that kind of work. We rely on work that was done in the last decade on this issue.

When I mentioned that in April there was nothing new, there was no subject matter that had not been in the public forum. Of course, interpretations were varied, and there are conflicting interpretations, as you said with History A and B. Obviously, we don’t pretend that at the end we will be able to come out with a thorough assessment as to the credibility of the testimony.

What we hope to be able to do is an overall assessment of what happened, if we can reach some conclusions and maybe have a perspective on the event. We feel that that would contribute, if we could do that, to a greater understanding and a reconciliation. This is the Commission’s approach.

In the course of preparing for this week of hearings, many names were given to us by some of the witnesses who are appearing. We have checked

Commissioner Wilson’s statement here reflects a question that becomes entrenched in the debate over the motivations for the Relocations. The question asks: Was the government worried enough about sovereignty to be discussing it while simultaneously also telling everyone to keep the concerns quiet to avoid raising alarm? If that was the case then, as Kenney suggests, this is a masterful cover-up of government concerns that would have had to permeate the entirety of government for them to trickle down to administrators such as Sivertz and Cantley, while also being kept quiet. Instead, it is much more likely that there was a generalized concern about Canadianization of Canadian lands, that was mostly a concern of Cabinet and those working in External Affairs (e.g. Minister of External Affairs Lester Pearson). Different departments of and people within government can have different concerns and anxieties that do not necessarily apply to the whole of government, and this is more than likely the case here.

with those people to see whether they would like to appear before the Commission. Some of them said “yes”; others said “no” and that was the end of the matter.

We are quite anxious to get as much information as possible. On the other hand, we know there are many, many people who might have comments to make. We made it known that we were available to get those comments, but the approach that we took was to get hold of the persons who were specifically given to us by witnesses who were to come, with different results depending on the situation. For example, last Friday we took a transcript through a telephone call from Mr. Doucette.

So the breadth of the exercise has to be understood properly and, of course, the Commission will have to take that into account in preparing whatever documents or reports at the end of this process.

I would like to thank you again for contributing to the process.

**GERARD KENNEY:** Could I make two final comments?

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Yes.

**GERARD KENNEY:** I understand the Commission’s wish and mandate to limit itself to perhaps what might be called policy issues in trying to determine why the government acted or why people acted in such and such a way and is not interested in the individuals themselves. However, unless I am mistaken, I do believe that this Commission is trying in some way to ensure that the human rights of a certain group of people are not violated.

What has happened, though, is that, in trying to accomplish this – and, no doubt, unwittingly – the human rights of another group of people have been trampled upon. I think this is a wrong that somehow must be righted.

Ross Gibson, I believe, has had his human rights trampled upon. That is comment number one.

Comment number two is that yesterday Commissioner Sillett said she was confused at the mass of information, and I am as well. I think that is a problem. I think the problem comes, to a degree, from what Gordon Robertson said yesterday, that there has been altogether too much hearsay evidence expressed at these hearings.

I think, in order to be able to make some sense out of all this, it is necessary to cull out the hearsay and the uninformed evidence and rely on the direct evidence. Even the direct evidence must be looked at very critically.

For example, what does it mean when someone says, “We were hungry?” Does that mean “we missed a meal;” does it mean “we were on the edge of starvation and ready to die;” does it mean “I went three days in a row without eating?” Three days in a row without eating was not an uncommon thing that occurred in Inuit society prior to the relocations.

Doug Wilkinson in his book, “Land of the Long Day”, provides a very good example of what he had to go through when hunting with Idlout, the most famous hunter there ever was. They did not find food for three days. That is going hungry. What does it mean when one goes hungry?

I think this critical examination of the direct evidence and the culling out of the hearsay evidence and the ill-informed evidence is essential.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you. As I said, it will be the Commission’s responsibility to prepare a report that will be one with which Commissioners will feel comfortable out of this magma of evidence and con-



flicting views of events that occurred 40 years ago. I would like to thank you for contributing to this part of the hearing.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Once again, thank you for coming forward and thank you for your advice on how we might go about our business.

We are going to take a lunch break now, and we will resume at 2 o'clock.

— Luncheon Recess at 12:57 p.m.

— Upon resuming at 2:25 p.m.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** We would like to proceed with our hearing. We are a bit behind schedule.

Could I ask Graham Rowley to come forward, please.

**DR. GRAHAM W. ROWLEY:** My name is Graham Rowley. I am a retired public servant and a retired professor.

I first went to the Canadian Arctic nearly 60 years ago and, apart from the war years, my work and my interests have remained centred on the Canadian Arctic. I have returned to the north at every opportunity and have endeavoured to keep in touch with the many changes there. I have postponed my next visit in order to attend these meetings, but I expect and hope to be there again within a week.

I would like to correct one remark made by Doug Wilkinson yesterday. He said I had spent a year among the Inuit before the war; actually, I spent nearly three years with them at that time.

The conditions there were as severe as at Grise Fiord and the variety of diet even more restricted. As a result, I had plenty to eat, but was always hungry for anything but walrus.

In 1953 I was Secretary and Co-ordinator of the Advisory Committee on Northern Development, a committee at the Deputy Minister level, charged with advising the Cabinet on government policies and co-ordinating government activities there. In this position I had to be aware of what all government departments were doing in the north and the reasons for their activities. I was not directly responsible for these activities; this responsibility lay with the individual departments concerned. My advice was, however, frequently sought because of the experience I had had in the north. Sometimes my advice was followed; sometimes not.

So far as the movement of people from Port Harrison and Pond Inlet to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay was concerned, I knew something of the situation in Arctic Quebec. I had also lived and travelled with the most northern Canadian Inuit and was familiar with conditions in the High Arctic. Several of those planning the move were among my friends, as were some of the Inuit who took part in the move.

I discussed the move with both Mr. Stevenson and Superintendent Larsen as well as Mr. Sivertz, and I was in full agreement with what they proposed, as I was confident that what they proposed would benefit the Inuit. I should add that I had lived for some months with those Inuit who had taken part in an earlier and less successful move, that from Cape Dorset to Dundas Harbour in 1934. Mr. Stevenson also knew them well. We both believed that the free consent of those involved in any move was essential, a *sine qua non*.

I should now like to remind the Commission of the history of the Canadian Arctic. It had long remained an area little known and little understood

Graham Rowley co-founded the Arctic Circle Club in Ottawa in 1947 and joined the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources as Secretary of the ACND in August 1953, becoming a Scientific Advisor and helping to establish the Eastern Arctic Scientific Resource Centre

The ACND was first established in 1948 to try and manage the relationships and activities of those departments working in the Canadian North. Following the initial five meetings, the ACND did not meet from December 1949 to February 1953 when it was re-established following the concerns expressed by Lester Pearson at a January 1953 Cabinet meeting about the limited Canadian presence in the North. For further reading on the ACND, see Smith (2019) and Lackenbauer and Heidt (2019).

in the south. After the First World War, Canada was learning about her north but, with the Depression, this work came to a halt in the early thirties. At the beginning of the Second World War, there were still parts of the north that were virtually unexplored, and events could occur in the north without the government ever knowing.

The Second World War began a period of great and rapid change. Canada was becoming aware of the north and the plight of the Inuit who had been virtually ignored up to that time by both the government and the Canadian people. It was becoming evident that, partly owing to contact with the south, social, economic and health conditions were bad and were getting worse for them.

I will now turn to questions prepared by the Commission staff for the purpose of promoting discussion, dealing with them in turn. I shall have to repeat myself sometimes, where the questionnaire repeats the same question. If there is any point on which any Commissioner wants a fuller explanation at any time, I will be happy to try to provide it.

The first question is: "Why did the relocation take place"

#### 1. Reasons:

In my opinion, the only reason was to improve the well-being of the northern Canadian Inuit. This was a responsibility of the Department of Resources and Development and was ample justification for the move.

Canadian sovereignty was a responsibility of the Department of External Affairs. It is inconceivable that this move could have been devised by the Department of External Affairs and conducted by the Department of Resources and Development without it having passed at some time through my office. The only occasion the move was ever mentioned at the time at the Advisory Committee on Northern Development was as one of many items of general interest that I reported. There was no suggestion that it was related to sovereignty.

Improving the well-being of the Inuit was a sufficient and impelling reason for the move, and no other reasons are necessary to justify or explain it.

#### 2. Inuit Well-being:

(a) There was undoubtedly great and increasing concern in the Department of Resources and Development about the well-being of the northern Quebec Inuit and, indeed, of all Canadian Inuit. As more about the people became known, it was becoming evident that they had been suffering hardship and that starvation had by no means been rare.

Before the War, I had met Inuit who had known starvation. Three members of a family I had met in Fox Basin in 1939 died there of starvation 10 years later. Professor Graburn states that in the winter of 1942-43, over 100 Eskimos and Indians starved to death near Fort Chimo in northern Quebec. The Inuit area shown by reliable evidence to be the most destitute of all was northern Quebec.

(b) The nature of the concern was essentially the shortage of country food, leading to starvation and malnourishment. I would like to quote here the opinion of a well-qualified nurse who was not a government employee but who was travelling in 1948 in the Port Harrison area and then in Southampton Island with her husband, a zoologist with unparalleled knowledge of the wildlife in the Eastern Arctic. She wrote in 1949:

This overview is representative of the discussions occurring at the Northwest Territories Council during the late-1940s and the contents of Cantley's 1950 *Survey of the Economic Conditions Among the Eskimos of the Canadian Arctic*.

This is a useful description of the division of responsibilities related to the Canadian North, reflecting some of the challenges with the administrative set-up in the late-1940s and early-1950s that made it difficult for Departments to act on the interests of Cabinet. For further reading, see Jenness (1964).

On board the schooner was Dr. Corrigan who was doing his best to collect information on the condition of the Eskimos. He expected to make recommendations based on his investigation for the betterment of the people. There is much room for improvement. The Eskimos on the south side of Hudson Strait are very badly off. The area has been hunted out long since, and deficiency diseases are common. It is true that the Eskimos are given some relief in the form of a dole of food when they are unable to find anything to eat. But this dole in 1946 consisted only of flour, tea and sugar in small amounts and was barely enough to keep the poor alive...but the diet of the poor is lamentably notable for the absence of essential elements for health.

In the summer of 1947, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, sent an expedition to Southampton Island to study 'the nutritional habits and status' [of the Eskimo].

The doctors were able to reach and examine medically eighty per cent of the Native population...They reported serious nutritional deficiencies.

'Many of the children were underweight, some almost emaciated, and at all ages findings suggestive of riboflavin and ascorbic acid deficiencies were common.' And this was on Southampton Island, where, compared to the [situation in northern Quebec], the people live in a land of plenty. The [Quebec] people get a few fish; they get an occasional seal; in the fall they have a walrus hunt; but for the most part they cling to the trading posts in order to get their rations at least. They have reached the stage where they feel unsafe away from the posts. They have lost much of their stamina and most of their initiative.

(c) The primary object of the relocation was undoubtedly to take the Inuit to where hunting would be more productive. The trapping also turned out to be much better as well, but I do not know the extent to which this was considered or expected when the move was first proposed.

I do not understand the suggestion that a consideration may have been to put Inuit where they would have to be more self-reliant and would be less able to rely on relief. Everybody, especially the Inuit, would obviously be pleased when they became more self-reliant and more self-confident owing to the much better hunting.

At these new locations they would be in closer contact with the RCM Police and, hence, more – not less – able to rely on relief when needed.

(d) It is unlikely that everyone would view the relocation in exactly the same way, but the objective – that is, to improve the quality of life for the Inuit involved – would be shared by all.

(e) Those to be relocated were to be those who were keenest to go. Successful hunters and trappers at Port Harrison would have less motivation to move than those who had been relatively unsuccessful. This was reflected in those who volunteered to move.

(f) The removal of some hunting and trapping pressure in an area that was admittedly over-populated in relation to resources could certainly be expected to result in some benefits to those who remained.

(g) I believe the country food situation improved a little in 1954 to 1960 in northern Quebec, partly owing to the reduced hunting pressure. The condition of the remaining Inuit continued to be alleviated by the provision of relief where necessary.

I do not know the extent to which the Inuit were complaining about being left behind in Port Harrison. I have been informed recently by Dr. Schaeffer, who was the doctor on board the ship in 1955, that those being taken north that year told him they considered themselves very fortunate to have been chosen from among those who wanted to go.

(h) Had the relocatees returned after the first two years, they would have returned to that old lifestyle, supported by hunting, trapping and relief.

(i) The success or failure of those who had moved north was indicated by their success in hunting and trapping in the new areas, by their improved health, by their improved financial position and, as Mr. Kenney has shown, by the satisfaction they themselves expressed during the first years after they had moved.

### 3. Sovereignty:

(a) Every government must always have a concern for sovereignty over its territory. By 1953, however, Canadian legal sovereignty over the land in the Canadian Arctic was secure and unchallenged. Only sovereignty over Arctic waters was, and remains, clouded.

(b) Canada's sovereignty in the Arctic was secure without Inuit occupation. Any Canadian activity there, including the presence of Canadian Inuit, the conduct of geological and other scientific investigation, especially the control of transportation, was a demonstration of sovereignty.

(c) There is no evidence that sovereignty played a role in these relocations. Several events are listed, and I will deal with these in turn.

The Dundas Harbour relocation was in 1934, not 1935. Conditions then were very different. The RCM Police Detachment was established there in 1924, so the movement of the group of Inuit 10 years later, who stayed only two years, cannot have affected sovereignty.

1950 was before the Craig Harbour RCMP post had been re-established, which was in 1951. In that year, two years before the relocations, Mr. Stevenson said he considered Canadian sovereignty to be secure.

The problem of Greenlanders crossing to Ellesmere Island to hunt was not a sovereignty problem; it was a matter of law enforcement, particularly of Canadian game laws.

I have always considered Mr. Sivertz' remark in 1953 to refer to occupation in relation to resource utilization, not to sovereignty, and Mr. Sivertz confirmed that this morning.<sup>20</sup>

The 1960 Memorandum to Cabinet mentions the Inuit communities at Resolute and Grise Fiord merely as one of very many examples of increased Canadian activities in the north.

The re-establishment of the RCM Police post at Resolute and Craig Harbour was to provide a law-enforcement presence. It should not be forgotten that, despite the very small population of Ellesmere Island, which was usually uninhabited, three known homicides had occurred there in the previous half century.

As I think I have demonstrated, all the above events suggested in the Commission's brief as possible evidence that sovereignty was a factor in the relocations have more logical and more likely explanations. Therefore, I say again that sovereignty was not an issue.

(d) The selection of where the Inuit would go was determined by two factors: the presence of animals to hunt and a possibility of employment. Sovereignty played no part.

This assessment of the program's success is based on the (stated) objectives of the government. For further reading, see Hossack (2025).

The differences between terrestrial (land) and maritime (water) sovereignty was an ongoing discussion in the 1950s, particularly in regard to "ice islands". See Kikkert (2015) and Lajeunesse (2018).

This is an extremely nuanced point: All Canadian presence could be considered a demonstration of sovereignty, including Inuit. However, Inuit were not the only contributors to sovereignty and were not considered necessary for securing sovereignty.

While enforcing laws is an element of sovereignty it is not the only one. Importantly, a desire to enforce laws does not equate to a fear that sovereignty was not established or that the Greenlanders posed any direct threat to Canadian sovereignty.

20. This is a reference to the oft-quoted remarks by Sivertz at the August 10, 1953 meeting regarding the RCAF responsibilities for the project in Resolute Bay.

(e) Advice on suitable locations came from the people who knew most about the wildlife resources and the opportunities for employment. Mr. Stevenson never mentioned sovereignty in connection with these relocations to me or, so far as I know, to anyone else.

(f) I do not consider Mr. Sivertz' comments in 1953 to reflect any concern for sovereignty – and he explained that to you this morning.

(g) The RCMP Detachment at Craig Harbour, but not that at Resolute Bay, was the re-establishment of a post originally established in 1922, 31 years earlier, for sovereignty reasons. The Inuit community did not support the existence of the RCMP's Detachment, which was re-established two years before the Inuit settlement got there; it was, rather, that the RCMP Detachment supported the Inuit community by providing it with certain services after they arrived.

(h) The establishment of the Inuit communities at Resolute and Grise Fiord was evidence of Canadian activity in the High Arctic, but Canadian sovereignty was already secure there and was not contested by any other nation.

Before leaving the sovereignty issue, I would like to add one point. I believe last night – and I cannot hear very well – it was suggested that the Arctic Islands Preserve was repealed because the new settlements made it no longer necessary. It was, in fact, repealed, but for a different reason. It was repealed at the request of the Northwest Territories Council to open the area to all the population of the Northwest Territories.

The next section of the Commission's questionnaire is: How was the relocation carried out?

1. Almost all Canadian Inuit depended on seal oil lamps for warmth in their igloos in the winter. They did not depend on wood. Most of them depended on seal oil exclusively. The people who were being relocated were going to an area where they would find, and they did find, ample seal oil.

2. There was convincing evidence of adequate country food at the locations to which they went. The RCM Police post at Craig Harbour had been occupied for many years, and the Inuit Special Constables were well aware of the resources. Special patrols had also been made to assess them.

At the turn of the century, Sverdrup had spent three winters in Jones Sound and, even without Inuit assistance, had been able to obtain in a short time all the meat required each winter by his crew and his many dogs. There were recent reports by professional biologists on the animals and birds in the area.

3. The country food and fuel was primarily sea mammals, but this was supplemented by caribou, hares and ptarmigan. The Port Harrison Inuit, but not those from Pond Inlet, chose also to eat the plentiful foxes. Foxes were considered a starvation food by the Pond Inlet Inuit.

4. Northern Quebec had more varieties of birds and fish. It was near the northern limit of many of these species, and they were normally present only sparsely and for a short time each year. The migrating species were usually only passing over. The adequacy of the resources was considered much more important than the variety where the resources were inadequate.

5. Both Mr. Stevenson and Superintendent Larsen had lived north of the Arctic Circle, as had Miss Hinds. They were well aware of the effect of the dark period. The Inuit were informed about the dark period. Miss Hinds,

This is a key element of cause and effect. The RCMP post at Craig Harbour was already established (having been re-opened in 1951) and was considered able to provide support to an Inuit community. Deputy Minister Young's correspondence with Commissioner Nicholson in 1953 indicates that the Department was unwilling to relocate Inuit anywhere a RCMP post did not already exist.

who was well-respected by the Inuit, mentions this especially. They were well-informed before they left for the north as volunteers.

6. Most of the volunteers came from camps rather than the Port Harrison settlement. They would have been farther away from the social services as they became generally available in the Arctic than they were in the High Arctic.

Professor Freeman, who spent some time at Grise Fiord, has written:

Both groups came to Grise Fiord from camps situated a distance from the administrative trading centres of their respective regions; therefore, following the move to Grise Fiord where a single settlement was constituted in 1962, they experienced certain amenities otherwise lacking in camp life. The proximity to a store ... to medical aid, to communications facilities ... all represented increased security and access to amenities.

7. The Pond Inlet Inuit were aware of the good hunting farther north, as some of them had lived there. Those who moved were not induced other than by being pleased to take advantage of the opportunity to move.

8. I do not know when the Inuit were told they could return after two years if they so wanted. That the undertaking was made is not in question.

9. The department clearly contemplated that the Inuit would be taken back if, in two years' time, they so wished. The Inuit had several ways to make their wishes known. There was the local RCM Police Detachment, which included, of course, Inuit Special Constables. They were also visited by departmental officers on many occasions as well as by the Eastern Arctic Patrol. At Resolute they were visited, within a couple of weeks of their arrival, by Mr. Sivertz.

In March of the following year, the Deputy Minister went to see them, and two years later the Governor General visited in their houses in the winter. They had no complaints.

They could also, and did, write letters to the department. There was a special section set up to receive any letters any Inuk wished to send where, as was explained to you this morning, the letters were translated into English for faster action, and the replies were sent back to them in syllabics.

Delivery of air mail was not always the simple matter it is in the south. Around 1955 I was a passenger in an RCAF aircraft that had been asked to drop supplies and mail at Craig Harbour. As we approached, the rear doors were opened and a member of the crew crouched with a bag in his arms. Unfortunately, the aircraft flew too close to the cliff and was caught in the katabatic wind. The aircraft suddenly dropped before the pilot's instructions to drop the bag were received. The man at the open door flew up and hit his head. He dropped the bag, which fell probably into the sea. We secured our seat belts and grabbed him to make sure that he did not follow it.

An aircraft in Ellesmere Island a few years earlier had been less successful in an air drop, and nine men had been killed.

One point I don't think has been made in the hearings I have heard is that the time of year would make a great difference to an Inuk's feelings about where he was. A man in the middle of the dark period might think about returning to Port Harrison, and his children might hear him grumbling. When the spring came, with the long hours of sunlight and the clear weather and the abundant animals to hunt, his feelings might be very different.

On the question of how they would be returned, the first return would have had to be by ship. Later it became possible for the Inuit to visit the south by air, as many of them did – I think far more than the Commission is aware.

10. If the RCM Police did not have adequate instructions, they would request them from their headquarters, which would in turn contact the department. The department, of course, would expect the RCM Police Detachment to respond to any Inuit unhappiness in a way appropriate to the reason for the unhappiness.

11. I find it difficult to understand the question. The promise of return was, of course, of different importance to the department than to the Inuit. The department considered it unlikely that in two years' time the Inuit would want to return from a region of ample resources to one where they had so often been hungry.

The Inuit also could not then have considered return desirable and likely. Had they done so, they would not have volunteered to go.

12. The Inuit were asked if they wanted to participate, and they said "yes." This removed any doubt, had there been any. The Inuit would accept proposals they considered to be of benefit to them and would reject any they did not like. Those who represented the government were accustomed to making up their own minds. They would represent, as best they could, the pros and cons of any proposal to the Inuit and let the Inuit decide.

14. The government representatives on the ground would usually have some latitude in modifying normal procedures to meet special local circumstances. They would have to be able to justify such modifications. Local officers would want a project to succeed and would do their best to assist it. They would, in common with everyone else, like their efforts to be appreciated.

The Inuit were considered able to decide what they wanted to do. Local officials would give them assistance if requested, and would no doubt say what they themselves would do in the circumstances. They would, however, leave the decision to the Inuit concerned.

15. Inuit consent to participate was freely given. I think it unlikely that an Inuk would give consent against his wishes. The Inuit would, and did, make their views known if they disagreed with the local authorities, as Mr. Kenney showed so clearly this morning. The Inuit were volunteers. This is as stated in the Land Use and Occupancy Study which was initiated by the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, published in 1976, and signed by both the President of ITC at the time and by their lawyer. It states under "Resolute":

... no Inuit had lived there in historic time until 1953, when three families from Port Harrison, Quebec, and one family from Pond Inlet volunteered –

I repeat, "volunteered."

– at the suggestion of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, to settle there. They were joined in 1955 by six more families. Between 1968 and 1972, other families from Somerset Island and Great Whale River immigrated to Resolute.

I think that shows quite clearly that in 1976 the question of whether they were volunteers or not had not been raised, or I cannot imagine the President

of ITC or, in particular, their lawyer would have signed that statement. They had formed a steering group which followed this very important project until it was fulfilled.

16. The Port Harrison Inuit certainly considered themselves poor, as is evident in the high relief payments there, higher than anywhere else, and in their own statements at the time. It is also revealed in small out-migrations that occurred in this century from northern Quebec to Baffin Island.

The Port Harrison Inuit were the poorest of the poor. When they were relocated, the Inuit had everything they needed to make a living and plenty of food. Their own testimony at the time is that they were often on the verge of starvation in the Port Harrison area.

17. Mr. Cantley had been Assistant Fur Trade Commissioner of the Hudson's Bay Company and then had formed the Baffin Trading Company. He probably had about 40 years' experience in the Eastern Arctic and would know better than anyone else – probably better than anyone else alive – how to make the most out of the \$5,000 obtained for each store through the Eskimo Loan Fund. It would certainly be assumed that what he bought would provide the staple, non-country food diet, as it did.

It would be assumed that the Inuit would take all their belongings they needed with them and, hence, were able to set up camp and sustain themselves. Any deficiencies would be made up from the store and charged against the appropriate account.

Perhaps here I should say something about what has been referred to as the Marshall letter.

I had been very fortunate in having Charles Marshall, an outstanding young officer, appointed as my assistant. As he had never been to the north, I arranged for him to visit Resolute Bay. He was present when the ship arrived there with the Port Harrison people, and he helped Constable Gibson with the unloading and checking. On return to Ottawa, he wrote a report to me saying that he had a number of criticisms relating to the move, some of which might not be valid owing to his lack of experience.

He then listed his criticisms, and I passed this to the administration so they could check it out. It was subsequently discovered that several items he thought were missing had, in fact, been received, while some had been landed by the Department of Transport at another post in error.

The Commission should realize that in those days the annual ship spent about 24 hours at each post, during which time the next year's supplies had to be landed by scows. The last year's fur had to be loaded. Personnel had to be exchanged. A year's mail had to be scanned and, in urgent cases, replied to. It was the only time of the year when there was a doctor. There might be a marriage. A magistrate's court might have to be held. If there were a bishop aboard, there would be confirmations. The captain was anxious to sail as soon as the anchor had dropped.

In such circumstances, it was not easy to check carefully what had been landed, and some things sometimes went astray.

18. On the question of carving, carving was then becoming increasingly important. Mr. Stevenson advised the Inuit to take some soap stone for this purpose with them. There would, of course, be much more walrus ivory in the north than they had ever seen in Hudson's Bay, and this was the material then preferred by the better carvers in the north.

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19. The northern Quebec Inuit were certainly told that the RCM Police would be present in the new communities. This would mean the same to them as it did in their old communities. The police would issue relief when necessary, providing security if hunting should fail or in case of accident. Many had been trained in rudimentary first aid. They would also be of assistance in other ways, as in the use of the police boat for hunting. This is described in an account written by Constable Fryer, which I recommend should be written into the record.

I will quote some of it. It is an article written by Constable Fryer in 1954 about the people who had arrived at Grise Fiord.

After the natives were temporarily encamped, close to the detachment, the men were taken on a hunting trip in the vicinity of Jakeman Glacier. Hunting conditions were ideal for walrus on this particular day. There were large packs of loose, floating ice, on which groups of walrus were sleeping. For the majority of the natives, it was the first time they had ever shot a walrus and they were unfamiliar with the method of cutting up the carcasses. Three walrus were killed and at least 50 others were counted, but left unmolested as the boats had full loads. We returned to Craig Harbour with a spirited group of natives, who were enthused over the abundance of game.

Following the walrus hunt, the younger Eskimos were taken on a caribou hunting trip in Fram Fiord. Again with the exception of Pond Inlet natives, the others had never seen or shot a caribou before. Ten caribou were obtained, mainly for the purpose of supplying natives with skins, with which to make winter clothing.

Even in the short time that had passed since the natives had arrived at Craig Harbour, there was a marked difference in them. The first impression given to the members of this detachment by the Port Harrison natives was that they were a depressed, lifeless group of individuals, who were looking for too many handouts from the white man. Since familiarizing the Eskimos with surrounding country and hunting conditions, they now have an eagerness to proceed to their new camp and look after themselves.

The police took them in three trips to Grise Fiord.

During these trips six walrus, two bearded seal and several common seal were contributed to the natives' cache of meat. All the Eskimos, with the exception of one old character from Port Harrison, were delighted with their camp location. This one particular native didn't like the idea of having a 1,000-foot mountain directly in back of him, whereas he was accustomed to seeing the wide open spaces of Port Harrison.

All the families, prior to leaving for Grise Fiord, had been given a substantial issue of Government Relief, enough supplies to carry them over until they could bring in items to trade. Also to assist the natives, the Police loaned an old trap-boat in serviceable condition.

In the middle of September, another caribou hunt was staged, which included all the native men and detachment members. The hunting was restricted to the shooting of bucks. Ten were killed and the caribou skins and meat were divided evenly among the native families. It

seemed to be a peak year for land game, as there were not only large numbers of caribou seen, but also hundreds of ptarmigan and scores of Arctic hare ... it was now up to the natives to make a success of their undertaking.

One week after the caribou hunt, several of the Eskimos arrived at Craig Harbour to trade ivory carvings, and to obtain medicinal supplies for several of the natives, who, according to symptoms, had stomach flu...

Nothing was seen of the natives until October 16, when four dog teams arrived at the settlement. This group had come to trade and reported everyone at the camp in good health. The Eskimos had added two walrus, six narwhal, three bearded seal, three harp-seal and a dozen common seal to their winter cache of meat.

Ivory carvings were traded, Family Allowances issued and approximately 50 traps per hunter were loaned in preparation for open trapping season. With heavily loaded sleds, the natives left on the return trip which, from later information, proved to be a long and delayed one, as the ice had been swept out of the fiords by strong winds.

First results of trapping were brought in on November 9, and fox were reported plentiful. The Port Harrison natives could hardly be recognized as the same ones that had first landed at Craig Harbour.

They all looked happier and healthier, having visibly put on weight...It would be difficult to find a group of Eskimos anywhere in the North that could claim to be as well off as the Grise Fiord camp.

This was their first winter there.

Along with all the luxury items that can be obtained at the native trading store with fox pelts, they have an unequalled variety of fresh meats.

In December, trapping became poorer but the natives were still obtaining enough fox to indulge in extravagant buying. They had also added six bears to their larder by this time. The dark period, in which the sun is not seen above the horizon from the middle of November to the middle of February, hadn't seemed to interfere with their routine, with the exception that all the natives purchased flash-lights so that they could find and tend their trap lines.

About half of the camp occupants arrived for the Christmas festivities. A dance and games were staged and enjoyed by everyone.

[They then spent] more time at hunting seal through aglos (breathing-holes of seals). The results of their concerted efforts proved to be better than anyone had expected. There have been over 100 seals obtained in this manner...On one of the numerous seal hunts in January, a Pond Inlet native bagged six seals in one day...

At the time of this writing (February 1954) Eskimo conditions could hardly be better. The Port Harrison natives have adapted themselves well, following the example set by the Pond Inlet group...

They had to become accustomed to the dark period, more mountainous country, different sled travelling conditions and for heating and cooking they had to depend solely on the blubber lamp instead of their wood-burning stove.

Relations between the Port Harrison and Pond Inlet natives are good. Differences in dialect and routine hasn't formed any barriers...

These natives have spent five of the worst months of the year for living and hunting, and in answer to the query of whether or not they were desirous of remaining at Craig Harbour for another year, all of them, with the exception of the old fogey from Port Harrison who declined to answer, expressed their desire to remain. This one native wanted to see what spring and summer have to offer. The Port Harrison Eskimos with their ability to carve ivory and stone, would never have to go in need even in a poor trapping year, as they have a source of income that would buy the necessities at the trading store. There is no reason why these natives or three times their number, couldn't live and thrive off the abundance of game at Craig Harbour for many years to come.

I am afraid I took a rather long time at reading that, but it has been frequently mentioned that they had suffered great hardship, particularly during that first winter, and this seems to point to exactly the opposite.

The Inuit would not expect the police to be any different from those they had known over many years. Indeed, in the case of Resolute Bay, it was the same individual they had known at Port Harrison, Constable Ross Gibson, who accompanied them on the move and stayed with them for some years after.

20. The planners were aware that separation from kin and home communities was no new thing for the Inuit. Migrations have been frequent in Inuit history. The best known is probably that of *Qitdlarssuaq*, which started around 1860. He set off, presumably, from somewhere near Pangnirtung in Little Baffin Island. With his group, he travelled up to Pond Inlet, then over to Devon Island, then over to Ellesmere Island, and from Ellesmere Island he crossed to Greenland and got to the Thule area. It took several years.

Many, many other migrations have been documented.

The Resolute and Craig Harbour relocations were different in that the Inuit would be transported rather than having to make their own way. They could carry more with them and would have no fear of starvation, either on the way or on arrival.

21. On the question of the criterion for the success of these relocations, it was, as Mr. Sivertz said, the extent to which the Inuit in the High Arctic would prosper, without the hardship they had been accustomed to in northern Quebec. The relocations met this test according to all contemporary accounts.

The next question listed by the Commission is: What were the consequences of the relocation?

1. Far from being disappointed by the game supplies at Resolute Bay and Craig Harbour, the Quebec Inuit were, by all contemporary accounts, including those of the Quebec Inuit themselves, fully satisfied with the amount of game they found.

2. I know of no credible evidence that any northern Quebec Inuk asked to go back from Craig Harbour in the spring of 1954, except possibly the one man I mentioned who was waiting to see what the summer was like.

Unfortunately, I believe he died of heart failure before the ship arrived that year, so we cannot say what would have happened had he not died of heart failure.

This reference is to Paddy Aqiatasuk.

3. Those who had been relocated were visited very often by the RCM Police, including Inuit Special Constables, and various other people up to and including the Governor General. They appeared happy, and they had no complaints, although they had every opportunity to do so.

4. The location of the Lindstrom Peninsula is completely consistent with the relocation based on abundant resources. The primary resource in this case was sea mammals, not caribou. In the Arctic the resources of the land are always meagre compared to the resources of the much warmer sea. There is always a fear of over-taxing caribou, especially where they do not migrate far so they have a rest period.

5. I believe the Inuit were always aware they were going to three, later only two, locations. I know of no contemporary complaint that they were being divided without warning. There may have been some; I just don't happen to know if there were any.

6. I had understood it was at Grise Fiord, not Craig Harbour, that Inuit camped where the snow proved unsuitable for building snow houses. Their tents would, however, be banked and buffalo skins were provided by the RCM Police for insulation. They had ample oil for heating. They were provided with wooden houses at the same time that the other Northwest Territories Inuit received theirs. Isotherms of that time show that more than half the Inuit in the Northwest Territories endured winter temperatures as low as those at Grise Fiord, and many were living in still colder places.

7. For many years after the relocations took place, the accounts written by Inuit as well as by white people do not speak of hardship. They said they would like to visit their relatives who were far away; this is a wish they share with most other Canadians.

Their housing was similar to that of other Canadian Inuit and, as Anna Nungaq says elsewhere, there was ample oil for heating at Grise Fiord.

There were fewer varieties of food, but no hunger. At Port Harrison there had been greater variety, but not enough to eat.

Contemporary accounts are of satisfaction, not disappointment. For many years the only requests were for visits, not for permanent return.

Isolation, in terms of distance and duration from what one has known, are accepted facts of migration, with which they would be well familiar, and they are shared by a high proportion of other Canadians.

Rather than loss of independence, they had gained. Instead of relying on relief doled out by the RCM Police, they became successful and independent hunters. They had no less access to schools, nurses and church than the great majority of Canadian Inuit at that time.

There were few of marriageable age among the original relocatees. There were increasing contacts with other Inuit groups and additional immigrants as time went on. I was at Grise Fiord myself some 30 years ago, when two or three dog sleds arrived from Greenland. They turned out to be Greenlanders hoping to find wives for themselves at Grise Fiord.

Any deep sense of betrayal and mistrust of government is a recent phenomenon. The Inuit have now been indoctrinated to think of themselves as victims, however much this runs against the evidence and the written testimony of their elders.

From the above, it seems clear that the great majority, if not all, were happy that first year. As time went on and they learned more about the most appropriate hunting techniques in that area and the more likely places to be

frequented by game and fish, they became more prosperous.

8. There is little or no evidence of hardship in the new locations.

9. The Pond Inlet Inuit wanted to move and did not, at the time, suggest remuneration. I had never heard of it until this year, and I have known the Pond Inlet people for well over 50 years.

10. For the 20 or more years following the move, Inuit evidence of hardship is lacking. There is compelling evidence of their satisfaction.

11. Again, the only evidence is of satisfaction, not hardship.

12. The trading stores were run in the name of an Inuk with money from the Eskimo Loan Fund and with RCM Police assistance, especially in book-keeping. Changes in stock carried and level of supplies within the financial ceiling could have been suggested to the RCM Police by the Inuit.

13. The government's actions should be assessed in the perspective that was current at the time. There is no evidence that the government failed in its responsibilities either in that perspective or in that of today. There is evidence that the administration was humane and caring. By today's standards, it might be considered too paternalistic rather than lacking a fiduciary responsibility.

14. It is natural for people to dress in their best clothes when meeting strangers. This is a very well-known and normal practice among Inuit who, when travelling to a distant settlement, would often stop a few miles short of their destination to change into their best clothes for arrival. The Greenlanders who visited Grise Fiord when I was there had done this. Of course, I suppose they wanted to impress the local girls, too. That is what they were looking for.

15. I was not involved in the administration of the north, so I do not know about requests to return. It appears to have been several years after the move that any request was made, and most subsequent requests were for visits, not for permanent moves. I understand that several visits to the south and some permanent moves were arranged by the department and made with the assistance of the RCAF. Some preferred to go to places other than Port Harrison when they went to the south. Some wanted to go to Churchill. I was certainly visited by one on at least one occasion in Ottawa.

Pressure for return to Port Harrison appears to date from 1973. Mr. Pilot said yesterday that he thought this was in order to benefit from the James Bay Agreement, not from dissatisfaction with the north. This also explains why the pressure came only from the Port Harrison and not from the Pond Inlet people.

I have completed going through the questionnaire which was furnished me. Before I make my concluding remarks, I wonder whether you would like now to question me on what I have said. Or should I continue?

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Why don't you complete your testimony first.

**DR. GRAHAM W. ROWLEY:** In conclusion, I would like to say to the Commission that the testimony you have heard during the last two days presents you with a very different picture of these relocations from what you gained at the April hearings.

One reason for this may perhaps lie in the very incomplete information then in your possession. I have examined the list of documents studied by

The question of the government's fiduciary responsibility is a key theme of the Soberman Report. See Lackenbauer (2020)

your lawyers, and presumably passed to them by your staff. There are 25 documents, totalling some thousands of pages, which, with only one exception of two pages in length, are all dated 1990 or later. The one exception is a newspaper article, "Sadluvinik's Story," dated 1977, in which he describes how very hungry he was in northern Quebec – and I don't need to speak about it. He discussed some terrible conditions under which he had lived in northern Quebec, how he wanted to go to the north and how he had never wanted to return to Port Harrison. He was a leader of the Port Harrison Inuit. Five years earlier he had written a letter to a northern newspaper, a letter of which you are apparently unaware and which I don't think Mr. Kenney mentioned today. In this letter he expresses the gratitude of the Port Harrison families for their move to Resolute.

With only post-1990 material, I am not surprised you have received a false impression. In this regard, I note that Commissioner Wilson has written as recently as June 8, regretting that the government did not investigate the Inuit claims close to the time of the relocations. I agree that such evidence would be very valuable. However, she is apparently still unaware that it is only in the past few years that the issue has been fabricated and that a substantial body of evidence, dating back to the 1950s, is in fact available.

I would be most grateful, in fact, if the Royal Commission could furnish me with a copy of any report they received from their research staff on this subject before the April hearings were held. I request that some of the earlier evidence I have mentioned, including the views of Bishop Marsh, which were told to you this morning – and when I wrote this, I did not know that you would have heard it this morning because I had not seen what had been said about the people being perfectly happy, with no desire to return to their former location.

I should also add that I am sorry there are no Inuit witnesses present. Many Inuit do not agree with the testimony you heard in April. You, yourselves, must have been disappointed in how the witnesses evaded answering the questions you asked.

I understand that the witnesses were selected by an agency that had already stated its position on the issue to exclude any who did not agree with the rewritten history of the relocations, and that the witnesses who did come were instructed to say nothing positive about their lives in the north.

I also greatly regret that Ross Gibson's request to attend the April hearings went unanswered. He was, therefore, refused his right to meet those who attacked him. He was accused of opening Inuit mail and destroying anything that was derogatory, despite the fact that they were written in a language for which he required an interpreter and they were written in syllabics which he could not read. This was one of many absurd allegations.

I must thank the Commission's lawyers for sending me the testimony given by Mr. Gibson a few days ago by telephone from his bed in hospital. I personally found it a very moving document, and I hope every Commissioner will study it with great care. It would be a further injustice to Mr. Gibson if his testimony is not translated into Inuktitut and distributed at least to all the witnesses at the April hearings. I hope the Commission will see that this is done. It should not be arranged through any agency that has already stated its position on the issue.

During the past few years the Inuit who testified have been told, time and again, a distorted story of their childhood, which they now probably believe.

Most of them were small children, six years old or younger, in 1953. You may be aware of the recent Michaels case in the United States where a young teacher was sentenced to 17 years in prison on the evidence that children, then of kindergarten age, had been schooled to give. One child even testified that the teacher had turned him into a mouse.

After five years in prison, the teacher has now been released when the transcript of the trial was examined and shown, at least in part, to be absurd. This was a U.S. judicial trial, not a kangaroo court. The Popowich case in Saskatchewan is another recent example of following the recognized principles of justice, especially where the testimony of children is a factor.

Perhaps the greatest damage done by these hearings is how they have begun to destroy the trust that existed between the Inuit and the government, a trust which has resulted in an agreed settlement of major land claims, the largest of which has just been completed. This contrasts with the slow progress made in completing similar Indian claims – a trust, I feel, which has been built up since the 1950s.

Finally, I should add that these relocations cannot be judged out of the context of their time. Every effort was then being made to improve conditions among the Canadian Inuit. If the northern Quebec Inuit have a valid claim against the government, then every Inuk in the Northwest Territories must have an equal or greater claim.

The story you have heard today and yesterday is not only a different story; it is a true story as told in the letters of those who volunteered, as told in government reports and as told by contemporary, independent observers in their accounts.

It is not a shameful chapter in Canadian history, as Inuit politicians, denying the testimony of their Inuit elders, have described it at international meetings. It is a story of courage and success. Those involved – the Inuit, Henry Larsen, Alex Stevenson and Ross Gibson who devoted years of his life to helping the Resolute Inuit in any way he could – should be honoured, not pitied and pilloried.

The true story is one of which Canada and all Canadians can, and should, be proud. Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Thank you for a very clear presentation and for answering the questions that were given to you. I suspect that will mean there will be much fewer questions than otherwise.

In relation to the concluding remarks you make, I would just like to make a few comments.

You make mention of the selection of the witnesses. Yes, ITC did play a role in it, but our understanding is that the witnesses were chosen by the members of the relocatees themselves, that they discussed amongst themselves who should come down.

You make mention of children. This was mentioned yesterday also, and we are more than prepared to give you the ages of all of them.

**DR. GRAHAM W. ROWLEY:** I have them, thank you.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** You will see that, yes, there are some people who were children at the time, there is no question about it, but there are 10 who were 20 years or older at the time of the move, with the oldest ones being in their late thirties, and then a couple in their late teens. So, yes, you are right in saying that some of the witnesses were young but, if I

remember correctly, they didn't have as much to say as the ones who had been adults at the time.

You suggest that we look at the other evidence from an earlier period. We hope to be talking to quite a number of researchers here later today and tomorrow. We expect that they will have looked at all of this information, and we will be more than prepared to look at that information that you are talking about.

What you are referring to in the first set of hearings is the Inuit themselves providing their perspectives on what took place. I guess it was, in some cases, a perspective that might not have been heard before, but it was on the same subject matter that has been documented many times. Clearly, the Inuit had not been provided with an opportunity to present their evidence, so that is why it was primarily Inuit who were making presentations.

**DR. GRAHAM W. ROWLEY:** I just didn't want you to think that what you had got at the April hearings was necessarily views of the Canadian Inuit as a whole.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** We also took some pains to try to contact the many people that you provided to us and have gone through them one at a time.

**DR. GRAHAM W. ROWLEY:** I hope I was not the only person who provided you with names.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** No one really wanted to participate, of the ones we contacted.

So we have indeed pursued the names. Some, of course, are participating. One of the names you provided to us was Gordon Wilson who was on the panel last night.

This should reference Gordon W. Smith.

I want to thank you for the suggestions you have made. I just want to reassure you that, when we were listening to the Inuit in April, we were well aware of what we were doing. We were listening to the Inuit, and it was an opportunity for them to provide their side of the story, and then we were going to provide an opportunity for the researchers who have done work in this area, who had combed through all of the evidence, to give us their views as to why they have come to their conclusions.

In addition, we have always had an open attitude to whether or not there would be other witnesses. When it became very clear that government officials wanted to be involved, who had originally been involved in this, we immediately made the time for that to occur.

It may have seemed as if we were only listening to one side, so to speak, but that was just the beginning of the process.

If you don't mind, I will see if people have some questions for you. Commissioner Mary Sillett, please.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Thank you very much, Mr. Rowley.

I just want to emphasize that, according to our records, you asked us to contact five Inuit. As Georges said, many said they didn't have anything to contribute. Leah Idlout Paulson was at our last hearing and talked about her experiences, and she said there was nothing else she wished to add – just for the record.

In your presentation you made it very, very clear that people were very proud of the fact that the Inuit who had been relocated from Inukjuak were



no longer relying on relief doled out by the RCMP.

I was confused a bit about that because at the April hearings we had heard that any kind of relief that people were getting in terms of Family Allowances or Old Age Pensions stopped when they left Inukjuak. Could you try to explain the conflict there, please.

**DR. GRAHAM W. ROWLEY:** The Family Allowances, as I read out today, were provided just in the same way as they had been in Inukjuak. Certainly, all these other things, like blind people allowances, were provided just the same way. I cannot conceive that they would not have been.

Relief, which is a different matter, is only provided when needed. At Inukjuak it was provided because they needed it; they would have starved without it. At Grise Fiord and Resolute they did not need it. They had plenty of food. Sometimes the food might be rather dull. As I mentioned earlier, if you eat nothing but walrus, you do feel hungry for anything but walrus. But they were not in need.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** This morning we heard from Mr. Sivertz who said, when I asked about how the relocatees were chosen, that they weren't chosen, that they chose themselves, that camp leaders were approached and those who wished to go decided who would accompany them.

In your paper there is a statement saying that there were some Inuit who considered themselves to be very fortunate to have been chosen from among those who wanted to go. I understand from reading that that someone chose them, maybe not the Inuit. Is that correct?

**DR. GRAHAM W. ROWLEY:** Of course, I was not in the administration in any way, but I tried to keep in touch with what was going on.

This was in 1955, when they sent up a second wave. Dr. Schaeffer, whom I met a couple of weeks ago, when I asked him about it, said: Yes, he remembered well. He was on board the ship; he was a doctor. They picked them up at Harrison and took them to Churchill, and then they went all the way up to Grise Fiord and Resolute, and he remained on the ship back to Pangnirtung.

He said he spoke to them all, because he was very interested in the Inuit, and they said,

There were lots of us who wanted to go, but they couldn't take more than a certain number. Weren't we lucky. We're going.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** I have often gotten the feeling throughout these hearings that there is a feeling that all Inuit are the same, that there is a homogeneous crowd. I have heard many references saying,

The Pond Inlet Inuit really enjoyed this. I have known the Pond Inlet for many years, and they were happy, so the Port Harrison Inuit must have been happy, too.

Is there any recognition by yourself that there are cultural differences between different Inuit groups?

**DR. GRAHAM W. ROWLEY:** Any recognition by the white man that there are differences between groups?

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** I didn't say by the white man; I said by, for example, yourself – that there are cultural differences between different Inuit groups.

The development of the welfare state in the late-1940s and early-1950s resulted in a large number of payments made by the federal government to individuals and families, including Old Age Pensions (disbursed based on age), Family Allowances (disbursed based on the number of children living at home), and Relief (disbursed based on levels of income). Rowley's testimony here attempts to explain the different rationales for disbursement, and therefore the differences in receiving these payments. Missing from this discussion is the administrative difficulty of disbursement of payments in the North. See Tester and Kulchyski (1994)

**DR. GRAHAM W. ROWLEY:** Oh, yes, by myself. After all, I was an anthropologist and I know there are cultural differences between different groups. Now I know there have been for a long, long time because I am also an archaeologist. This was revealed in the archaeology specimens and many of the artifacts.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** I just wanted to double-check. I think the experience of the Pond Inlet Inuit might not necessarily have been the same.

I understand that from what I have heard, and I hope that other people understand that, too.

I have just two more questions.

We have heard that especially in the earlier years, in the first years of relocation which were the most difficult years – you have mentioned yourself that at Grise Fiord the snow was very, very difficult to make igloos out of, so people had to spend that first year in tents. We have heard that as well. We have heard that in the first year the Inuit from Inukjuak were not familiar with those hunting grounds and that they found it very difficult to find food because of the lack of familiarity.

What were the plans to prepare Inuit for that first year? How were they able to find the hunting grounds in order to be able to feed their families and feed their dogs?

**DR. GRAHAM W. ROWLEY:** The RCM Police, the Special Constables, in Grise Fiord had carried out two quite lengthy patrols that spring and had found good places. I assume that is why they took them to Grise Fiord, which they thought was a very nice place. Of course, there were probably some problems resulting. For instance, where they settled turned out to be windy and the snow blew away. Had they gone down on the sea ice, they would have been able, had they wished, to build snow houses by cutting the blocks horizontally.

I have never found anywhere in the north where it was not possible to find snow suitable for building snow houses, if one looked hard and long enough – and I had to because I had to build an igloo myself.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** I was a bit struck by paragraph 5 on page 11. You said it is your belief that the Inuit knew where they were going, that they knew they were going to three, later two, locations and that they knew they would be divided.

**DR. GRAHAM W. ROWLEY:** I said I thought that. I know of no evidence that they did not know it. I can see how people could get mixed up if they were going to three places. They couldn't get into Alexandria Fiord, so that group were probably split up, some going to Resolute and some to Grise Fiord. I do not know.

I have no evidence that they did not know. It would seem incredible if they didn't because, after all, they had been speaking, as I understand it, to Alex Stevenson who knew what was going on. I think it is probable that the groups were bigger than they thought, rather than smaller.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** I still hear what the people said in April when they said that people were being separated and women were crying and pulling for their other relatives, and even the dogs were howling. I remember hearing that and feeling that it would be very, very traumatic

for a lot of people. It was something that people remembered very well. I remember people saying, "We didn't know. No one told us." That is why I was surprised.

**DR. GRAHAM W. ROWLEY:** I do not know how that was done. I do not know with whom it was discussed. It was probably more or less an emergency thing. I don't know whether it was agreed between the leaders of the groups and the government. Certainly, the government officials on board would consult the Inuit on that. I can't imagine their not doing it; they consulted them on everything else.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** On the question of the promise to return, I would like to clarify the situation. We were told this morning by Mr. Sivertz that the promise was made with the understanding, at least on his part, that it would be a collective move, that they were moving together in 1953 and then in 1955 and then, if they decided as a group to come back, the government would bring them back.

I was struck by this because it hadn't crossed my mind and I have always thought that, as the decision of each family in Inukjuak was made on an individual basis to move to the High Arctic, the promise that was conveyed was also on an individual basis, because their decision to go was made on an individual basis.

What we were told this morning is that, once they were there, in the mind of government, they would have to abide by a kind of consensus or majority rule, by a collective decision; otherwise, those who were not happy had not been promised that they would be returned individually or in families on an individual basis.

I am a bit confused with the nature of the promise and the way it was conveyed. Was this collective perspective of the promise properly conveyed? In your document, in answering the questions, you say that the department clearly contemplated that the Inuit would be taken back if in two years' time they so wished.

Was this to be a collective decision and they would all have to come back, and it could not be done individually?

**DR. GRAHAM W. ROWLEY:** Yes, I would imagine – not all. A family would hate to be split up. The families are very close. For instance I have seen absurd things. One of them was a grandmother, that she should have been left behind. She would have been broken-hearted –

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** We are not talking about families. What we are talking about and what was mentioned this morning was that the promise was made for the group, not for the individuals.

I am trying to clarify that, because I feel it is an important point. Are you aware of that?

**DR. GRAHAM W. ROWLEY:** I cannot advise you there. The group is usually a family group. In other words, you have a man and his wife and his eldest son with his wife and family. The oldest son and his wife and family will split off and become more independent.

But I am not an expert on that.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** There is a gap between what was mentioned to us this morning.

**DR. GRAHAM W. ROWLEY:** Mr. Sivertz would know that better than I.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** I just wanted to know if you had additional information to share. Up to this point I must say that I have always thought that we were talking about a promise dealing with individuals or families, but not the whole group.

**DR. GRAHAM W. ROWLEY:** I would sooner you ask Mr. Sivertz about how big a group he was considering. There is the family and then the family group, bringing in the in-laws and so on. Usually, I think, it depended largely on the personality. You might have a grandmother whose personality was so strong that she made the major decisions, on who adopted whom and everything.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** I hear what you are saying. I think it shows the difficulty we have in getting some of the basic facts to understand exactly.

On this issue of the promise, which is quite straightforward, there have been all kinds of points of view for many years. Now there is a consensus that the promise was made, whether in a year or two or three, that they could be brought back within that lapse of time, but there is this additional question mark now about whether the promise was made for the whole group and they would all have to be brought back together on the same ship or if it was made on an individual basis of each family or individuals who would like to resume their life in the southern part of the Arctic, in Inukjuak, Quebec.

I understand that you don't have additional information.

**DR. GRAHAM W. ROWLEY:** It is a very difficult subject.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** I have one further question.

On page 6, as to how the relocation was carried out, you answer at the bottom of the page that there were recent reports by professional biologists on the animals and birds in the area. That seems to be a little different from other evidence we have heard, including earlier today, that in fact there were no studies.

**DR. GRAHAM W. ROWLEY:** In the Resolute area, there have been quite a lot of scientists. Two biologists had been around there about a couple of years before, on the U.S. Task Force. Ornithologists from the Smithsonian Institution spent the summer. There was a mammalogist from the U.S. Department of Agriculture. They had taken the opportunity to go around on the ships, and their reports would certainly be available. I don't know what reports were read, but I certainly know that there is quite a bit of information on the area.

I don't know whether Sverdrup had a biologist with him; he probably did, but I don't know. I am an archaeologist, not a biologist.

There was certainly quite a bit of zoological information available if one dug. I don't know how deeply the people involved in planning it had dug, but I assume they found out all they could.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Those are my questions. Is there anything else you want to add?

**DR. GRAHAM W. ROWLEY:** I have nothing to add.

This question provides a good possible explanation for the *reason* for the broken promise: The promises to return were made by Inspector Larsen without consulting with the DRD and, apparently, without consideration of how it might be implemented or by whom. Because there is no evidence of a request to return in the early years it is likely that the logistics of how this would be done were never discussed, making the promise an empty one, but also a somewhat unimportant one to government officials who were not forced to confront the challenge of what was meant by Larsen's unauthorized promise.

This is yet another important difference among the locations chosen - there was better information available in Ottawa about Resolute Bay than Grise Fiord on a variety of technical and environmental issues.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Thank you for coming forward.

We will take a two-minute break.

— Short Recess at 3:25 p.m.

— Upon resuming at 4:08 p.m.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Please proceed when you are ready.

**DAN SOBERMAN:** Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I am sure you will all be delighted to know that my presentation will be relatively short, due in part, I think, to some frustration, but that may come out in the course of what I say.

I hope you will forgive me for first explaining my role in this important matter. Although I am now what is now commonly called an “academic,” – that is, a professor in a university – I am also a qualified lawyer who has been hearing human rights complaints before tribunals, both federally and in Ontario, since 1978.

In the process of chairing administrative tribunals, I have learned to adopt the role of an administrative judge, in particular to be as impartial as one can be and to decide issues on the evidence presented before the tribunal by the parties. Indeed, it is essential that one does not seek evidence outside the hearing room, whether it be from experts or other witnesses.

As we know, the relocations occurred in the 1950s, about a quarter of a century before the federal Human Rights Act was passed and the Canadian Human Rights Commission was set up. There is no provision for retroactive effect of the legislation. Thus, when the Inuit approached the Commission, I believe in November or December 1990, it could undertake an investigation only informally and outside its statutory mandate – that is, by the consent of both parties.

When I was asked to assume this task, I requested that both parties, the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada and the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, give me their written consent and their undertaking to assist with evidence. This they both did.

With the agreement of the Commission, I decided that I should approach this matter in a manner as close as I could to that of an administrative hearing. This approach was the fairest and made use of my experience as a human rights adjudicator. In any event, I am not an expert, academic or otherwise, on the High Arctic or Inuit history or affairs. In other words, I am not a researcher. I was approaching this from as close as I could to a judicial point of view in the way in which the Canadian Human Rights Commission functions.

I think this is very important to point out because I found some of the discussion today rather frustrating, and I would like to give you one example – and this is an aside.

There was discussion about when the Inuit families aboard the *C.D. Howe* or the *D'Iberville*, whichever it was they were on at the time, found out about where they were going, whether they were given any advance knowledge. I couldn't help thinking that it is the kind of thing I sometimes say to my students: I wish you would read, some people anyway.

If I could just quote from my own report one section on page 38, No. 10: Placing families and settlements far from each other:

Daniel Soberman was professor and former Dean of Law at Queen's University. He was appointed by the CHRC in 1991 to investigate the High Arctic Relocations

The unhappy consequences of separation discussed under Inuit values and priorities in the preceding section applied also to separating families in two High Arctic locations 240 miles apart. While the distance was not so great as that between Inukjuak and the Far North, in a different way the effect was more severe.

Without exception, all the Inuit interviewed stated that they did not learn about being separated into different camps until they arrived at Craig Harbour. Upon arrival, they were told that several families would be disembarked and would remain in Craig Harbour area while the others would proceed to two different locations, some on the soon-to-be-abandoned Alexandria Fiord site and the remainder to Resolute Bay.

The news of separation came suddenly without any chance to prepare themselves emotionally. In contrast, before leaving on the *C.D. Howe* a month earlier, the Inuit had known for a number of weeks that they would be leaving family behind. They had also known which other members of their family would be joining them on the journey north, and they had spent a month together aboard ship. The news of the second separation came as a shock.

In interviews I was told that the women began to sob and, in response, a number of their dogs began to howl.

There is no evidence at all that Inuit families were offered a choice of locations or were asked whom they would prefer as neighbours. They simply were told to disembark at Craig Harbour or to transfer to the *D'Iberville* in order to proceed to the other two destinations.

Whatever debate there might be about the voluntary nature of originally consenting to leave the Inukjuak region, I believe there can be none about the choice of relocation sites. The Inuit were not given an option; they were told where to disembark.

That is the oral account of the Inuit. As a lawyer, one looks for corroborative evidence. I can tell you it is 100 per cent there. Let me proceed.

This account is consistent with information in the documents available and in a telephone interview with Mr. Ross Gibson, the RCMP officer who accompanied the Inuit aboard the *C.D. Howe*. He stated that he had not been given specific information about the location or locations of the new settlements and believed that the primary location was to be near the Bache Peninsula on Ellesmere Island. He was not aware of plans for Resolute Bay, despite the fact that a number of interdepartmental reports had discussed three locations.

This picture suggests a substantial failure in communication between those directing the relocation and those responsible for implementing it.

As for documentary evidence, a letter dated June 18, 1953 from C.K. Luppalin, Acting Director, Arctic Division, to A. Watson, Marine Superintendent, Department of Transport, states:

As requested by your Mr. Hall, I am attaching hereto a list of the Eskimos to be transferred on board both the CGS *C.D. Howe* and the CGS *D'Iberville*. The destination of a number of these natives is not known at the present time. However, Captain Fournier and the Chief Steward will be advised sometime during the course of the voyage.

That is documentary evidence.

For further reading, see Lackenbauer (2020)

Second, minutes of a meeting of the Advisory Committee on Northern Development by C.J. Marshall of the Secretariat, held on August 10, 1953, while the C.D. Howe was en route from Inukjuak to Craig Harbour, state:

Mr. O'Neil, RCAF, asked how many families would be going to each of the three settlement areas. Mr. Cantley, Resources and Development, stated that this would be decided on the boat taking the Eskimos to their destinations. It was not desirable to break up family groups, if possible.

I just give you this as an example because I have heard debate here today, and I feel frustrated because right here I have uncontradicted oral testimony of the Inuit families involved, of an RCMP officer and two pieces of documents. There is no doubt about what happened in that particular story, so I find the debate, as I say, somewhat frustrating.

In the course of my work, I tried to put together the evidence in this form as best I could. Sometimes the evidence was fragmentary and sometimes had to decide on contradictory evidence.

In proceeding with this investigation, I asked the Inuit first to present their complaint. They did so in three ways:

- a. they provided me with as much relevant documentary evidence as possible which they had assembled over the years;
- b. they arranged interviews with Inuit relocatees in the Arctic, in Inukjuak and in Ottawa;
- c. they arranged interviews with several persons who have expertise in the High Arctic.

DIAND arranged for me to interview former members of the RCMP and of the government and departments involved in the relocations in the 1950s. In other words, both sides were given every opportunity to present me with as much evidence, albeit informally, as they could muster for this purpose.

My first task was to recount from the evidence presented what had occurred in the 1950s – and, by the way, I found that difficult because there was no coherent accounting of what had happened that I could find, so I had to construct it from the documents.

Next, I considered the obligations of the Government of Canada to Aboriginal peoples as developed through constitutional and legal principles and formed an opinion as to whether the government had met those obligations. I am, by the way, a teacher of constitutional law with some specialization in the area.

Third, I examined the consequences for the relocated families in the ensuing years. The following is a summary of my conclusions.

1. With regard to the sovereignty issue, in the early 1950s the Government of Canada expressed concern about effective occupation of the Canadian Arctic, primarily because of increasing activity and numbers of United States Armed Service personnel in the region but also because of long-term hunting visits of Greenland Inuit to Ellesmere Island. The combination of these elements was likely to have influenced the planned location of two settlements on Ellesmere Island. The evidence did not take me beyond this observation because I did not have more than that, but I do have documentary evidence of middle-rank civil servants mentioning the question of sovereignty as early as 1950 and again in 1952-53.

These conclusions are discussed in greater detail in the Soberman Report, which can be found in Lackenbauer (2020)

2. It is firmly established, first by the Canadian Senate in 1867 and subsequently by the Supreme Court of Canada in 1939 and again in 1990, that the Government of Canada, from its founding, has owed and continues to owe duties of good faith and diligence toward the Inuit people of Canada.
3. The Government of Canada: (a) promised the Inuit that, if they so wished, they would be returned to the region of Inukjuak in northern Quebec, at most, within three years after the relocation in 1953; (b) failed to meet its fiduciary duties of care and diligence in planning and carrying out the relocation and in not taking steps in the first few years to honour its promise of return.

By the way, I do not say – and I make it clear in my report – that there was any nefarious scheming or deliberate wrongdoing.

4. In those years the Inuit relocatees of 1953 suffered unnecessary hardship particularly in the first year, as did, to a lesser extent, the relocatees in 1955, caused by inadequate planning and implementation of the project – and, I might say, by using legal norms that I believe existed in the 1950s, they didn't meet those standards, whatever the excuses might be.
5. Their hardship was aggravated by the long delays and difficulties many of the first-generation relocatees encountered in finding their way back to Inukjuak. The delays resulted in long-distance separation of different generations of the same family.

Those were the conclusions about what had actually happened and its implications.

I made the following recommendations which were accepted by the Canadian Human Rights Commission and conveyed to DIAND and the ITC on December 18, 1991.

1. Based on the documentary evidence between 1953 and 1960, the Government of Canada should accept that its predecessor government of those years considered the presence of new Inuit communities in the High Arctic to be helpful in supporting Canadian claims to territorial sovereignty in the region. I recommended that the government formally acknowledge the contribution of the Inuit relocatees at Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay to Canadian sovereignty in the High Arctic and publicly thank them.
2. The government should apologize for the shortcomings in planning the relocation, particularly with respect to providing adequate equipment and housing for the first winter and in failing to provide schools and nursing facilities in the early years.

By the way, I might add that, to the best of my knowledge, it wasn't just a year or two; it was seven or eight years before many of these services were made available.

3. The government should acknowledge that it promised those Inuit who wished to go back to northern Quebec the opportunity to do so within, at most, three years of being relocated. It should admit that it made no serious efforts to honour its promises and that, as a consequence, a substantial number who wished to return were unable to do so for many years.

Accordingly, it should recognize its responsibility for that failure and for the unhappy consequences for many Inuit families.



4. (a) Any members of the original relocated families and their immediate children should retain a choice to be relocated to Inukjuak for a specified period of time. I suggested five years from the filing of my report. The government should commit itself to return them to Inukjuak at government expense, bearing the full cost of re-establishing them, including providing housing in Inukjuak equivalent to the housing left behind in the High Arctic, which by this time was quite well-developed.
- (b) Children of the original relocated families who choose to remain in the High Arctic – and I explained why that might be in my report – after their parents have returned to Inukjuak may visit their parents, accompanied by their own minor children still living with them, using return air transportation at government expense every second year during the lifetime of their parents.

Transportation in the High Arctic remains a very difficult matter. It is not like flying from Montreal to Toronto or Ottawa.

The above is a shortened summary of my main conclusions and recommendations. According to my terms of reference, there was a provision for mediating between the parties regarding remedies, but no attempt to mediate was pursued.

If you should have any questions about the matters I have summarized, I shall try to respond to them. Of course, my full report deals with these matters in greater detail.

I would just like to add one thing, if I may, partly because of my slight unease in being here today and listening.

We, in Canada, are fortunate to have a system of Human Rights Commissions, of which there are only two or three in world that are comparable. It still has a long way to go, but it is a very important part of the advance of this country. It shows our sophistication and concern for these things.

I remain very concerned that the legitimacy and credibility of our human rights process remain, and I would point out that my report was done in that vein, as part of the human rights process, not as a researcher who had his own particular axe to grind or view to show from one side or the other. I came at the task as impartially as I could, and those were the conclusions that I came to, based on the evidence presented to me.

Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Thank you for coming forward and giving us a summary of what you discovered in the report you did for the Human Rights Commission.

I will allow some questions now, if you don't mind. I will start with Commissioner Chartrand.

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** Thank you very much, Professor Soberman.

I would like to ask about the matter that you last raised. You referred to the pursuit of human rights in Canada. I wonder if you would take the view that we have yet to establish an objective standard whereby the policies and practices of the government with respect to this relocation and, in fact, other relocations can be measured.

I understand the point you make here. You have told us, with respect to the time of the enactment of the Human Rights Act and the establishment of the Commission, of the limitations that that placed upon you. Nevertheless,

Soberman's report was completed at the request of the ITC and with the consent of the DIAND on behalf of the CHRC, but as the main events occurred in the 1950s (before the Canadian Human Rights Act became law and the CHRC existed), the CHRC did not have statutory authority.

it is apparent that there is no objective standard that has been presented to us here to assess these policies.

I wonder if you could comment upon the kinds of standard that might carry some weight in assessing these policies. Let me, by way of inquiry, offer one or two examples.

Notwithstanding the absence of the federal human rights legislation at the time of the relocations, there had been adopted by the United Nations a Declaration of Human Rights. One might consider those standards for the moral weight or other weight they might have in crafting the core of some more principles that might guide us.

For example, one of the matters that was referred to us in this particular hearing was the difficulty for some people to find marriage partners. Article 16(1) of that particular Declaration provides that men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality and so on, have the right to marry and to found a family. There are many other provisions which, at first blush, might have some application. For example, everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care.

Very important, it appears, is the provision on limitations, that, in the exercise of these rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law and only for particular purposes which are elaborated therein.

I understand that Denmark, which had jurisdiction over Greenland, had passed legislation in this respect at the relevant time. So we were advised in evidence given to us yesterday. I believe Denmark had been a party to another human rights document that was in force as of September 3, 1953, namely the European Convention on Human Rights.

I mention those merely by way of example of existing standards, without necessarily characterizing their weight for Canadian domestic purposes. My main point is that it seems that it might be difficult to provide an objective assessment of the policies and practices involved without such a standard, and I wonder if you might provide us with the benefit of your view on that matter.

**DAN SOBERMAN:** That's a difficult and interesting question. I think we should distinguish two aspects.

The jurisdictional one had to do with the fact that under the Act it had no right to form a tribunal and bring people before it, based on events that had happened 25 years before its existence. In other words, the legislation had no retrospective effect in terms of the formality, and that was why we did it by consent.

I had, in fact, at that time the hope, perhaps an unrealistic one, that, as a result of doing it by consent of both parties, the effects would be much the same.

When you turn away from that jurisdictional issue to the standards, I agree with you that it is extraordinarily difficult. There are really no "objective" standards. I think the standards for matters like this are questions of fairness and impartiality, and you cannot take them 100 per cent out of their context and bring them forward 40 years when there are different sensitivities.

That doesn't mean to say you can't judge at all. In fact, I was doing that very thing, and most of us have been.

I think it is a very useful point to make that a government or, for that matter, any person or group of persons acting, must try to act within the norms that are considered to be fair in a civilized and humane society. Even though we may have had less sensitivity in the early 1950s, in my view, as I stated in my report, I didn't think the standards were met as they were at that time, in terms of being careful about human life.

If I can put it another way, it seems to me not an answer to say: This group of people were living in abject misery in Place X so, when we move them to Place Y, as long as it is better, we don't have to care how much better.

There is an analogy which Madam Justice Wilson will no doubt be aware of. If you see somebody in trouble or drowning and you go out to try to help them, you may not have had to do anything in the first place but, even under our relatively crude law, once you are out there, you have to do your best. You can't abandon them. To abandon them would be a very serious breach of both morals and law.

I guess the best way I could put it is that, having undertaken to make this relocation, the question was: Did the government of the day meet the standards of that day to any reasonable extent? My conclusion in my report is that they didn't meet those standards of care and diligence and concern for the individuals and the families.

There is no doubt in my mind that a good portion of it is due to what I refer to as the cultural gap, the great difference in perception. But, in my own view, I don't think that was a sufficient explanation for what happened.

I can't really go beyond that because, again, I don't want to go out of the four corners of what I did my best effort to put those matters in. In other words, I don't think we could draw a document that says: These are the standards of the 1930s; these are the standards of the 1950s; these are the standards of the 1960s, and then apply them to anything that happened in history. It would be extraordinarily difficult to do that.

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** It would not be possible to assess the applicability of the UN Declaration in 1948 to the Canadian situation. Is that your statement?

**DAN SOBERMAN:** No. You could do it. You would have to look at the situation.

All I would say is that, according to our own laws and the obligations under our Constitution, I thought there was a breach. I did not have to go beyond that.

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** Am I right, then, in understanding that there are certain conclusions drawn within the four corners of your paper, but you do not say that there are not other measures which could be used to assess the behaviour?

**DAN SOBERMAN:** Oh, you are quite right. Of course, there are other things that could have been used to assess it.

The normal rule in law is that, if you have domestic standards that are adequate for you to decide an issue and to find the finding you did, you don't have to go beyond those.

I also had time constraints. Having started this in August and the Human Rights Commission having decided that it wanted the report in by the end of December, I tried to contain what I wrote so that I could deal with it clearly

and exhaustively. Had I gone beyond that, I am sure it would have taken another six months, and I didn't have that time.

Yes, you could certainly look at other standards. Canada, as an adherent to all those United Nations proclamations, would be bound by them, certainly morally. Whether, strictly speaking, legally or not is another matter.

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** I have a number of questions.

Your report, I think, tried to deal with the fact that there was a cultural gap. Could you explain to us what you think occurred.

**DAN SOBERMAN:** I think the most graphic example I gave is the difference – and I have heard so much of it again today – between the suggestion by a southern Canadian administrator or RCMP officer to the Native person that they might do this and the perception by that Native person of that being a command.

When I say a command, I don't mean a command such as "jump in the lake or I'll shoot you." I don't mean that kind. I mean a command that somebody might well resist if they were really upset, saying "I don't want to do this under any circumstances." We had some evidence that there were one or two who refused to go.

What I mean by that is that there is a question of degree. It might well be that, with the best of intentions and not understanding the cultural differences, a person in a position of power and authority could suggest something, thinking it is for that person's best interest, and the other perceiving it as "I had better do this unless I really want to scream and be out of favour."

I found an element of that, and I would like to say that this is not anecdotal. I interviewed over 30 Inuit, and I interviewed a further 15 or 18 people from the south, members of the government and others, and I found that there was this difference. I think it is something which we have to work very hard to understand.

The other most important cultural gap that I found was that I think in the harsh, demanding environment in which the Inuit live, matters of reaching consensual decisions, the importance of family, the attachment to the environment, is much greater than when you get into an abstracted society such as ours where we live in different kinds of homes and use mechanical devices for transportation and our jobs are all highly automated. I think it is a question of degree.

It may be that there would have been less of a gap between a pioneer farmer in Canada and Native peoples than there is between a southern city dweller now and a person from the north.

Again, I am not a specialist in this. I am speaking as just an interested observer when I say that. It seems to me that it accounted for a lot of misperceptions in 1953 and 1955.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** We have heard here about letters that were sent from the relocatees, whether they were from Pond Inlet or from northern Quebec, once they had moved to Resolute. The letters that were mentioned all referred to how people were happy; they found that the game was plentiful; and, rather than actually trying to return – if they wanted to return, it was for a visit. There was a number of letters that actually described how relatives should be brought up.

These letters started from 1956 and later, so it was at least three years after the initial move and a year after the second relocation.

How does that jibe with your understanding? How does that mesh with what you discovered?

**DAN SOBERMAN:** I am not suggesting for a moment that it is consistent. I don't know for sure, because I did not see these letters. They were not brought to my attention.

A lot of people in this world, and it doesn't matter what their background, can be rather fatalistic. They want to do something but, if they can't do it, after a year or two they become resigned to saying, "Oh, well, it's not so bad." The government did improve its services and help for the Inuit in the two northern settlements in the subsequent years.

Let me give you an example of how it was described to me – and I refer to Grise Fiord where there wasn't proximity to an air force base and a large permanent camp.

The RCMP officer, who was some 30 to 40 miles away, would come visiting every once in a while to the campsite. If, in early spring, someone had said to that officer, as was reported to me – and I think this is quite credible: "We found this a terrible winter. It has been very hard on us. We think we would like to go back," but not, of course, in a demanding or unpleasant way, and the RCMP officer, as a matter of fact, says, "Well, the ship will be here in late August and you could get on it, but you know it only goes one way. It goes from Montreal in the spring, up into Hudson's Bay, goes to Inukjuak and down the east coast of Hudson's Bay and then over to Churchill and then back up here, and it gets here in August, and there is no way it can go back to Inukjuak. So it will be taking you to Montreal"

– and I might point out that in 1954 there was no regular air travel to Inukjuak or Harrison – "and you will have to live in Montreal for a year, and then you can go home next spring, a year from now," the officer was reporting the facts as he knew them.

But what signal is this to the Inuit who would like to go home and to take the family home? They have been up in the High Arctic for a few months. They don't have the money necessary to live in Montreal. They don't know what Montreal is like; it could seem very scary, and they have a year to go home.

There was no suggestion made that "I will try to radio down or get the message to see whether they could send a plane up."

Actually, one of the letters we heard today suggested that this was a very unusual and costly business, about letting anybody go down for a visit – and that was quite a few years later.

Again, I think this is the cultural gap, the facts of the way it developed. There was a promise made, but nobody thought about ways of executing that promise, of carrying it out for the benefit of Inuit who might be unhappy. Again, I don't think it was deliberate, but the consequences from the point of view of those Inuit families was: "You really don't have any return."

By 1956 maybe they had become somewhat more acclimatized and decided, "We might as well stay," or might have said, "Well, if I can't go home –" – and I do talk about this in the report – "– maybe you can bring my sister and brother-in-law up here with their children," because of the pain of separation.

Again, in some of the letters read by Mr. Kenney this morning, that pain

of separation was very clear.

I don't know if that is a useful answer to you.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** You mention in your report the Inuit aversion to confrontation. Do you believe that this might have played a role in this?

**DAN SOBERMAN:** Certainly.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** I am reading from the last paragraph of your summary, just to ensure I have it right, where you list the recommendations that you make in your report, and then you say:

According to my terms of reference, there was a provision for mediating between the parties regarding remedies, but no attempt to mediate was pursued.

Could you expand a bit on that. You came with very precise and specific recommendations. Do I understand that your expectation was that, from your findings, there would be some kind of mediation taking place and that you would normally expect to play a role in that mediation, given the terms of reference that were given to you at the outset? Could you tell us a bit more.

**DAN SOBERMAN:** On page 2 of my report, I set out the mandate for my investigation, and that was to act as special reporter to the Commission, to investigate the relocation of the Inuit people from northern Quebec to the High Arctic, and to provide an opinion on the claims of the Inuit regarding the relocation.

There was one more aspect to the mandate, and that was, if the contractor and the Commission representative determined it feasible, to explore the possibility of arriving at a conclusion mutually acceptable to the Inuit and DIAND.

So there was a term providing for some form of mediation. I had had experience as a mediator in some rather difficult situations before, and I rather looked forward to that as an interesting challenge. Maybe it was rather naive or too optimistic of me in the hope that, if a settlement could be reached, everyone would be a lot happier.

In particular, I had heard no formal evidence about compensation or anything else from either party. I thought this was sitting there, and my report went out as is, confidentially to both parties.

Unfortunately, I have no idea how or when it was leaked to the media – and I think leaked in a distorted fashion. I am not saying in a deliberately distorted fashion; I don't know. For instance, I heard reports that no compensation was given.

It seems to me that offering to relocate the remaining families for five years and every second year free air transportation for visits home is not inconsiderable compensation. It is an indeterminate amount, but it is a sum of money, and I didn't know where it would go from there.

After the report was leaked, it seemed to the Commission that the only thing they could do to try to correct some of these errors or distortions was to release the report. The report was released, I think, on January 15, 1992. The day should be etched in my memory because I became a little bit of a

The leaking of the Soberman Report to media, as well as the media's ongoing coverage of the High Arctic Relocations throughout the 1990s, remains an unexplored aspect of the road to apology and compensation.

24-hour wonder. The media got very interested in me but, by the end of 24 hours, it had worn off.

The report was then formal and out there, and I suppose it seemed that mediation was not a practical alternative for the Commission: There is the report, and that's it.

I was certainly taken somewhat by surprise on that, and nothing more has happened other than certainly the continuing debate.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** So I understand that it is because of this provision that, in fact, you didn't address the kind of remedy that could flow from your recommendations or further remedies than those that were mentioned, such as the visits and the travel.

**DAN SOBERMAN:** I think I assumed the role, in that respect, of a mediator. I suggested certain remedies, including an apology, recognition of the contribution, and the two particular monetary things, and from there I thought we had some place to bargain. I guess I was looking at it from that point of view.

I suppose, with hindsight, one thing I might have done was to call both parties in to talk about remedies in a more formalized fashion. But, because I anticipated mediation, I didn't do that.

However, none of that would have affected my actual findings in terms of conclusions as to what happened and the consequences for the Inuit.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** On page 2 of your summary, paragraph 4, you talk about the Inuit relocatees of 1953 suffering unnecessary hardship. I wonder if you could elaborate upon that. The reason I am asking is that we have heard several times throughout this hearing that there was no hardship, and I am wondering how you came to the conclusion.

**DAN SOBERMAN:** There were detailed descriptions of the landing, especially at Grise Fiord – and I describe that in my report – and to a lesser extent at Resolute Bay because there was some lumber available and they were able to construct some housing.

At the Lindstrom Peninsula, where they were, there was no debris, there was no wood, there was nothing, and they had to live in tents. I gather there was a difference between caribou skins and other types of skins in terms of their insulating qualities, and they didn't have the right skins for the insulation of their tents. They spent that first winter in those tents.

Again, we may be getting two different pictures, I don't know. We may be getting a happy one from some people and an unhappy one from others. But I did speak to some of the Inuit women in particular who were left in the tent with a stone lamp and little children while the men and the teenage men went out with some of the Pond Inlet people to try to learn to do some hunting, even during the dark period.

I don't know how they counted time because there was no sunrise and no sunset. I don't know how they knew what the hours were, but I think I felt a special concern for the women who could be there for 72 hours, 100 hours – they wouldn't know how many days it was – with their little children. Outside it was dark all the time, and there was nothing to go outside for because it was somewhat colder out there.

I thought that was hardship. It might not have been hardship that everybody suffered; the men might have suffered it less. But it seemed to me that, when the women told me this story, this was unnecessary hardship if they had been properly provided for.

That is just an example.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** I wanted to ask you about one of the rather basic issues, which is this question of the voluntariness of the people who were relocated. I understand from the summary that you have given that you have not really gone back to that; you have simply said that they certainly had no choice about the destination, that that was decided for them on the ship, and they went to wherever they were landed.

The reason I am raising it is because you did indicate in your complete report that your view was that the decision to leave Inukjuak was not voluntary.

We have heard from many government people, and I noted with interest that they always talked about "volunteers." I have a concept of what a volunteer is, that you put your hand up and say "Yes, I want to go." There is a big difference, it seems to me. There is a wide gap between whether they were compelled to go and had no choice in the matter whatsoever and no consultation or whether they put their hand up and said, "If you're moving people to the High Arctic, I want to be one of them."

I am just wondering what your feeling was from what you have about where in that line between being compelled and volunteering you think they fitted.

**DAN SOBERMAN:** I think that was one of the most extraordinarily difficult questions, as to where on that continuum I would come down. The evidence was certainly not conclusive. I do believe that, on the whole, the administrators and RCMP thought they were getting volunteers but that the Inuit, on the whole, thought there was a lot more pressure than that.

I think there are other examples in our society. When somebody is asked to serve on a committee by a senior member of a law firm or a university section or a government body, you often say: Am I pushed or am I jumping? It may be a mixture of the two.

I think something that might help is, in fact, Margery Hinds herself and the language she used – and I have this on pages 36 and 37. This was done in the early 1950s, so it is not too different from when this event took place. She stated in the report:

Port Harrison natives have been here to tell me that the new policeman is going to send them away from the settlement. The missionary and the clerk at the Hudson's Bay store have heard from the constable himself that this is what he intends to do, –

And I underline those words.

– to send away from Port Harrison all natives who are not working for white people. I feel, now that there is a school at Port Harrison, it is ridiculous to send away from the settlement most of the families with children of school age and to leave only those who have only tiny children or none. Other people in the settlement, that is white people, apparently agree with the constable's decision.

Is that voluntary?



I understand that natives lived here long before white men came to this region. The native name for Port Harrison means the place where there are many Eskimos. Two of the families who have been told to go –

And I underline that.

– have, I understand, never asked for relief, and they resent being told to go as their families have always lived there. I would suggest that –

And I underline again.

– if the constable puts his plan into operation, he should be asked to provide transportation for the welfare teacher to visit the children concerned.

This is a lot more cloudy picture than some of the clear visions we have been given about “Oh, these people were all volunteers, and the police never forced anything upon them.” As I say, an extremist might say, “No, I won’t go,” but I think they felt the pressure.

Miss Hinds is quoted as a person who was very knowledgeable and sympathetic, and she has been quoted to support the position that some members of the government have said. Yet, right here are her statements in which – I wouldn’t say these people are being used as pawns, but they sure are under orders on some occasions.

You could say, “Ah, yes, but this was only to send them a couple of hundred miles out into the bush of northern Quebec, and they wouldn’t have said the same thing to go to Grise Fiord or Resolute Bay,” but who knows.

It returns me to my task of trying to be as much a judicial person as possible, and I couldn’t come down hard on one side. I think I leaned toward the fact that many of the Inuit felt they were being pushed very hard. That would be my conclusion after having looked at that evidence, but it isn’t 100 per cent clearcut.

Of course, again, that is one of the reasons why I try to separate myself from the so-called researchers or two sides. I am not here to take one view rather than the other. Unlike the one about when they were on the boat and told where to go, this one is not quite as clear.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** Thank you.

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** I wonder if I might get clarification relating to the mediation role that was undertaken. I refer to the mediation provision in the agreement.

How was your mediation role to be engaged?

**DAN SOBERMAN:** I assumed that, after the couple of weeks where the chance to consider the report was over the Christmas period, the Commission would then phone both sides and say, “Would you like to meet with Mr. Soberman to chat about the final recommendations?” But it was too late because it had been leaked, as far as I can tell.

That would probably have been the approach.

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** So there were no specific provisions detailing the manner in which the process would kick in.

**DAN SOBERMAN:** No, because this was a very new thing; it had never been done before. It was a novel idea that the Commission undertook this particular task in the first place.

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** It follows, in light of all the events, that that role is no longer open. Is that a correct conclusion or not?

**DAN SOBERMAN:** All I can say is that I have never been approached. I don't know.

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** Thank you very much.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** I think we have come to the conclusion of the discussion. I would like at this point to thank you very much for coming forward and sharing these additional thoughts with us. I would like to tell you that this Commission understands very well what you are saying when you say that you performed your task from a human rights point of view and tried to be as neutral as possible and to see as much as you could out of the facts which occurred 40 years ago.

We appreciate your coming here and your additional effort to help shed some light on these events this afternoon. Thank you very much.

I would now like to call Mr. Bud Neville. Mr. Neville will be our last witness for today. Please introduce yourself, and proceed whenever you are ready.

**BUD NEVILLE:** Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I appreciate the opportunity to appear before you, and I hope that my participation in these hearings will contribute toward a fuller understanding of the events surrounding the relocation of Inuit families from Inukjuak to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in the 1950s.

I would like to begin my presentation by providing you with some more background on myself. I think this is important in order to establish for you my credentials as a researcher in this project and, if I may, to draw to your attention from time to time a number of instances where critics of the research over the past two years have not always taken into account the facts as I discovered them.

I want to tell you, first of all – and I hate to bore you with a full account of my life, so I will go through it as quickly as I can. I grew up in a small town in the Ottawa Valley. Before I was 12 or 15, I had read every book in the local public library on the north, on northern exploration, on the Inuit, and on northern Indian groups. So I was very familiar with Stefansson and Rasmussen and Noyce and Diamond Jenness whom I was to know personally later.

By the time I was 16, I had learned the syllabic form of writing Inuktitut, and I had time to forget it before I finally made it into the Arctic in 1957.

Before I went into the Arctic, I first had to complete my M.A. in social work and to start another M.A. in sociology and anthropology.

I came to what was then the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Affairs in 1957 through a normal Public Service competition. I was recruited as a social worker, and I went almost immediately on an indefinite posting to Resolute Bay to organize an isolation camp for a group of 35 Inuit who had contracted measles en route home from the hospital via the *C.D. Howe*. That project was undertaken on a voluntary basis because there was no way of knowing at the time how long the recovery period for that group of people would be. And I can tell you I was delighted with the opportunity to participate in that particular project.

I stayed with that group in isolation from the main Inuit settlement at Resolute until they had recovered from the measles and we were able to

F.J. "Bud" Neville was an Arctic Administrator within the Northern Administration Branch and in 1962 became Chief of the Welfare Division within Northern Affairs. He went on to become a consultant with the Hickling Corporation, contributing extensively to the "Hickling Report" See Lackenbauer (2020)

make arrangements for their onward transportation by air to what was then Frobisher Bay. That was the only community in the Eastern Arctic that had a usable land site at that time of year.

Within weeks after my return to Ottawa, I was seconded to Frobisher to act as an administration of the Eastern Arctic pending the appointment of a senior full-time administrator. My job was to see that the education, welfare, social rehabilitation, community development, engineering and DEW Line employment programs were being carried out. I stayed in Frobisher with my family until the late spring or early summer of 1958.

Like Bob Pilot, I was very interested in learning the Inuit way of life. Even in those years, there were still Inuit living down the bay, and I travelled by dog team – and we were encouraged to do that in order to get to know the Inuit people.

I returned to Ottawa to work on the Keewatin re-establishment project which was being organized to deal with starvation conditions in the then Keewatin District. I went inland that summer to ascertain the interests of members of the (Native language) groups who were together the Caribou Eskimos of that period, to ascertain their interest in joining the Keewatin Re-establishment Project. We used interpreters for that, Special Constables and Inuit interpreters, but I did that mostly by myself – that is, not with other governmental officials with me.

I also signalled back on that occasion that I thought the choice of Whale Cove as the best site for the relocation of the Keewatin Re-Establishment Project was probably the best site in that whole area.

I returned to Ottawa in the fall of that year to pick up my family, including our newest 10-week-old daughter before setting out for Rankin Inlet where I was to spend the next two years as Superintendent of Welfare for that region.

I think it is relevant to mention here that the Department of Northern Affairs in that period included the National Museums, the Canadian Wildlife Service, the National Parks, and there was a good deal of interaction between all parts of the department and people in the Northern Branch. We knew each other well. We knew what each other was doing, and we often met and worked together in the field.

I returned to Ottawa in 1960, and after a departmental re-organization I was appointed Superintendent of Welfare for the Keewatin, Franklin and Arctic Quebec Districts. In 1964 or thereabouts, I became Chief of Welfare Division which meant that I was at the same time Superintendent of Child Welfare, Director of Old Age Assistance, Blind Persons Allowance, Director of Social Assistance, and those were appointments under the Government of the Northwest Territories.

We were accustomed to travel very frequently at all times of the year in carrying out our responsibilities.

One of my last duties as Superintendent of Child Welfare was to accompany the N.W.T. legal party, headed by Judge Morrow who was hearing adoption cases. He was actually regularizing Inuit and Native adoption cases. By that time I could speak Inuktitut quite well. I knew the Ivalin-guit(PH) dialect best, but I could manage the inland dialects quite well.

Judge Morrow's expression of appreciation for that help is a matter of record, and it is on file.

After the Northwest Territories developed its own Public Service, I turned

to do other things, mostly on the Indian side, because Indian Affairs had now become part of the Department of Northern Affairs.

In 1969 and 1970, I undertook my last major project for the department. I represented the federal government, with a counterpart in the Government of Quebec, in a visit to all communities in Arctic Quebec to ascertain the interests of the Inuit communities in the idea of a transfer of administrative responsibilities for provincial-type programs and services from the federal government, who was giving them, to the Government of Quebec. This idea had been discussed between the two governments, and our job was to find out what kind of support it might have in the Inuit communities. That project lasted for a number of months.

Our report – and I believe it was called the Neville-Robitaille Report – found no support whatsoever for the idea that this administrative responsibility should be delegated by the federal government to the Government of Quebec. What we did find was that the Inuit were interested in only one thing in that connection, and that was to negotiate Indian land claims.

Our report certainly recommended that. Our report recommended to both governments that they abandon this idea and that they concentrate on the negotiation of Indian and Inuit land claims in Arctic Quebec and Nouveau Quebec. I understand that that report influenced the start-up of those negotiations which led, in 1975, to the James Bay Agreement and the Nouveau Quebec Agreement.

I have often been told, by the way, that the Inuit of Nouveau Quebec were high in their praise of that report, and it has been quoted a number of times.

In 1971 I went to the Program Branch of Treasury Board as a Program Officer, and in 1973 I was asked to go and head up the function of social policy and program review, first in the Privy Council and, when that function was transferred to Federal-Provincial Relations, I went to the Office of Federal-Provincial Relations. I stayed there for seven years in all.

In my stay there, which lasted over seven years, I saw all of the social policy and program proposals emanating from the 12-or-so federal departments that were classified as being in the social policy sector which were to be considered by Cabinet Committee. My task was to assess and comment on their federal-provincial implications.

In that capacity I also monitored the discussion on constitutional development in the Northwest Territories and the Yukon and the major comprehensive claims that were before Cabinet in those days and some specific claims with particularly important federal-provincial implications.

In 1981 I went to the Office of Native Claims for the greater part of a year to develop a submission by that office to the Treasury Board for additional resources to speed up the settlement of those claims. I think that submission turned out to be quite successful.

Late in 1981 I went back to the Treasury Board to head up the Board's policy evaluation and review function in Personnel Policy Branch. I managed over 40 evaluations before I left the Board and the federal service in 1989.

In my association with Hickling Corporation I have been involved in more than a dozen major review and evaluation projects.

I was approached by the department in the summer of 1990 and asked if I would consider taking on the research related to the relocation of the Inuit families from Inukjuak to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay. I was interested in doing so, partly because I had been doing personal research for myself,

on my own, in the archives on the relocation of Inuit people in the Eastern and Western Arctic in the period about 1930 to 1975. I was just interested in the subject and had no interest in commercializing my efforts. I was simply interested in the subject.

I also had, of course, visited the three communities that we are talking about and I had known many of the Inuit involved.

I had a relatively short period of time in which to complete the work in order to permit the department to respond with their prescribed time to the recommendations of the Standing Committee who had listened to the Inuit group when they appeared before the committee in March of that year – and we are talking about March 1990. I believe the time I was allowed was in the order of 33 days. I think I asked for a further week or so.

In any event, I think I had enough time to complete the project because, after 33 years in the federal Public Service, much of it in the department and in the key central agencies where time is of the essence of almost any task, I knew what to look for, where to look for it, and how to put it together.

Time seems to have erased from the memory of some of the critics of the report what I was asked to examine, so I think it is important to make sure that it is clear in the minds of the members of the Commission what it was that I was asked to do.

I was asked to examine the factual basis of certain allegations made before the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs concerning the relocation of the families.

I will turn now to my report. Before I do, I would like to refer briefly to the recommendations of the Standing Committee on that occasion to the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

I am taking you through this again because we are back in 1990. I was the first researcher – and you have listened, I think, to a lot of evidence and comments since that time. In order to give you the perspective, I think it is very important for me and for you to understand what the point of departure was for my report.

The Standing Committee recommended to the department at that time that it acknowledge the role played by the Inuit relocated to the High Arctic in protection of Canadian sovereignty in the north; that it make an apology for the wrongdoing which the government inflicted on the people of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay at that time as a result of these concerns about northern sovereignty; that it carry out such an apology with due solemnity; that it accompany the apology with some form of recognition of the contribution to Canadian sovereignty made by the Inuit people of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay; and that they consider compensation to the people of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay for their service to Canada and the wrongdoing inflicted upon them.

Those were the recommendations to the department at that time.

I think it is important for you to understand what issues I finally addressed, and that was all included in the scope and methodology of my study. I want to try to run through that with you.

I was to look at those recommendations. I was to examine the allegations that had been made before the committee. I was asked if I would look at the factual basis of the allegations. I was not asked if I would speculate in any considerable sense about those allegations, but I tried to find out from various sources the factual bases of those recommendations. That is what I

For further discussion of the Hickling Report and full text, see Lackenbauer (2020)

See “Third Report of the SCAA (Sessional Paper No. 342-8/1B)” in this volume.

was asked to do.

I want to make it clear to you, picking up on a point made by Mr. Soberman, that I did not start out with any axe to grind on either side. I am a professional person. I saw this as a professional job, and I tried to approach it in a professional way.

I took a look at the allegations and I felt that they could be sorted into three principal groups. A whole series of allegations had to do with the sovereignty issue; another series had to do with the planning and implementation of the project; a third series had to do with promises made by the department to the Inuit participants.

Under the sovereignty issue I looked at all allegations to the effect that Canadian sovereignty over the Arctic Islands was the main reason behind the government's plan to relocate Inuit families to those sites in the 1950s. The allegation also, in connection with that, was that this information was withheld from the Inuit people, that it was withheld from the project participants, and it also had to do with the reasons given by the government for the project. That was one group of allegations that I looked at.

Under the planning and implementation of the allegations, I looked at those references by the Inuit to include all allegations to the effect that the project was poorly conceived and executed, that it was based on faulty assumptions about economic conditions in Arctic Quebec and game resources in the High Arctic, with the result that the Inuit people involved suffered unnecessarily and that the Inuit agreed to participate in the project because they feared the government representatives did not believe them to be free to refuse. That was another group of allegations that I looked at.

The third group of allegations had to do with the promises made to the Inuit participants. That included all the allegations to the effect that the government promised to return these families to their original communities at its expense if they were not satisfied with life in the High Arctic, but that they did not honour this commitment. Those were the allegations that had to do with the promise made by the government.

Excluded from the study that I undertook were a number of allegations relating to problems encountered by Inuit wives. If you go back to this account of the appearance of the Inuit before the Standing Committee at that time, there were a number of references and allegations relating to problems encountered by Inuit wives, husbands and children, while they were patients in hospital in southern Canada in the period under review.

I excluded these not because the problems involved were considered to be of any less importance, but because they were common to all Inuit patients or relatives of patients in those years, not just to the particular groups who were the subject of our study.

I also excluded from the study allegations involving non-payment of wages for work done by Inuit residents of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay communities. I excluded also the purported theft of contents of mail and other acts purportedly committed by government representatives during the life of the relocation project. I excluded those because they might be considered as offences under the Criminal Code, and I was not being asked to look at that aspect, nor was I qualified to.

I started off by requisitioning all the files I could find, which I thought were relevant to this subject, in the department and in the National Archives of Canada. It was decided in this connection that in exploring the issue of

Now Library and Archives Canada. Many of the records accessed during the research conducted in the 1990s have been given new file names and numbers as part of reorganization efforts, though many are available in S. Grant (2016).

sovereignty we would focus on those files most likely to contain official policy statements on the development of the north and its people in the years immediately prior to 1953 and running through to 1963. The files of meetings of the Advisory Committee on Northern Development in those years were felt to be the most likely and authoritative sources of that information.

More recent files on this subject were also identified and searched for ministerial and senior official level speeches containing historical references to the sovereignty question and to the relocation project in general.

Staff of the Constitutional Development and Aboriginal Affairs Directorate in the department's Northern Affairs Program, the departmental library, the Circumpolar and Scientific Affairs Directorate were also contacted, and their assistance was asked for.

I also sought the assistance of the Government of the Northwest Territories in seeking out possible references to the relocation project in the files that had been sent to them in the course of the transfer of federal responsibilities to the Government of the Northwest Territories in the period 1966 to 1970.

I want to talk a little bit about the weighting of the evidence, because this is very important from the methodological point of view.

One of the problems presented by a study of this nature is really to decide what validity is to be assigned to the various types of evidence that one must deal with in establishing the factual basis of the allegations in question. Are oral statements made today by these same people who participated in that project 35 or 40 years ago to be given the same validity as statements that were made by people at that time who participated in the project? Is the recorded information on the files to be given as objective truth? Are the files and other materials to be examined likely to contain highly confidential concerns and commissions of wrongdoing by public servants or admissions of non-truth by Inuit or officials who participated in the project? Can the researcher be sure that he or she has seen all the relevant evidence?

I found that there were no simple answers to most of those questions. In the circumstances, I felt we could only resolve to bring as much common sense and professional objectivity as possible to the manner in which the material is handled and the conclusions are reached. These are limitations in the study, and I drew attention to those in my report.

We attributed, after considering this matter of weighing evidence, the highest validity to recorded statements made in situ by the project participants themselves, both Inuit and government officials – that is, at the very point in time or around the time that the project was taking place. I felt this type of evidence should be assigned higher marks, if I can put it that way, than that based on recollection of events 30 or 40 years ago.

I thought we were quite fortunate in this regard – and you have heard some of this this afternoon. The department was able to make available to us exchanges of correspondence between some of the Inuit project participants and Inuit-speaking welfare workers in Ottawa during the years 1953 through to about 1963, which bear directly upon some of the allegations under the claim.

In order to be sure that this latter evidence, which were the letters I am referring to, was handled with the utmost confidentiality and objectivity, a panel of four persons was established to sort through approximately 400 such letters in search of those relevant to one or other of the allegations in question. The panel was composed of four people. It was composed of Mr.

These files would have reflected broader government policy as per the mandate of the ACND. For further discussion of the ACND's structure and scope, see Lackenbauer and Heidt (2019)

Fundamentally, much of the debate about the High Arctic Relocations is about these methodological questions: What weight is given to different types of evidence and what is considered the "historical truth"? What evidence can be used to determine motivation or purpose? And what evidence reflects individuals' experiences? The relative importance of different types of evidence should reflect the types of questions being asked. In the case of the High Arctic Relocations, most research questions have focused on the government's motivations thereby leading to a focus on a particular type of evidence. But these are not the only questions to be asked. This is part of why the DCASS series is so important: It provides a wealth of information for contemporary researchers to examine based on their own research questions, allowing them to develop their own conclusions about the past.

Neville's comments here reflect his judgment of what evidence belongs and how should it be handled. The RCAP Commissioners handle the question of evidence in their own way (See, Dussault and Erasmus (1994)) and each researcher presenting to the RCAP handled evidence and the methodological questions relating to that evidence according to their own methodological practices and perspectives.

Rowley, who was an internationally-known expert on northern affairs and whose personal and professional credibility is acknowledged by both the Inuit community and the government, and two people of the Constitutional Development and Aboriginal Affairs Directorate in the department, and myself.

The panel was convened on August 23, 1990. The panel selected approximately 40 pieces of correspondence for use in the assessment exercise. Some of these letters contain confidential information not directly related to the subject of the study. This material was excised from the letters that are quoted in our report, and their authors are referred to only by disc numbers that were used at that time to identify individuals. You won't find, of course, 40 letters in my report. All I did was to give you some samples of what was in those letters. You have already heard some of them that have since been quoted by people who have been before you.

Now let us talk a bit about interviews. How did that factor into the methodology that we adopted?

After reviewing the 1984 report by Marc Hammond, which was one of several documents included in the published proceedings of the March 19, 1990 meeting of the Standing Committee, we decided there would be no need to re-interview all of the informants whose names appear in that document. However, we thought it would be instructive to interview a number of other officials whose knowledge of the major northern development policies of the period was widely recognized and respected and who had actually participated in the Eastern Arctic Patrol in the 1950s.

A list of the names of such persons was drawn up, and it appears as Appendix II of my report.

Our review of the oral and written evidence presented to the Standing Committee and also evidence presented by Bob Pilot three months later, in June 1990, left unanswered, at least for me, a number of important questions concerning the matter of alleged promises made by the government to the Inuit participants in the project. I decided that I would request interviews with Mr. Pilot and with as many of the Inuit participants as time would permit.

I want to comment a little bit on that. I did not really feel that it was necessary to interview in great depth all of the people who had participated in the presentation before the Standing Committee, and I will tell you why. It seemed to me that what they said was what they felt and was what they believed, and I really saw no purpose in going back over that information again. I only wanted to ask some further questions that I thought were important for me, and those questions were relatively few in number – and I am now talking about the Inuit in question, those I interviewed in Inukjuak.

The questions were: Which of these places did you go to? When did you go there? How long did you stay there? When did you come back? Who did you stay with when you came back? I was quite interested in the matter of housing, so I asked those questions.

I should tell you that there was some reported concern, I think, on the part of Makivik Corporation about my going to interview the group. I only heard of that later, and I can't substantiate that. I know that Zebedee Nungak and the lawyer for Makivik Corporation were on the aircraft with me, that Zebedee Nungak participated in the interview I had, and I used Markasi Pajuak(PH) as an interpreter. Those questions were asked. Those questions



are in my report, and there are not more than that.

Then there was a community meeting after my interview which, of course, I did not participate in.

That was the reason I felt I should go to Inukjuak and I should speak to that group of people.

From the outset of this study, it was evident that, while the Inuit claimants considered all of the allegations to be important, they attached particular significance to the sovereignty issue.

Indeed, it seemed to me that the department would be of the same view, because the charge implied in a very serious way that the government had deliberately misled and manipulated the Inuit people in its trust. I decided, therefore, to pay particular attention to this issue and to establish a set of criteria that would ensure that the evidence gathered would be assessed with as much objectivity as possible. This is standard practice in the field of evaluation and historical review and is the procedure that we routinely follow.

The details of the criteria that were applied in this case can be found under the section dealing with the sovereignty issue which I will talk about later.

I want to talk now about the sovereignty issue. In essence, I have already said that the substance of the allegations were about the sovereignty issue, that the government was primarily motivated by a concern to strengthen its claims of sovereignty over the Arctic Islands, et cetera, et cetera – and you have heard that.

In support of its allegation before the Standing Committee, the claimant cited an impressive number of references in files in the possession of the RCMP and National Archives of Canada, including correspondence between Makivik Corporation and the department. They also filed the report by Hammond in 1984.

I applied what is normally termed a reasonable person's argument in establishing the factual basis of the sovereignty question. In other words, I was really saying to myself in the methodology, "How am I going to know if sovereignty was a primary consideration?" I wasn't being asked to speculate on it; I was being asked to determine as scientifically as I could, "How would you know if sovereignty was a primary consideration?"

So what I did was I built a series of hypotheses. I figured, if those hypotheses are answered, then the allegations about sovereignty have to be correct. If they are not answered, then I have to find that they are not all, or only to some degree, correct.

My hypotheses were that the government was seriously concerned about its claim of sovereignty and ownership of the Arctic Islands at that time and where you would find that – and, you know, you have to understand that. There are only a few places you will find that. You will find it in Cabinet and other official documents and pronouncements made by persons mandated to articulate the government's official view on this matter. That was one of the working hypotheses. I had to look at that.

The second hypothesis was that the government adopted a policy in 1953 of actively encouraging Inuit families to relocate to the High Arctic, believing that this would strengthen its claim of sovereignty over the Islands, that the concern about sovereignty outweighed all other considerations in the decision to relocate Inuit people to the High Arctic at that time.

Neville's methodology is explicitly outlined here, providing a good framework for understanding his process and how he came to the conclusions outlined in the Hickling Report. See Lackenbauer (2020)

I figured, if the evidence showed that to be true, sovereignty was also considered to be a primary consideration.

The third hypothesis was that the government purposefully hid this motivation from the Inuit families concerned, believing that it might deter them from relocating or because of some of other identifiable reason. That was my third hypothesis. If the evidence supports that, then sovereignty was a primary consideration.

So I set about to look at the evidence on the basis of those hypotheses. I reviewed all kinds of documents.

In short, I reviewed the Minutes of the Advisory Committee on Northern Development in the period from 1949 to 1963, in search of definitive policy statements and other similar pronouncements that would satisfy our criteria. The ACND files were thought to be the most likely repository of information on any major federal government policy pronouncement affecting the north and its people in those years because of the immensely important role that that committee was assigned by Cabinet for co-ordinating the effects of the 10-or-more constituent departments with major responsibilities in that part of Canada.

These documents are now available in Lackenbauer and Heidt (2019)

Our search failed to turn up any hard evidence that would satisfy all our conditions. There was, of course, the RCMP Commissioner Nicholson's letter dated February 11, 1952 to General Young to be considered. This piece of correspondence includes a quotation from an earlier letter which the Commissioner had received from Inspector Larsen, referring to the maintenance of sovereignty on Ellesmere Island. This reference was cited by the Inuit ac-claimants in their statements to the Standing Committee on March 19, 1990, as proof of the RCMP's concern about the maintenance of sovereignty over the islands at that time.

The particular reference, for your information, is this reference about – and I will try to go quickly –

– the advantages of placing our detachment directly across from Greenland would be that we would then have full control and supervision of Greenland Eskimos and others travelling back and forth and over hunting activities they may engage in.

As you know, we had a detachment at Bache Peninsula in 1926 primarily for the maintenance of sovereignty. This detachment was closed in 1933 owing to the difficulties of supplying same.

This passage is also quoted by Hammond in his report in 1984, although, in our view, Hammond was not concerned with the sovereignty issue but primarily with the promise issue.

There was no doubt in my mind that the RCMP considered the exercise of sovereignty to be a reason for the police presence on Ellesmere Island opposite Greenland in those years. As Pilot has said to you and as he said in the statement before the Committee on June 19, the members of G Division felt they were there in the High Arctic to show the flag and to establish sovereignty. Pilot goes on to add that he believed that the Inuit who were living and hunting there on a permanent basis were also helping to maintain and establish sovereignty. But, in our view, that was a secondary motive for their relocation to these areas, and that was his view as well.

The RCMP's concern about sovereignty over the Arctic Islands can hardly be accepted as a proof that this was the primary reason for the decision by the federal government to encourage the relocation of Inuit families to

Resolute and Craig Harbour, Grise Fiord, in the 1953-55 period.

Under ACND the responsibility for initiating a policy of this nature rested squarely with the Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources. Responsibility for international relations and sovereignty rested with the Department of External Affairs. Defence matters were the responsibility of National Defence. The RCMP were responsible for the police function on the ground, including the administration of the NWT Game Ordinance although, as the record shows and as you have heard, their members spent most of their time representing other departments and administering federal and territorial welfare programs until the middle 1950s when Northern Service Officers and social workers came into the Arctic.

We found several documents and references in the ACND files that show quite conclusively that Canadian Arctic sovereignty was not a serious concern and, therefore, could not likely have been the primary motive for the relocation that took place – and you have heard this now, so I will go quickly.

The first of these is the exchange of notes between Canada and Norway in 1930, which formally and officially recognized Canada's ownership of the Sverdrup group. This document can be read in its entirety as an appendix to our report.

I interviewed Gordon Robertson who was Deputy Minister of the Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources from 1953 to 1963 – and you have heard from him – whose legal expertise and experience in international and northern affairs was, I thought, widely known and widely respected. I asked him specifically for his assessment of the significance of the 1930 exchange of notes that I have referred to. According to him, this statement effectively put to rest the earlier concerns and also a concern mentioned by John Munro about Canada's ownership of and sovereignty over the Arctic Islands.

The note also served notice that it was the established policy of the Government of Canada to protect Arctic areas as hunting and trapping preserves for the sole use of the Aboriginal population of the Northwest Territories. That is quite significant.

It is true that the note did not remove concerns about Arctic sovereignty over the waters and the ice between the Arctic Islands. That is our report from 1990. On the other hand, it seems highly improbable – and wherever I was speculating, I notified that I was speculating – that the government would have resorted to a very modest-sized relocation of about 12 to 17 families over a three-year period as a means of solving the water and ice sovereignty issue.

In any event, a second reference on this subject uncovered in our review of the ACND files indicates beyond any reasonable doubt to us that the government felt quite secure about its sovereignty over the north. The reference in question is part of an ACND Annual Report drafted by Graham Rowley, whom you have heard, and the operable part states:

Canada has asserted its claim to sovereignty over the Arctic Islands since the 1860s and published the limits of its claim as early as 1895. No protest by other nations has been received apart from that of Norway in 1930, and that was settled. Apart from such formal assertions of sovereignty, Canada has made so many displays of effective sovereignty in so many respects and for so long a period as to establish its title to all of the islands in the Archipelago upon the doctrine of

effective occupation in conformity with International Law.

So, from our point of view, this report would have been the logical occasion to raise any doubt. This report went to Cabinet, and it would have been the logical place to raise any doubt in the minds of senior officials about Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic.

The Cabinet was not secretive among its members. That was the place where they would discuss such things. It was not discussed, and you have heard evidence from Mr. Robertson to that effect.

Finally, we considered the hypothetical question as to why the government would have felt that, by disclosing its concern about Arctic sovereignty, the Inuit would be less inclined to participate in the project, assuming that the latter knew that they would still receive the material benefits envisaged in the relocation project. The file did not answer this question, and we could think of no logical reason why the government would not have mentioned the sovereignty aspect in those circumstances if it were a concern.

These various references led us to conclude that sovereignty could not have been the primary concern that motivated the government to encourage Inuit families to move to the High Arctic in the 1950s. By the way, we did find, not very differently from Mr. Soberman, that there were concerns and references to sovereignty, but we could not conclude that it was the primary reference.

If that were not the case, then what we tried to figure out is: What was abroad? What was the atmosphere at that time that might have explained this whole matter, this whole interest, this whole possibility, about the relocation of Inuit from one part of the Arctic to the other? We went through various documents trying to get a fix on that kind of thing.

What we found in substance was that there was a change in thinking, I suppose, really in the Robertson period. There was a change in the thinking. An evolution was taking place.

An article written in 1988 by P.G. Nixon entitled: "Early Administrative Developments in the Fighting of Tuberculosis among Canadian Inuit: Bringing State Institutions Back In", which appeared in the *Northern Review*, had this to say:

The position that Young and the pre-Lesage/Robertson northern administration in general were expounding was one of minimal intervention into Inuit lives...encourage them to continue in their aboriginal ways of hunting in widely scattered small groups.

We found many references in the Northern Affairs files that substantiated Nixon's contention that the period immediately after the Second World War through to the first years of the 1950s was a transitional one in terms of northern development, philosophy and policy as it related to the Inuit people.

The north and the Inuit, we found, were at a crossroads when we examined all that evidence. The documents and file entries of the period, including in particular the Minutes of the Eskimo Affairs Advisory Committee, speak of the fact that fur prices had plummeted, forcing greater numbers of Inuit to depend more and more on government handouts of one kind or another and less and less on themselves. Inuit in the Hudson's Bay area were particularly hard hit.

Large-scale economic development of the non-renewable resources of the north was still a distant dream. The Cold War held promise of generating

These documents are now available in Lackenbauer and Clancy (2019)

considerable joint Canada/U.S. defence activity in the Arctic and sub-Arctic, but these opportunities had not materialized to any extent. The department was clearly searching at that time for a policy or set of policies that would allow Inuit to retain their economic and cultural independence as much as possible and, at the same time, to participate in northern development in their own way and at their own pace.

We examined many documents to try to get –

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Excuse me for interrupting you. You are on page 16. There are 57 pages in your report. Were you thinking of going through it all?

**BUD NEVILLE:** I was not thinking of going through it all. I was thinking of telling you about the conclusions, but maybe you know about the conclusions.

Maybe you would like me to stop and try to answer any questions you would like to ask.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Not at all. You might want to summarize your document, and then we could ask some questions.

**BUD NEVILLE:** Our conclusions were that there was not evidence to support the allegation that sovereignty was a primary reason for the movement of people to the Islands. We saw that it was there, that it was some place there, but it was not primary. In fact, unlike Mr. Soberman, we did not feel in any way that it influenced the decision to move people to the Arctic Islands or to encourage the movement of people to the Arctic Islands.

We found a concern for their welfare and for a better way of life was the primary motive. We found also that reasonable efforts were made to discuss these matters with the Inuit and that, while they did not understand everything about the move to the Arctic, they agreed to it. We certainly did not find that they went to the Arctic against their will. We felt they had made that move knowing and hoping that it would provide for them a better way of life.

We also concluded without any doubt that the government had promised to return them. We found several mentions in the file to two or three years, and we concluded that that seemed to be the understanding. Of course, we felt that the earlier research had, in any event, established that and that there was an understanding to that effect.

We didn't find any evidence that the Inuit asked to come back immediately. We found evidence that they asked to come back later, and we also found that there were delays in that. We recommended that the department speed up that process and make it possible for the Inuit people who wanted to come back to come back.

I am finished. If you would like to ask me questions, I would be glad to answer them.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Thank you. Do you feel you have adequately covered each section?

**BUD NEVILLE:** That would take me another hour.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Perhaps we can give you an opportunity to elaborate through our questions.

Could you explain to me whether or not you found that there was a clear desire by the government to "Canadianize" the Arctic? Did you find evidence of that?

**BUD NEVILLE:** Yes, we did. From my own experience in the department I remember that very well. I think the answer given to you already by people who appeared before you is, in my view, the right answer, at least from my understanding of it.

I think the department was galled by the fact that it could not man the defence stations in the north, that it could not find the personnel to do that, and its concern was that there should be more Canadians taking on these jobs and responsibilities. I don't think they were looking at that particular point in time for Inuit to carry on that responsibility.

When I was in Frobisher or Iqaluit in 1957, for example, there was an upper base and a lower base. There was only one Canadian air force representative in Frobisher Bay at that time. I believe he was a Flight Lieutenant Thomas. That was an indication of the problem that the department saw.

Certainly, this idea of Canadianization was what the department wished to achieve.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** In relation to selection of the individuals who went north, we have heard differing ideas on that. What did you discover? Were the most able hunters selected? Were the people who were most dependent on relief selected? What was the criterion that you discovered?

**BUD NEVILLE:** Mr. Chairman, if you had let me go on, by page 20 I would have been able to tell you that. But let me try to summarize the selection criteria.

We found that the selection criteria – and let's be sure what we mean by "selection." We found that the department over a period of about two years said,

"What kind of people might be able to benefit from a move to the Arctic Islands? What kind of people would they be?" In that connection, I will tell you that it was people from Fort Chimo, for example. Some of them said, "We would like to go." That was examined, but the Fort Chimo people, as you know, were used to living in houses. So the Fort Chimo people were not considered that, nor would they have wanted to. They were very glad to have their names placed on a list of Inuit who wanted to go for wage employment to Churchill.

The criteria were Inuit families living in the most economically-depressed and resource-poor areas. That was one of the types of people they thought should be given preference for a move to the Arctic Islands.

Demonstrated interest in the project, an ability to follow the traditional Eskimo way of life involving little contact with or dependency on the white man was another – and I should comment on that. Even in those years – I just mentioned to you that some Inuit had felt they wanted to go in the direction of wage employment, which was just starting to break, but other Inuit didn't want that. Many Inuit of the period said, "We want to continue this traditional way of life as long as we can."

So people with that attitude were considered to be possible candidates who might benefit more from the move to the Arctic Islands.

Ability to adjust to conditions in the High Arctic was also a criterion. It

was not at all certain that everybody could adjust to that.

In this latter connection, there was evidence also on the files that the department seemed to be aware of that. There is a quote from Alex Stevenson saying:

I understand that you are considering the transfer of about 10 families from the Port Harrison area of northern Quebec to Ellesmere Island where they can be looked after by the present RCMP Detachment at Craig Harbour and by the proposed Detachment near Cape Hershel. As you are well aware, the Port Harrison natives will have to contend with the dark period which they will not be familiar with and, although the terrain is similar to the Arctic coast, I know from past experience with the Dorset natives that the dark period causes some discontent.

In connection with the above, I would suggest that one or two families from northern Baffin Island be moved with the Port Harrison group, and these natives would be familiar with conditions and could greatly assist the Port Harrison people and would help sustain their morale.

So those were criteria for the Port Harrison people. We looked also to find out what were the criteria for the Pond Inlet people, what criteria were applied. At page 22 we concluded from our examination of the files and the statements made on file that one of them was demonstrated industry as hunters and trappers, and the second one was willing to participate in the project and to play a supporting and leadership role in transferring hunting and trapping skills to the less experienced Port Harrison people.

So those were the two criteria that we found in the files as applying to the selection of people from Pond Inlet for consideration for that northern move.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** What conditions did your research discover the Inuit in northern Quebec were actually living in in the late 1940s and early 1950s to suggest the need for this move?

**BUD NEVILLE:** As you have heard – and we found that in our research as well – the files contain a number of references, including one from Diamond Jenness, many references to economic conditions in Arctic Quebec. Arctic Quebec people were certainly in very dire straits.

I want to take just a minute, though, to comment on a line of questioning that appeared yesterday from one of the members of the Commission. The line of questioning was: Were people of Arctic Quebec in danger of starvation if they were not moved? We did not find any evidence in our research that starvation – that is, imminent danger of starvation – was a consideration. It had to do with quality of life, and it had to do with a very poor quality of life that was very evident in Arctic Quebec.

From my own experience and my own research, I can't think of very many cases where Inuit in recent years starved to death, if they were within some reasonable distance from communities and if other people in those communities knew where they were. The starvations at Gary Lake, the starvations Anik Lake were exactly of that kind. Certainly in the case of Gary Lake, people were on the move, and they were many, many, many miles from any post.

At Port Harrison the people you refer to were all in a radius of 30 miles. There was not, even in 1953, any imminent threat of starvation. The concern

was really with the terribly poor quality of life in which those people were living and were facing for many years to come.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** In relation to the actual sites that were chosen, what kind of scientific preparation was done? Was there any real serious studies of the wildlife in the area to make sure that, in fact, these Inuit were going to a more plentiful land?

**BUD NEVILLE:** Let me refer to my report, because we considered that aspect. When you say “serious studies,” there were no comprehensive studies in advance of that, but we did not conclude from the evidence that we looked at that nothing was known about game conditions at Resolute Bay or at Grise Fiord or in the area of Ellesmere Island.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Nothing you say?

**BUD NEVILLE:** I said that we did not conclude from that that nothing was known. There had been – and we covered that in our report. There had been patrols of the RCMP dating back to the 1920s. There had been certainly visits by mammalogists and members of the Canadian Wildlife Service and other researchers on the islands of the Archipelago, at Devon and on Cornwallis, and also at Resolute.

So we didn’t conclude that, because there were no comprehensive surveys, nothing was known about game conditions.

We also quoted from an Inuit statement before the Standing Committee. That Inuit at the Standing Committee stated – and I don’t have it right in front of me. He stated that he had come across a group of Greenland Eskimos on Ellesmere Island in his journey. The Greenland Eskimos said to him, “Why are you carrying all that food on your sled? There is lots of game in this area. We have been travelling for weeks.”

So we concluded, not just on that piece of evidence, that there was a reasonable expectation that there was game in the area.

What was not known at the time scientifically was really the sustainability of the game population in those areas. They could not define definitively the sustainability yield: how many animals could you kill and how would the population redevelop or come back up again? Scientifically, I think that was not established.

But you have to understand, as you must from looking at the evidence, that they were not moving 1,000 people. They were moving a few families. As far as we could see and even from my own experience, the danger of starvation because of lack of knowledge about the game in the area just wasn’t there. It just wasn’t there. The risk of starvation was not there. I couldn’t see that at all, and we certainly saw no evidence to suggest that.

They were indeed 40 miles from the RCMP at Grise Fiord. I lived at Resolute, and they were much less than that at Resolute. They were 30 miles, as you know, at Port Harrison from direct assistance.

I did not see that this absence of comprehensive, scientific knowledge about the animal, marine and land, populations was a serious flaw in the planning of the project.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** On page 47 of your report, you talk about how you found that some aspects of the planning and the implementation could have been improved upon. Could you elaborate.

**BUD NEVILLE:** One aspect of it, which we stated in our report, was that we



thought probably they could have been better outfitted. That was particularly true. That probably was true of both groups. We felt that they could have been better outfitted for that initial period. That certainly was one aspect.

Other aspects – I can't think of any offhand. If you would like to prompt my memory or suggest aspects, I would be glad to respond, but I can't think of any others.

I want to repeat that our report drew that concern to the attention of the department.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Did you discover any evidence of planning for the actual return of people if they wanted to sometime in the first two or three years, as was suggested?

**BUD NEVILLE:** I didn't discover any elaborate plans for their return. I understood from reading the documents and from my own experience over those many years that, if they were brought back, they would be at least no worse off than when they started and, hopefully, some little better off than when they left. I didn't discover any elaborate plan.

The question really is: What period are we really dealing with? In 1953, 1954, 1955 there were still very few houses of any description in the Arctic except above the tree line, except those belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company and to the missions and to the police. For the rest of the population, there were very relatively few.

If they came back, what would happen to them? I suppose what would happen to them would have been what was happening to everybody else. That is, they would decide either to live in the community or to go back to the camps. What other possibility was there at that time? I know some of these things are difficult for you to understand. What is particularly difficult for you to understand is that there was very little of any of the things that you are used to in the Arctic in those days. There weren't very many houses. Even the education facilities at Port Harrison – remember that a lot of people were living in camps. They weren't attending school in the community. They were living in the camps. There were no residences.

The same thing was true, as a matter of fact – to give you a kind of perspective, we looked seriously at this whole business of who were really selected and were they really equipped? There was the matter of the aged; there was the matter of the disabled; there was the matter of even possibly the sick or the threatened sick. There were all those things there.

In those years there were no facilities for the disabled. There were no places. There were no ramps. There were no institutions where the disabled could be looked after, except perhaps in a few of the mission places. There was none of that kind of stuff.

In the case of the disabled, I came across in my own experience many, many situations in which disabled people lived in very primitive conditions, even in the camps, and they were paraplegic. I remember one case in particular in 1957 at Eskimo Point where a paraplegic could only crawl, but his friends lifted him up and brought him on the sled and went with him out to hunt. So it was not strange at all that the disabled and the elderly were with the families and were looked after by the families.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** There is one other area I would like to revisit, and that is the whole area of where you say in your report that sovereignty was not the primary issue. At the top of page 17 you have a

quote from Ben Sivertz which says:

The Canadian government is anxious to have Canadians occupying as much of the north as possible and it appeared that, in many cases, the Eskimos were the only people capable of doing this.

So it is not a fear that sovereignty is going to be in any way overrun by anyone else, but there seems to be now, admittedly a number of times, a desire to have Canada's north populated with Canadians – not people from Belgium, not people from the States, not people from elsewhere.

So the two sites that were chosen up there, were they chosen primarily for hunting areas so people could live?

**BUD NEVILLE:** That's my impression?

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Did you find any evidence in the preparation that they actually looked at other sites?

**BUD NEVILLE:** Let me reflect on this.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Is there anything at all showing –

**BUD NEVILLE:** Yes, we found some evidence that they had considered a number of areas. For example, they had considered the Pond Inlet area. The material in the file seemed to say, "Gee, there is enough pressure on natural resources in the Pond Inlet area. I doubt very much that that could take it." I remember that.

I remember – and, of course, you heard in the presentations before you – that there was Dundas Harbour, and a little bit was known about Dundas Harbour, but Dundas Harbour was also considered not to be a suitable area for relocation.

Did they consider other areas? We are still talking about between 1953, 1954 and 1955. In order to answer your question in a different kind of way, the answer would be kind of be "yes and no." They did consider Pond Inlet; I remember that.

What I was also very aware of was this whole thing hanging over here, and that was the start-up of the possibility of wage employment in a number of parks in the north, the possibility that those things might be materialized. I think there wasn't a sort of a great expectation that there would be this kind of massive relocation of people but, rather, that this was the kind of thing that might meet certain types of Inuit, but not many kinds of Inuit, because some Inuit were already beginning to say, even the ones who went to Resolute were beginning to say, "If we had the opportunity for wage employment, we wouldn't mind that."

That is all by way of saying that I do know they looked at Pond Inlet, but I know at the same time that they weren't looking all over the place. They had had some experience in the Arctic Islands; they knew a bit about the Arctic Islands. As I think Doug Wilkinson was saying yesterday, Idlout and his family at Pond Inlet also had some particular interest in Ellesmere Island and thought that would be a good game area, and I think that may have had something to do with it, as Doug has suggested.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Was there any evidence that they looked anywhere else besides the High Arctic? Did they look elsewhere in Quebec? Did they follow through, for instance, on Henry Larsen's suggestion?

**BUD NEVILLE:** I can't say that I found any evidence that they had looked elsewhere in Arctic Quebec. I can only tell you this from reading the files and, of course, from the many years I spent in the department reading files about all kinds of things.

There weren't many other places in Arctic Quebec considered to be outstanding game areas. I can tell you that was not the case.

It was the same thing in the Keewatin District. At that time there was a big question of what are the game resources. Nobody knew how many caribou there were, but they couldn't find very many, and that was true of the Keewatin District, too. There were many, many studies in the Keewatin District, and people starved to death because somehow or other they had been following the caribou, and the caribou changed their route and they just weren't there.

I can tell you that the Keewatin District was not one of the places where they said, "Gee, maybe we can do this here." Certainly not the Keewatin. The Keewatin District was having a lot of difficulty, too, and most of the communities in Arctic Quebec were also having a fair amount of difficulty.

Remember, in terms of living the Inuit way of life, I don't think the record shows that there were any more preferred places, certainly not in Arctic Quebec and certainly not in the Keewatin. That much I do know.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** What is always kind of curious to me is what happened to the caribou in northern Quebec. The herd in northern Quebec that goes into Labrador is one of the biggest caribou herds in Canada.

**BUD NEVILLE:** It is now, and it is over 400,000 animals, but it has not always been over 400,000 animals.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** That is what I was going to ask. What was the information on that herd at that point?

**BUD NEVILLE:** I can't tell you that I found any evidence in the file that related specifically to the caribou herd of Arctic Quebec. I can only tell you that everything we read in the file and even much later, after 1953 and into 1960, I can tell you there were very few caribou. Certainly, nobody saw any big herd.

It was not the same thing in the Keewatin District. I myself have seen herds of 100,000 animals – that's what we thought – in Aberdeen Lake, away north of Baker Lake. But for years and years, Banfield and all the specialists, the mammalogists had great difficulty explaining where they were. At one point the best guess was that there was something like 200,000 caribou left in the Keewatin District. Nobody really knew, but that was the guess.

So, to answer your question, I don't know anything about that, and I saw nothing, even in the years later, that would suggest to me, "Why were these people moved when there are so many caribou in Arctic Quebec?" I can only tell you that, as far as I can see, there was no such situation in Arctic Quebec at that time, nor in the Keewatin.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** There was no such condition, you say?

**BUD NEVILLE:** There were no such large herds of animals moving around. I saw no evidence of that, and for years afterward I saw no evidence of that.

But you are talking again about how far you have to go to hunt caribou. Is it 10 miles or 50 miles or 250 miles? If you have to go 250 miles, you're not

going to come back with very much. You are going to eat all those caribou getting back the 250 miles.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** That is why I asked whether or not there was any evidence of looking at location elsewhere besides the High Arctic, whether or not there were places in Quebec.

**BUD NEVILLE:** I did not come across any evidence except that I do remember – and, by the way, I have said in my report, that I don't pretend to have covered everything. I don't pretend to have seen all those documents that may be out there. I can only tell you what I saw, and I worked assiduously to look at all those documents. I really never saw any reference in any file to the effect that anywhere in Arctic Quebec could be considered to be a preferable place to Port Harrison. I never saw any reference to that, any more than I ever saw a reference to the fact that, "Gee, maybe we should offer them some possibilities in the Keewatin District."

It was only four years later where we had starvations in the Keewatin area, and I was involved in those.

I don't know whether I have answered your question, but I am trying to.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** I think you have done very well.

Commissioner Sillett, please.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Thank you very much.

You were talking about the lack of health facilities. For example, in Inukjuak in the early fifties, there would not be facilities like we know them to be today. There wouldn't be, for example, a nursing station; there wouldn't be, for example, a school.

From what we have heard from the Inukjuak relocatees, there were some services provided. For example, we heard that there was a nurse; we heard that there was a teacher, and I assume that she did provide some education or that some of the children got some schooling because we also heard in April that some people missed the little schooling they had received.

Could you tell me what those services were like in Inukjuak in the early fifties?

**BUD NEVILLE:** In the early fifties?

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Before the relocation.

**BUD NEVILLE:** Yes, to the best of my ability – and that is from having talked and read in the files. As you people have heard, I read all the documents I could get my hands on and talked to all the people – I didn't talk to Margery Hinds, but I knew her. I talked to other people who were familiar with the education system at that time. It comes out kind of like this – and your question is good because what you are doing is really saying: When you compare Inukjuak to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay, in terms of services, how does it balance out? What does it look like from your point of view?

Let's take education to begin with. I talked to a number of people about this. First of all, I think you have to understand that it is not black and white. As far as education is concerned, there is no doubt about it that there was a school at Port Harrison – one of the few places, by the way, where there was a school in those years. The school didn't function like you think it might function. Don't forget, the people we are talking about lived in a camp; they lived out there 30 miles.

Margery Hinds would go out every now and again with her exercise book – it could have been “Dick and Jane” – and she would leave it, and the children would fill it in, and then the father or somebody would bring it into the community again. She would look at it, and another lesson would go out. It was that kind of education, and for some time even that level of education was not available at either of the other sites; you are quite right.

To talk about a nurse, yes, there was a nurse; certainly we knew that. There was a nurse at Port Harrison. There was – and think about this a little bit. There was the equivalent of a nurse – and you heard this already – at Resolute Bay. There was a male nurse who had training to do the ordinary things.

If things got really rough, this male nurse, I think, could be relied upon. The RCMP also had training in first aid, and I think that was true in Grise Fiord as well. There was a policeman, but there was not a nursing station. There was a policeman who had first aid.

Anybody who got really ill, and that included the policeman, had to be taken out. A radio message went out, and that person had to be evacuated.

When I went to Frobisher Bay in 1957, it was much better, but there was no doctor. I had two children. There was no doctor. If you got into trouble, the DEW line was operating at that point, and you put out a call for a doctor and you hoped to God he got there before it was too late. That was pretty common practice.

When I went to Rankin Inlet, there was no doctor. There was a nurse, and the nurses were first-class. They certainly were able to provide good nursing services.

There is that lack at Grise Fiord, although the RCM policeman was certainly at least able – he couldn’t deliver babies, but he was at least able to give first aid and to handle the ordinary kind of emergency. I think the same thing was true in Resolute Bay.

There is a perspective here that might escape you. You would have to have been in the Public Service and you would have to have been in the Public Service at the time to get a sense of this – and I give you this insight. The RCAF were at Resolute and Northern Affairs was at Resolute. Northern Affairs really wasn’t at Resolute at that point; the RCMP were.

Northern Affairs was a poor department. It was a poorer department, and it had to depend often on the RCMP and it had to depend often on the RCAF for favours, for things that it needed to have done.

For example, when I went to Rankin Inlet with three children and a wife in 1958, my effects were flown in in tea boxes by the RCMP plane. When the Inuit had to be moved at Henik Lake, it was the RCAF that moved people.

I give you that background because that nurse at Resolute Bay, who was available to the air force site, I could tell you was also available to the Inuit if there was a real reason to do so. They would try to get along if it wasn’t necessary but, if it was necessary, that service was available.

On religious services, in Arctic Quebec there are 11 communities. In 1953, there weren’t 11 missionaries in Arctic Quebec. I have been all through the north; there is hardly a settlement that I have not visited. In Arctic Quebec there weren’t 11 missionaries. By the way, 95 per cent of the Inuit in Arctic Quebec, maybe 98 per cent, were Anglican. The Anglican Church solved that problem very nicely. They got themselves catechists, and that was true at Rankin Inlet for a while; it was true at Frobisher for a while; it was true all

This perspective reflects the differences between these Departments and how Northern Affairs had to rely on the strengths and resources of other Departments, particularly in 1953.

the way through the Arctic.

So there could have been, in my view, and there probably was, a catechist at both Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord among those groups. Grise Fiord was much smaller, but certainly at Resolute Bay I would say the services were available.

The other thing was that the churches were the ones that could give the service; it wasn't the government that could give that service.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** I am going to ask very brief questions and maybe we can have very brief answers.

**BUD NEVILLE:** I will try.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** You mentioned that there were many letters, probably 400, and 40 of them were signed with disc numbers. Were there any letters for the period of 1953 to 1956 and, if so, were they generally the same as the ones from 1956 and onward?

**BUD NEVILLE:** I quote in my report letters that I think were from – here is one in 1957, one in 1959. The quick answer is: No, I didn't come across any, but you didn't get a good explanation for that when you raised that question before. I am the one to give you the explanation because I was Chief of the Welfare Division in 1957.

Prior to about 1954, before I got there – I replaced Walter Rudnicki. Before I got there in 1957, there was the beginning – let me put it to you differently. Letters didn't get addressed to the Arctic Division or didn't get addressed to the department in syllabics in any great numbers until about 1954 or 1955. Then there were a group of Inuit who were developed as translators. Bobby Williamson was one of them. Leo Manning was another one, perhaps the most famous and a very good friend of mine.

Inuit wrote letters, many letters, to each other; they wrote letters to the department on all kinds of things. Many of the letters had to do with: "Where is my daughter?" Or "Where is my son who is in hospital in the south? I don't know where she is." In the early days, that was what it was all about. Inuit were all over the place. There were so many Inuit people in hospitals because of tuberculosis and other illnesses because of the absence of adequate housing. These people were always trying to figure out, "Gee, what happened to my daughter? What happened to my son? What happened to my husband?"

We had teams then in the mid-1950s going to these institutions, people like Leo Manning – and I went with him many, many times to Hamilton Sanitarium and all kinds of places. We would see all of these Inuit, and we would find out how they were. We would talk to the doctors, and we would say, "Look, this person needs this, that and the other thing."

That is really the explanation of how come all these letters were coming. That is why they were coming, because people had a reason to write, mostly because their relatives were in hospital in the south or they wanted to do things. They were very, very fond of Bob Williamson, who was one of our translators and who replaced me at Rankin Inlet. They were very fond of Leo Manning and Mary Panegosh, and all of these people were on our staff. They wrote because they liked them, and we tried to maintain contact with Inuit all over the place.

That wasn't a very short answer.

Relocations due to tuberculosis and hospitalization are part of the High Arctic Relocations story, though are not dealt with in detail by this Hearing. For further reading, see Olofsson, Holton, and Partridge (2008) and Qikiqtani Truth Commission (2015).

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Thank you very much.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** You might be interested to find out that Stats Canada has come out with some more data from their survey a couple of years ago. On tuberculosis, the average in Canada, I think, is 1 per cent, and the average amongst Aboriginal people is 3 per cent and amongst the Inuit it is closer to 7 per cent. So it is still very high.

René Dussault, please.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** I have a very short question.

At pages 28 and 29 of your report, on the planning and the execution of the plan to move people to Resolute and Grise Fiord, you mention – and we have discussed this earlier with other presenters – that Marshall wrote a report that was highly critical of the operation and the way people were outfitted. Obviously, this was a difficult winter.

You conclude at the bottom of page 28 by saying:

We are unable to come down on one side or the other of this argument, but considering the amount of time allowed for the final planning stage of the project, we are inclined to conclude that there may well have been some oversights which caused this group some discomfort at the end of the journey.

Then you go on to say:

This criticism has to be offset to some extent, however, by the frequent references in the files to the interminable problems associated with Arctic shipping in those years which seemed to plague all northern projects.

My question is with regard to the planning and the execution – and this is a very sore point. Don't you think that it was known – it was in the file, that there were problems associated with Arctic shipping. Government officials knew that.

I am coming back to a question I asked this morning. The magnitude of the move was such that it seems to me that great care should have been taken to make it as easy as possible in terms of transition. Frankly, I have some difficulty to see why you are saying that this kind of criticism that was done by a government official who was there could be offset by something that was known and was in the file and should have been taken into account by those who planned.

**BUD NEVILLE:** We indicated that it should have been taken into account.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** I know, but it goes a bit further to the general approach to the questions that you took. One of the points mentioned was that it could have been delayed a year, if it wasn't ready for a group that summer.

Did you find something in the files that indicated that this was taken into account, the time factor with all the things that had to be done to prepare for such a trip and move? This comes in addition to the fact that, as you said, there were no elaborate plans for the return, to abide by the promise.

We are a bit up in the air as to whether the promise was something that was done to the individuals as part of the group or whether it was in the mind of government to bring back individuals or families as they would request in the first years. Is there something in the files that you perused

The timeline for the relocation is a key part of understanding the planning and implementation phases of the relocation. Due to the short shipping season in the Arctic, ships could only transport people and supplies during the summer months, specifically June through September. The initial discussions of relocations to the High Arctic occurred in October 1952 with financial approvals for the ELF occurring in March 1953. The initial request to RCMP detachments to identify Inuit to move occurred in April 1953 and the passenger lists were (mostly) finalized by the end of May. The *C.D. Howe* left port at Montreal in June and arrived at Inukjuak by late July. The timeline, therefore suggests that there were, at most nine months of planning with only four months of planning for the acquisition of supplies at Montreal, though documents note that supplies requests should be based on what was needed by each family group, indicating an even shorter acquisition timeline.

that would help us to understand, within the 1953 standard, why these oversights were made and to understand also the approach which you have in your report toward critical questions like that? We are not talking about motivation, about why the move was made, such as the sovereignty issue. These are very practical issues.

**BUD NEVILLE:** You have covered a lot of ground, and I am not sure I fully understand the precise question you are trying to get to me.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** I will be a bit more specific.

In fact, what worries me a bit is the tone of the approach that I find in something like that. It seems to convey that there were problems, there was a time factor but, on the other hand, this criticism could be offset because people knew there was a problem in the Arctic at that time with the shipping. It is a matter of interpretation as to the importance of those factors.

In your conclusion you say: That's true on the one hand; on the other hand, this criticism is offset to a certain extent by that factor.

**BUD NEVILLE:** My view on it is a bit like this – and it is more from my own experience, although I did indicate and I did find that the final stages of this thing were not as well planned as it ought to have been. I have said that in my report. And I didn't think they were as well equipped as they should have been. I have already indicated that.

But it has to be offset to some extent by the problem of doing things in the Arctic. That is basically what I was coming at.

To go back to one of your questions as to whether it could have been delayed a year, I guess it could have been delayed a year. I didn't see any reason why it couldn't have been delayed a year. But I will tell you from my own experience that, even if it had been delayed a year, there would be some kind of problem to deal with. Would it have been that great? I don't know.

Everything that you did in the Arctic in those days was a difficult undertaking, no matter what it was. No matter how well you planned, there was always something to come up because too many things were just not under your control. I will give you an example – and I will try to go quickly.

The Keewatin Re-establishment Project in 1957 and 1958 – big, big plans. It took us a year to make that plan. I had signalled back to say that Whale Cove was the place to build that community. We had done some studies on it, and we had all the materials for 20 or 30 houses. It was in the boat, and we had all things ready. That was in the summer of 1958.

For the first time in history, the shipping company sent a 10,000-ton boat into Hudson's Bay. That is one thing. It was also one of the wildest falls that you could ever think of. The boat couldn't get within 10 miles. Hudson's Bay is quite shallow. The boat couldn't get within 10 miles. We couldn't control that.

There was always something like this happening.

So, in the case of Whale Cove, we had to make a decision. We had to say, "We are either going to go to Rankin Inlet or we are going back to Churchill, and maybe it will never happen." So we decided to go to Rankin Inlet.

I just give that as an example. In a sense, that is what I am coming at. There was always something to screw up a little bit the best plans that you could lay.

As far as I could go, in the case of this particular incident, I do believe that they should have been given better clothing and they should have been given



better boats – and we said that in our report. But I am also aware of the fact that even in the *C.D. Howe* and the *D'Iberville*, the same thing applies. There are always problems, and nothing comes off smoothly.

I can only tell you that that is where I am coming from, and that is the basis of my attitude. I have seen it so often. Nothing could be done, seemingly, perfectly, or even very perfectly.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Thank you. Commissioner Wilson, please.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** I have one very straightforward question; you may even be able to answer “yes” or “n” to this one. It is this:

Were you satisfied on the evidence that all the Inuit who left Inukjuak for the Arctic were X-rayed and medically examined before the ship set sail?

**BUD NEVILLE:** The short answer to that one, you will be pleased, is: Yes, I was satisfied to that effect. But let me now qualify my short answer.

We looked at that quite seriously. The X-ray equipment was on the *C.D. Howe*. They had several weeks to go from Port Harrison to let either of these people off, and the X-rays were usually done in all of the communities along the way. There certainly was every chance for them to have done it.

I could find no reason why the Health and Welfare authorities would move a person that they knew, or even really seriously suspected, had tuberculosis from one community to another. I couldn't find any reason for that at all.

The other thing about tuberculosis, as you know, is that there were many forms of it in that period. Certainly, some of it was quite dormant, and all of a sudden it flared. Today you could take an X-ray and in a short time afterward, a person was discovered to have tuberculosis. I couldn't see any basic reason why.

The other thing I should tell you is that I read the document that reported to Cabinet on that very move and on that very aspect, and I quote it in my report. That quotation says that they were all medically X-rayed and found to be in either excellent or good health. That is what I base my understanding on.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** Before the ship sailed from Inukjuak? That is my point. It is a bit late after somebody has gone through a hazardous journey to suddenly discover that they have TB. I was just wanting to know if you were satisfied that their good health was established before they left.

**BUD NEVILLE:** I can't say that I looked at whether their good health was established. What would have happened – and I have been on the *C.D. Howe*. What would have happened if they had discovered it afterward is that that person would have returned with the *C.D. Howe*. They would not purposefully say, “You have tuberculosis, but you're going to go there anyway.” They would say, “I am sorry, you will have to come back with us.”

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** I found your statement on this point rather difficult because you indicated that, “Well, they might have developed TB even if they had stayed in Inukjuak.” I didn't really feel that that was really an appropriate way to approach this issue.

**BUD NEVILLE:** And why not? Where would they have gotten tuberculosis

at that point? They would have gotten it at Inukjuak. They were living in conditions –

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** They might not have got it in Inukjuak. You are assessing the possibility that they might have developed it in the future, later, if they had stayed in Inukjuak. That is what you are commenting on, and I am comparing that with their having it before they even leave. That really bothered me.

**BUD NEVILLE:** I think I have answered that as best I can. I look at this way. It was the conditions of life in Port Harrison in the camps that would have produced tuberculosis. As far as I could see – I really couldn't see why a senior government official would lie to Cabinet. I couldn't see why he would lie to Cabinet. Why would he do that?

I could not see Health and Welfare saying, "Don't talk about this guy who has tuberculosis." Why would they? They would have to take this person off later anyway, or out of the community.

As far as I was concerned, they had established before the people were let off. I do not know about the point at which they put their foot on the *C.D. Howe*; I don't know that. I only concluded that, by the time they got to wherever it was they were going to go, they had been X-rayed and found to be in reasonable health.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Are there any other questions?

Thank you for suffering through this long exchange with us.

We will resume at 9 o'clock in the morning.

— Whereupon the Hearing adjourned at 7:00 p.m. to resume on Wednesday, June 30, 1993 at 9:00 a.m.

The approach to managing health, and especially tuberculosis, in the North is an underlying aspect of this relocation. For further discussion of the federal government's approach to healthcare in the North, see Olofsson, Holton, and Partridge (2008) and Lackenbauer and Clancy (2019).

**Royal Commission on Aboriginal  
Peoples Testimony: June 30, 1993**

ROYAL COMMISSION ON ABORIGINAL PEOPLES  
 LOCATION: OTTAWA, ONTARIO  
 DATE: WEDNESDAY, JUNE 30, 1993  
 VOLUME: 3

Ottawa, Ontario

— Upon resuming on Wednesday, June 30, 1993 at 9:11am

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** We are ready to proceed, ladies and gentlemen.

Today's hearing is with Mr. Robert Williamson. Mr. Williamson, please.

**ROBERT WILLIAMSON:** Good morning.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Good morning.

**ROBERT WILLIAMSON:** Mesdames et messieurs, commissionaires, je m'appelle Williamson. My name is Williamson. I am a Professor of Anthropology at the University of Saskatchewan.

I do not have a prepared text for you insofar as I received your invitation to appear before you fairly recently and was already over-committed with other matters. Therefore, I am going to read from notes that I prepared in the hotel room since I got here.

By way of introduction, I may mention that since the early fifties, I have worked in the Northwest Territories and other parts of the northern part of Canada, beginning with travels of the length of the Mackenzie, from Great Slave Lake to the Beaufort Sea, followed by a period of wintering in the Mackenzie, research that produced my first anthropological publication.

However, I always wanted to go to the eastern Arctic and was able to do so the following year when I was given an opportunity to go to Pangnirtung on eastern Baffin Island and spent some considerable time doing my own work until it was possible to build a mission house that I was asked to help with the following summer. In the process, I was able to begin learning the Inuktitut language.

It was on the way to this period of my work in the north that I travelled on the *C.D. Howe* on that voyage that carried the Inukjuak people from their home area to the High Arctic. I may point out that I was very young at the time and not a skilled and trained observer.

I did, however, begin to learn from people like Leo Manning who has been mentioned several times as the interpreter for the government and, most particularly, from the Reverend Donald Whitbred who was the Anglican missionary at Port Harrison from about until , covering the period of crucial significance in this inquiry, and who then went on to work at Pond Inlet where, again, he had responsibility for those same people where they were settled in Ellesmere Island and Cornwallis.

I went on to do anthropological work with the National Museum and ultimately, as you have heard, became the head of the Eskimology Section of the Department of Northern Affairs, an applied anthropologist, in fact, where I was responsible for development of a correspondence service with the people and doing various kinds of troubleshooting and also began the publication of the first Eskimo language journal, first Inuktitut journal called "Inuktitut". I brought it into Inuit hands as quickly as possible.

I was responsible for the rehabilitation and welfare in the Keewatin district based in Rankin Inlet and encountered people who were the results of

(Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, "Testimony," June 30, 1993, *The High Arctic Relocation Special Hearings*, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada))

Robert Williamson was an Arctic anthropologist who worked for the DNANR, establishing the Eskimology section and founding *Inuktitut* magazine. He also served as welfare superintendent for the Keewatin district and was the elected representative for the Keewatin district to the Northwest Territories Council in 1967

starvation experiences, starvation to death in some cases amongst their people, and relocation. It was a significant experience of privation, death and relocation.

After a period of independent living, supported by research grants, living still in the Arctic, I joined the University of Saskatchewan helping to build up the newly-formed institute for Northern Studies and returned to the Arctic as head of the Arctic Research and Training Centre, the first university owned and operated, a year around academic facility, in the Northwest Territories and, indeed, in the circumpolar world.

My studies have been various. I have published a study of the adaptation of hunting people to the mining life and this was as a result of my Ph.D. work at the Royal University of Uppsala in Sweden.

Later, I was at Spence Bay for a year and a half and learned, again, about the results of relocation amongst the people who had been transported from Cape Dorset to the High Arctic before World War II and after a long odyssey had ended in the Territory of Latilingmute (PH.) in the Boothia Peninsula area.

My recent studies have been more concerned with urbanization and macro search of organization. I have been particularly interested in the Inuit Circumpolar Conference but also in matters concerned with law and cultural ecology most recently.

I returned with my wife who is also an applied anthropologist at the University of Saskatchewan in the College of Education to study cultural ecology and land relatedness and child-raising in the Cumberland Sound area and, in the process, having encountered some very revealing insights.

On the subject of insights, I would commend to the Commission a book of a very modern kind which was published by a scholar from Scott Polar Research Institute, Dr. Mark Nuttal, a book that I commend to everyone who is interested in land-relatedness and its implications, the study of a very modern part of the circumpolar world, Greenland. Nuttal's book was called "Arctic Homeland: Community Relatedness in Greenland". I bring this to your attention because it is relevant to the discussion that we have been hearing during your inquiry here.

The focus for all of us is what the Inuit call "Nuna" (PH.) which is very often translated as land, but in fact really means habitat. It means the totality of the environment, the physical environment as well as the human environment.

It is something which has connotations going beyond that of landscape and seascape and icescape. In fact, Nuttal calls it "memoryscape". This was a notion that he and I discussed in Cambridge, but I have developed my own term for the way in which the Inuit relate still with their traditional environment. I call it the "namescape" because despite the fact that in recent years the "nouveau arrivées", white people, have produced maps, when I was first in the Arctic, maps of the Northwest Territories had areas of dotted lines where they felt that they did not know enough about the country or didn't know it. They called it "Terra Incognita" which was presumptuous. They didn't know about the country, but the indigenous people knew it intimately.

The intimacy of their relationship with their traditional environment is discerned through the naming of that environment. Each geographical feature has at least one name, sometimes more than one name depending

on which angle of approach it is discerned from or what time of the year or even the state of the tide.

This namespace is a very important context of reality for the people within their own environment. The individual dialect groups are identified by the geographical names which they use as well as identifying themselves in their habitat. The attention to this habitat is as strong as the attachment of kinship. It is a love of a very profound kind.

Every geographic feature – headlands, islands, turns of the river – has names and the name is a metaphor for the totality of group remembrance of all forms of land relatedness, of the successes and failures in hunting. It recalls births, deaths, childhood, marriage, death, adventure. It recalls the narrations and the ancient sanctified myths.

The sense of belonging, the sense of participation in a network is extended through the relationship of kin because the kinsfolk are seen to be part of this physical and metaphysical environment. Those who have seeded bones in the land are recalled into vivid existence by the naming system. People who have been archaeologically known to have inhabited this territory for more than , years recall this long experience of relatedness with their environment through their naming, whereby the name is the soul and the soul is the name and the live in a matrix of inter-relatedness with each other, whereby people never felt alone or in unfamiliar circumstances or surroundings.

This belief system persists though, perhaps, reinterpreted in modern circumstances. But I was very struck by our findings at Pangnirtung, a bastion of Arctic Anglicanism, to find these facts still discernable, facts which affect the value system. All of these things are integrated and the point I would leave with you this morning is that we must think integratedly and not isolate our perspective to a point of non-reality on any one element in the totality of the experience.

I would point out that the values very strongly emphasize family commitments, family loyalties, the love of family, the significance of the family. The bonds are emotional and they form physical and metaphysical links with little network of a society. Into this highly integrated relationship, not so very long ago came the people who I have called the “nouveau arrivées”, the Europeans from the south.

Firstly, explorers, so-called, a term that I find offensive and we will not use that word again. When we hear people talking about the whites being the explorers of the north or the discoverers of the north, we are not giving credit to the people who have explored, discovered, lived their lives, lived their generations for thousands of years in that environment and have named it intimately.

But the people who came looking for passage through the northern waters to the riches of Cathay, looking for commercial opportunities or, in the case of the Royal Navy, looking for promotion and for new experience and looking for each other – these people began the process of what I have called exteriorization of the life of the Inuit, a process whereby the indigenous population becomes more and more subject to influences far distant from their habitat. This was most particularly noticeable when the wintering whalers began the process of growing interdependency, indeed, symbiosis, between the Inuit population and the commercial interests of the rest of the world.

It was the whalers, particularly the wintering whalers, particularly as they hunted out the great whales, who paved the way for the fur trade. These

For further reading on Inuit cultural values, see Mashford-Pringle et al. (2023), Tagalik (2012), and Tester and Irniq (2008).

For an excellent examination of Inuit worldviews and the many definitions across Inuit communities, see Gearheard et al. (2013).

were influences which were circularizing of the life that heretofore had been highly spiritually undergirded existence.

Coming along with the fur trade came the mission influence. They came very shortly after the fur trade began to establish their permanent posts along the Arctic coasts. Sometimes people say in the north that HBC stands for the Hudson Bay Company, but it also standards for "Here before Christ". But overly just.

Indeed, the fur trade and the missions and the RCMP formed what Jameson Bond called a "power troika", people sharing the same values and the same intentions in terms of their relationship with the indigenous environment – one of control, one of a paternalistic form of relationship, well meant, but benefiting from the increasing dependency of the relationship between the Inuit and these powers.

There is a paradox in the influence of the missions insofar as to some extent their message replaced the "lacunae" – it has been seen this way – left by the cyclicization process. However, at the same time, in fact, we found that the mission influence revitalized some of the basic beliefs of the traditional type amongst the Inuit, reinforcing the values, because there are very strong parallels in terms of the notions of soul, the notions of a great creative power and the values that accompany these religious systems were strongly parallel.

Nevertheless, over the period from the whaling times in the last century and early this century throughout the life of the fur trade whereby the people were totally dependent on the exteriorized economic forces represented by the fur trade. They developed a debt cycle pattern which meant that they were bound to honour the debts that they were encouraged to develop in order to maintain their relationship with the fur trade and acquire the goods they needed.

But from whaling times onwards, the Inuit had developed a sense of wariness, of uncertainty about the unpredictable white people, though, in many cases, the whites were dependent upon them, too. I mentioned this symbiotic relationship. They realized that the whites had enormous power. They were "inariutuk" (PH.). Very often people would say, "I like that person." "Kishany inaritutugna (PH.)." "I have a sense of awe. I have a sense of that person's power which makes me uneasy."

The result of this habituated relationship, which often was quite affable but never quite certain, was a set of responses interrelated with each other which I have called the social protection response. This is manifested in a variety of ways and I won't mention them all. I do not intend to spend 50 minutes of lecture time with you this morning if I can help it. I do trust that you will find that by comparison with a test of eternity of last evening, I am perhaps a little more loquacious, but I will try not to take too much of your time.

The social protection response meant that, amongst other things, when under some pressure, when feeling some sort of pressure, people appeared to agree in order to take the pressure off, in order to give them some time to mull over what they were being called upon to do, in order to talk amongst themselves, in order to try to come to some conclusion, there would be some appearance of agreement. People do this in many societies and it is part of the social protection response dynamics of Inuit society.

There is what I have called the "amia screen" or the "amiasu screen". This

is where when people feel some sense of pressure, they say, "I don't know." They don't want to commit themselves until they know, to some extent, what the implications of what they are being pressed to do may turn out to be.

There is also the patent of the use of inter-cultural brokers, people who are somewhat familiar with the incursive society and also with the indigenous society. These brokers may have been people with some knowledge of the language of the incursive society.

Often they were seen by the power troika as the spokespeople and called "camp bosses" and this sort of thing. But in some cases, they were essentially spokespeople, not necessarily leaders. Leadership in forging societies of this kind, certainly amongst the Inuit, traditionally was something that was not permanently institutionalized in one person or one family.

There is one thing that I don't think has been noted in your discussion so far which I think is very significant, and that is the influence of women in Inuit society. This derives from the soul system belief whereby every person is named and perpetuated by the name being passed on from one person to another at birth. The name stands for a personality for an intellect, a character beloved in this society, but not associated with gender.

All most important values in the value system, the interrelated values of the Inuit, is the importance of intelligence. One of the most damning things one can say about a person in the Inuit society is "Shelikdaluna" (PH.), "He or she is lacking in intelligence." One of the most warm compliments one can pay is to say, "Shelatuya. Ishabacktuyu." "Has good intelligence, thinks well."

"Shelak" (PH.) is the root for a concept of power which embraces all aspects of existence and there is a direct relationship between power and intelligence in the value system and the cosmology of the Inuit.

In order to perpetuate the names and the souls of people important to the group, names were given without reference to gender and any one person at any one manifestation of their lives, of their life in a body, was seen essentially as the vehicle of a valued soul, a valued intellect.

Although age is seen as an important quality insofar as people who have survived for many years in the vicissitudes of Arctic life and seem to be the repositories of knowledge and wisdom that is important, anyone of intellect is respected and listened to irrespective of sex, irrespective of gender. This is manifested in Inuit society to this very day if we just look around this room. In fact, quite generally, I might say I sometimes tell my students that if one wishes to truly understand human motivation, "toujours cherché la femme".

This is an important factor in understanding what happened in Port Harrison and what happened after Port Harrison or Inukjuak for some part of that population. I find that even after the lengthy discussions before you, there are still people quite understandably saying, "What really happened in Inukjuak? What were the circumstances?"

There are various views quite obviously. We have heard the views of the RCMP and of the Government of Canada through the Department of Northern Affairs and of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada. We have heard someone from the Hudson Bay Company telling us about the situation in the region at the time of the late forties, early fifties.

I spoke recently to Mrs. Freddie Knight who grew up in Inukjuak and learned the language from childhood very well. She spoke about that period not in wholesale terms that we have heard where we have heard one side



saying that the Inukjuak people lived in poverty and privation of the worst kind. Others have said they lived well.

Mrs. Knight told me that there were patches of poverty, some camps where people were not living terribly well or having a very hard time and some hunting groups or bands or camps where people were doing rather better. I think this is what we shall find throughout this inquiry, that we should not be believing that the situations are to be understood in black and white terms. That is very rarely the reality in any situation.

I must say that I have listened with regret to the way in which these hearings have almost become a debate, a tennis match where people who have worked side by side for lifetimes in the north are becoming politicized. I regret hearing the outbursts of the parties' own nature in what in a Royal Commission situation should be a search for truth and a resolution of conflict.

Clearly, there were problems that needed resolution in the Inukjuak situation. I have been told that it was from the camps where people were having the greatest difficulty that the relocatees were chosen for transportation to the High Arctic. But many questions still remained to be answered, I think, and I think some of these questions should be asked or perhaps re-asked.

Rigour is needed against this background of speculation, hearsay by all sides and I don't know how well the records have been examined. In some cases, although some of these reports that we shall hear about later show a great deal of assiduous concern with documentation and documents, written documents – and I must say that culturally we are impelled in western society to take a great deal of respect to events for anything that is written on paper, particularly if it is typed and even more if it is printed. It is in black and white then and it is impelling, whereas oral tradition is dismissed or taken less seriously as hearsay.

I have experienced in the Arctic evidence of the enormous accuracy of oral remembrance. I am talking about the traditional society, the traditionalistic society. I am not talking about necessarily the contemporary times where some revisionism is entirely possible.

More and more the scientific world is coming to see some real value in Inuit traditional scientific knowledge. I happen, for example, to be on the committee of a Ph.D. student in biology who is working on population dynamics of caribou in the Baffin Island. The reason why I am sitting on a biology Ph.D. committee is because he is using Inuit traditional knowledge about population dynamics and migrations of caribou, and this is being taken very seriously.

I am inclined to ask other questions in terms of the rigour of the inquiry. I wonder if in the context of Inuit scientific knowledge there has been any graph or other trend over time data analyzed using Inuit scientific knowledge indicating the relative economic decline or stability or growth in the Inukjuak situation. What are the population statistics for Port Harrison or Inukjuak specifically?

I know from the reports that some global statistics have been used for the entire Inuit population, but specifically through the records of the sub-registrars of vital statistics, the RCMP, through the parish records, through Hudson Bay's quite extensive records which are kept archivally in Winnipeg. It should be possible to find out what the population statistics are for Inukjuak in the s to get down to the recorded facts about births, infant

mortality, about the age pyramid, about mid-life deaths, about mobility. I would like to know what the proportion of population distribution along the coasts in terms of the number of people known, game-bearing square mile or linear coastal mile. What was the carrying capacity in terms of resources and consumers? In other words, how does one prove or disprove statements as to the relative deprivation or over-population or the relative foraging culture level of affluence or poverty and how these are defined in absolute terms, if one can find absolute terms, where we are already realizing that we are talking about different sets of evaluation according to the historic era we are examining?

I wonder if questions have been asked about the way in which the relocation was initiated. This relocation has obviously become much more than one small incident in the inquiries of this Commission. It has become a major issue.

I am impelled to ask at this point, because it has become a major issue, if the Commission has considered going to Grise Fiord as a group and talking to all of the people there as a group and to Repulse Bay and, of course, to Inukjuak to meet all of the people and hear from all of the people.

I would like to know who did the interpreting for whoever talked with the Inukjuak people in the first place. Was it Elijah Minerik (PH.), in which case, he had great competence in the quality of communication? How well prepared were the interpreters before they were plunged into the interviewing situation? How fully did they understand the assumptions on the part of the people communicating this idea of relocation? Who chose the interpreters and on what criteria of competence were they chosen?

I would like to know how many people in total were interviewed as individuals and as families and how many times they were interviewed and were they only interviewed as families or as individuals or as whole groups, and was there some list of possible recruits to whom the initiators went to develop this idea? What were the criteria for selection for recruitment? Was it the extent and the duration of more than usual poverty amongst individual families? Was it their location or their family relationships to others recruited? Was it concerned with qualities of leadership or acquired independence or maybe notable submissiveness? I want to know what the criteria was for the selection of this group.

Who suggested who should be approached and to what extent was the Hudson Bay Company and the mission brought into the matter locally? Was this entirely government or was this under some co-operation even at an informal local level? The pattern was, after all, in the north that the members of the troika worked together very frequently. Individuals occasionally were opposed to each other, but insofar as their values and objectives, they were very similar overall. There was much discussion often and consultation between the company, the police and the mission.

So to what extent were the local mission and Hudson Bay Company, people involved along with the RCMP. One wonders, indeed, how much the RCMP and the government and the missions and the fur trade were involved in this whole enterprise in the first place. There was, after all, the existence of the Eskimo Affairs Committee which met in Ottawa once a year for as long as a day. It was made up of the senior civil servants responsible for northern activities and administration, the Bishops of the two churches, the Anglican Bishop and the Roman Catholic Bishop, the Commissioner of the RCMP, later

on the Chief Superintendent of G Division and the head of the fur trade of the Hudson Bay Company For many years, it was Mr. P.A.C. Nichols.

They proposed and disposed matters concerning policy and planning for the north for many years. Ultimately, someone had the revolutionary idea of inviting Eskimo to the Eskimo Affairs Committee and indeed that was done at the initiative of Mr. Sivertz and people who became very well known in the development of northern politics like Abraham Okpik, John Ayaruak and Simeone Michel (PH.) . George Koniak appeared with this committee in its declining days I might say.

One thing that has intrigued me is the lack of reporting from the records left or that should have been left by one of the people who was a crucial influence in affairs in Inukjuak and that was the Anglican missionary. Mr. Whitbred was one of the few Anglican missionaries who spoke the language really well without accent and without awkwardness and with considerably fluency. He was there during the whole of this period.

I, in fact, called recently when I knew I was going to come here a few days ago the archivist of the Anglican Church to see if they had records of this period concerning the observations of Mr. Whitbred. I know from sharing a cabin with him on the *C.D. Howe* on the way to the High Arctic and back to Pond Inlet and ultimately to Pangnirtung that he kept a copious journal. I know also that his Bishop D.B. Marsh required of all of his missionaries extensive reporting in detail, I think quarterly, even though some of the mail couldn't get out for a year at a time. There should have been a considerable body of local observations about living conditions, about the life of the Inuit on file in the archives of the Anglican Church.

To my astonishment, the archivist told me – and I have a copy of a letter – that there was nothing of Whitbred's writing in the archives either in his time in Inukjuak or Metimatalick (PH.), Pond Inlet from which Basse (PH.) was also responsible for these same people in their resettled settings in Ellesmere Island and Cornwallis. There were in fact 74 items mainly circular letters, newsletters. Important data have been lost and a central figure in the investigation now appears to be uninvestigateable.

Let me terminate my remarks with some further suggestions for questions that should have been asked. Of all the people interviewed in Inukjuak, how many were interviewed and how many went? How many did not go and why did they not go? I would like to know the details of the medical examinations which took place before they went and what records were transferred from the nursing station to go with the people or the conducting officer. Did these records indicate long-term debilitation over previous years which we believe should be apparent as affecting most of the relocatees?

In other words, I think there is a lot of factual data that needs to be pursued to support the speculative statements that we have heard so much of during this inquiry. One needs detail. One needs specificity. One needs rigour.

Now, the word that I think you have been waiting to hear from me, finally, let me emphasize again what has been said about that period during the relocation. It was an era. We talk about eras. There was the World War II era. We were talking about the southern urban western world in the sixties as an era. There was an era in the Canadian Arctic in the forties and fifties which must be seen also as a sub-culture, sub-culture with its own sets of values, its own anticipations, its own acceptances and its own criteria for judgment.

This was an era during which the fur trade was discernably in decline. Although there may have been good years, prices were steadily declining. It was an era that was characterized by a change from a century of neglect by the government. This was admitted by Louis St. Laurent as the Prime Minister during the debate on the act creating the problem of Northern Affairs, later to be headed by Jean Lesage who became subsequently the leader of the Quiet Revolution in Quebec.

One wonders: Was it not so much the small relocation plan as a sovereignty assertion as much as the whole creation of the new department of Northern Affairs was an act of sovereignty association? One wonders about that.

Certainly R.A.J. Phillips said that early on in the fifties when it was apprehended by our own diplomatic people that the Americans were planning a major development of the DEW line two or three years hence, it was seen necessary for Canada to make its own presence felt in the Arctic, probably more impressively than by moving a dozen families from one part of the north to the other.

Indeed, one probably would conclude that the creation of the Department of Northern Affairs as a whole was indeed partly motivated by sovereignty ideas, but not entirely. Let's give credit to the Canadian people for some conscience, some good will, some desire to make up for the years of neglect. Certainly, they had a liberal budget for this department although it was never enough. It was an era when this department was created where there was a sense of urgency. Was it for making up for past neglect?

Certainly, the Canadian conscience began pounding its brow about the north like a drum. There was an influx of people. There were bureaucrats. There were old hands. There were opportunists. There were quick money makers and recruited into this new department there were also a significant number of idealists, many of whom went into the north and burned themselves out in a year or two at the most usually.

Turgor (PH.) suddenly discovered its north in that era and like the hero of Leacock rode off on a white horse across the north in all directions. A senior administrator who has been heard from was discernable to some as a principle-driven man leading the charge of the Light Horse Brigade across the north. It was something that was needed and in the urgency of the times and in the nature of the state of knowledge of the times by all people, it was a period of earnest amateurism because many of the old hands were people whose knowledge of the Inuit and of the north couldn't be measured in the number of years that they had been there because in many cases they simply replicated in their own memory the experience of their first two or three years. It was an amateur band of earnest workers.

This was also an era that should be seen in its totality as one of the most tragic and widespread dislocations in Canadian Native history; the separation of whole families, husbands from wives, children from their parents, by the epidemic proportions of pulmonary disease across the Arctic. The way it was tackled added to the tragedy.

Medical people from the south were committed ultimately to doing something about this epidemic, but in many cases they were remarkably insensitive, remarkably mechanistic. They had racial double standards. They were concerned with a condition, not with the totality of the person who had the condition.

I saw myself on several voyages on the *C.D. Howe* the agony of these

kinds of situations whereby people coming into the settlement to unload the ship, an annual event of some importance which often left behind an epidemic in its own right, were brought onto the ship, x-rayed. Their x-rays were read immediately by a radiologist and those that showed signs of having active pulmonary tuberculosis were then sent to another part of the ship. In some cases, they had no chance to say their farewells. People sometimes even discovered that as the ship sailed away, some father or mother or child was sailing away with it.

In the early days of the discovery of the disease, often it was far advanced before people were sent south and inevitably they died. So going onto the ship and being x-rayed was a fearful experience and sailing away was synonymous with going to one's death in a foreign environment in the south.

I have participated in this process in trying to diminish its impact myself. I remember when things were much improved and when the Department of Northern Affairs was working on these problems. I was asked by a doctor at Iqaluit to explain to a mother that her baby had tuberculosis and would most certainly die within the year. She had already lost two children who had died with tuberculosis. There was tuberculosis in the family in a widespread way.

I was asked to explain to this mother that yet another child was threatened with death and the child should be taken south. This was a dreadful decision that she was being asked to make and I was given 20 minutes to explain this. I insisted that the helicopter should leave me there for an hour, an hour during which she had to decide whether she would let her baby go and, in all her experience, probably never to come back, or whether she would keep and cherish and love the child for as long as it may live.

She talked with her husband and her mother and after an hour, she decided that she would let the child go to be treated, but it was a dreadful decision. When the helicopter came, I was asked to take the baby out of the amoutick (PH.) packing area in her parka. She nuzzled the baby and of course she cried and of course I did. I sat in the helicopter and the pilot rose very slowly keeping the bubble in a way in which we could still see the mother looking up as the helicopter travelled away. I will never forget her face. I will never forget her face.

Those sorts of agonies happened hundreds and thousands of times during that era and into this situation came the Department of Northern Affairs and people like Leo Manning and Walter Rudnicki and Annie Padlo and social workers whose job it was to try to restore some order out of this chaos and bring some compassion and some organization replacing this therapeutic heavy handedness.

This was the era of another form of dislocation. It was the beginning of the awful period of another form of loss of children. The cultural dislocation occasioned by the approach of another band of culturally-insensitive but earnest toilers – the educators. Exile institutionalization for children going to hostel schools became widespread with a curriculum that was entirely alien, the alienation of the generations developed.

Children were lost to their parents and to their grandparents not only for physically for a good part of the year, but culturally and socially and in values and the capacity to communicate together. It was an era of the implementation of southern law where the policeman, who had been seen as companions of some stability, became someone more to fear and resent.

It was also the era of settlement growth, of the development of co-

operatives and through the co-operatives, people learned the techniques for the first time of macro-social organization and politicization which led to the development of local government and self-determination.

It was the era of some quiet planning for the implementation of new concepts of northern governance and local responsibility, leading to the ultimate emergence on the ground in the north of the Government of the Northwest Territories. This plan and its inception developed under the guidance of its architect. Commissioner B.G. Sivertz – in his very own independence and determined way, Sivertz, who is a person of contention, nevertheless stands in terms of the work of the development of the Government of the Northwest Territories in his own way, visionary and the pivotal figure in whatever way one wants to evaluate in the development of the history of the modern Northwest Territories and driven by principle.

So taken all together – and I have started out by saying that this era must be seen in its totality and not just on the focus of this one incident. It must be seen as people felt it, as people experienced it in its totality. It was an era of despair, of agony, of tragedy, of misunderstanding and hurt. It was also the era of the beginnings of some hopes, still in some cases yet to be achieved.

So the Government of Canada must be pressed and pressed hard if it is ever to stand fully shriven in the international forums as the honest broker between the old colonial powers and the newly self-determining nations of the world. This Commission, showing its commitment as it already has, now has taken upon itself inevitably by the process that has developed of its own volition in this discussions a role of reconciliation, of conflict and of doing this on the basis of total truth. The inquiry must be pursued thoroughly and rigorously to its ultimate satisfaction of real truth.

Perhaps this High Arctic relocation issue is more than an historic event isolated in its own right, but given the momentum of the bitter old feelings and losses mourned, it is in the younger leaders' hearts symbolic of the sense of wrongs they felt and their lonely hostel school nights and the emotionally bleak sanatoria of the south and in all the pained memories of their elders. There is no doubt that the public will with its typically Canadian goodwill favour the action of a government which has the insight and the heart to speak for the Crown in the right of Canada and express its regret for these deep Inuit sadnesses.

Ten million dollars, \$10 million, any figure, any figure will not compensate any one Inuk person or all who feel the hurt and the anger, but let the people specify in detail their need, whatever it may be – an advanced learning scholarship for Inuit of all of Canada, a structured trust, a money bridge administered by an Inuit Committee to link families who lost their ancient land base in the shuffle.

Perhaps it should be a larger longer term and more meaningful commitment to the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, the Inuit international forum where they share their problems and ideas and tried solutions and experiences they have learned from.

Canada is a major circumpolar nation with a special role and a call to lead and here creating something good upon this issue and its broader implications and background. We have an opportunity. Let us understand it intellectually. Let us make real our regrets and take that opportunity with good heart.

**CO-CHAIR RENE DUSSAULT:** Thank you very much for presenting us

with so many insights of the era, of the conditions and also of the cultural aspects.

At this point, I would like to see whether my colleagues have any questions. We could discuss your presentation the whole morning.

Maybe I would like to start with one question that has to do with these insights on Inuit culture that you have provided us with, the Inuit culture in the fifties. My question will be to know whether these insights are now generally accepted in the anthropological community and when did they come to be accepted where they were probably not realized at the time or were they?

Could you expand on that?

**ROBERT WILLIAMSON:** Having heard quite frequently during these last two days the phrases “the cultural gap”, I am by no means sure, sir, that there is a wide enough acceptance in the society of Canada as a whole and in the circumpolar world as a whole of these cultural realities which are not only historic and traditional but persistent, though maybe not as readily discernible as they might have been in those days when we lived with the language and with the people more intimately.

They are still real. They are real and as modern and Europeanized part of the world as Greenland as I indicated when I spoke about these cultural realities as documented by Dr. Nuttal. They are real in my experience and recent research on Baffin Island. The cultural persistence and reinterpretation of innovation given an Inuktitut perspective is still very significant and needs to be respected and more thoroughly known and certainly accepted.

**CO-CHAIR RENE DUSSAULT:** So I understand that what you say is that the relationship with the land, the relationship with all the elements that you brought about the intimacy and very tightly-knit relationship it was at the time, those elements that you gave us are those that are recognized by the scientific community as valid.

In fact, my question is: This knowledge about the Inuit cultures that we now have – when was it realized that this cultural gap, this different culture was as deep as we know it is now and we know it was at the time 40 years ago?

**ROBERT WILLIAMSON:** I think all that we have heard in the land agreement negotiations, in the statements of the indigenous leaders over recent years and in the statements of people before, bodies like the Berger Commission, bodies like the special Standing Committee on Indigenous Affairs and in many other forums and contexts, the leaders are still asserting with enormous power, enormous commitment the importance of their traditional land as a source not only of their economic survival, but their social and cultural survival, the meaningfulness of their lives totally is still tied up with the reality of their kinship with the land.

It is no less than it ever was. In fact, in many ways, it is more important because it is no longer something that was taken for granted as it was in the past. It has become symbolic in many ways of people’s own personal identity. Identity and the problems of loss of identity are very much tied up with their feelings that have been expressed toward you in the hearings of this Commission.

The feeling for land then, I already pointed out, is not just that all important relationship with the traditions and the family histories, but also as a

source of identity into the future.

Does this answer your question, sir?

**CO-CHAIR RENE DUSSAULT:** Thank you. Georges Erasmus, please.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Could you tell me if you think the statement, "The Inuit would never have moved to the High Arctic under force, that they went of their own free will" – the way you described the awe of some non-Aboriginal people, the white man – is it possible that that kind of a relationship could create a situation where a police person comes to a camp and suggests to people that, if they are willing, they could be moved to a place where hunting is much better? Does that create a situation of obligation on some Inuit to agree?

**ROBERT WILLIAMSON:** The relationship between the Inuit society and the most long-established and genuinely liked white was nevertheless also affected by the knowledge that the whites that one met on the ground were, in many cases, part of this process of exteriorization.

However much one came to like and trust and joke with and travel with and have sociability with one of the local whites, be he a Mounted policeman or a trader or a missionary, one never lost sight of the fact that they were the end of a long line of distant authorities with objectives and agenda which were perhaps not fully known and not entirely predictable. Therefore, people had to be approached with caution.

Some people were in their very personality not easy to understand. Much of the discussions of the most serious nature in Inuit society are conducted with a vein of humour. Some of the ponderous and serious people were Inariutuk (PH.). Their seriousness was something which carried further awe and uncertainty.

This was dealt with, as I pointed out, very often by simply delaying the decision by saying, "I don't know," or by appearing to agree while one thought out what one was going to do. In this specific situation, we don't know – I at least don't know – exactly how this idea was moded, exactly how this idea was conveyed and by whom and to whom and to how many and over how many interviews and how it was interpreted, but the tendency usually, by and large, in those days was for an inference of intention, an exploratory inquiry to be interpreted by the Inuit as something rather more executively impelled having more the power of, if not an order, at least a desire that it would be in one's best interests to take very seriously and, if at all possible, accept.

However assiduously the inquiries into this situation tried to establish free will, it remains to be found out how people really did interpret these initiatives. As I say, some of the records that would have been very useful appear to have been lost or at least not pursued as far as they still have to be.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** I would like to ask you about a situation. I don't remember which report right now, but in one of the reports there is a description in Grise Fiord – the end of the first winter.

It is nearly spring 1994 and the Inuit are all asked – and the report describes the kind of harsh winter they had just gone through – not enough supplies, et cetera. The Inuit are all asked whether they want to stay on or not and they all acknowledge one way or another that they are prepared to, all except one individual and that person was kind of silent and non-



committal and so forth. He says he will think about it or something like this. Later this same individual dies.

From the testimony we had heard earlier in April, it is not hard to figure out. Not that many people died in this community. We were told from the Inuit when we heard it from the Inuit that this particular person had been wanting to go back from virtually the time he landed.

Is it possible from your understanding of the difference in perception that living in the same community with these non-Inuit RCMP, that the RCMP would not be able to actually know the strong feeling that was being felt within the Inuit community and this outward appearance of simply not acknowledging that, "I am prepared to stay," and kind of shrugging and saying, "I will let you know later," to that effect?

**ROBERT WILLIAMSON:** I think it is all too easy in any cross-cultural situation, particularly where interpretation is necessary, for there to be some degree of diminished understanding of what is actually being communicated, what is actually intended.

In that spring situation where presumably the member of the RCMP was making this inquiry, we don't know who actually conveyed the inquiry to the Inuit. Was it the member himself? If it was Bob Pilot, he speaks the language well to this day. Clayton Fryer had –

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** I don't think Bob Pilot was there at that time.

**ROBERT WILLIAMSON:** Not in the first spring, that's right, but Clayton Fryer was, I think.

We are talking about 40 years ago and I am sufficiently stricken in years not to be very assertive about every detail of my memory.

I do remember the people on the ship. I do remember them being put ashore. I do remember what they took with them, what they had with them, such as they had. However, as to your question specifically, it would be speculative to make any firm statement about the quality of their communication and how it was understood.

I would, if you want me to, guess that the process that I spoke about earlier took place whereby people did their best to satisfy the inquiry of the Mounty while they thought more about what was implied by the inquiry. One person, a little more confident, was able to be a little more committal about his desire to go south.

Perhaps he already felt the end of his years coming and the commitment to family is enormously strong and it was very often this matter of family and the need to turn to family or to at least be able to relate with family in a close way which was the main expression of feeling of not only this one man, but anyone who expressed their feelings on the subject in Grise Fiord or Resolute Bay.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** This attachment to family where it would work both ways, wouldn't it? A person being there with family members that, for one reason or another, are prepared to stay on, family members back in northern Quebec.

So if the family members that are there for whatever reason want to continue to stay on, then the person wanting to return would be torn between loyalties of family members you are with and family members that are in northern Quebec. Would this seem logical?

**ROBERT WILLIAMSON:** Yes, indeed. That is absolutely correct and I think you interpret it very well and it highlights the terrible feelings of being torn that people felt – the commitment to the family immediately surrounding them in their relocated place, whether it be Grise Fiord or Resolute Bay, and the commitment to other members of the extended family still back home in Arctic Quebec, particularly where there were these mixed feelings, these complex sets of feelings.

It is understandable that people's responses are going to be also complex and not black and white. I am not saying definitely I, personally, individually want to go home or I, personally, am committed to staying here. The choices involved agonies in each instance and it is quite likely that the answers would lead to further uncertainty on the part of the hearer, in this case, the Mounted policeman in the spring.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** In relation to the way that the Inuit had to live in the community with very few non-Aboriginal people like in Grise Fiord or even in Resolute Bay, they were isolated and the RCMP played kind of a custodian role. It put an interesting kind of power relationship at play here that it seems to me, perhaps, augmented the normal awe that Inuit would have of non-Native people generally.

What is your view on the kind of relationship that was created where things went through the RCMP in and out? For instance, in Resolute, they couldn't go to the base without an escort. If other non-Native people were to visit with them, they had to be accompanied by the RCMP. They weren't allowed to go to the dump. Everything was more or less – even letters out would go through the RCMP. It is kind of reminiscent of the reservation system in Canada with the Indian agent at the door, the gatekeeper, where you couldn't leave the reserve without a pass.

There are many Aboriginal people in southern Canada who would understand that particular situation. But in relation to the perception that Inuit generally had of the non-Native people, did this not create yet even an accented, warped kind of relationship? Would this not create a situation where anything that was a suggestion from these people in control would seem like a command?

**ROBERT WILLIAMSON:** If you mean by "warped" unnatural, awkward, difficult to handle by one's own precepts and values in one's own culture, certainly because there were two cultures interacting here from very widely desperate sets of values and expectations and particularly the members of the RCMP who, by their training, are inclined to favour a situation of order, a situation of hierarchical power. That is the system in which they are trained and institutionalized in the perception of their own organization and the society as a whole.

Let me point out that the RCMP in the old G division days under Superintendent Larsen were a very special kind of people. Larsen himself was, let us remember, recruited into the RCMP mainly because of his enormous skill and reputation as an ice pilot. He rose in the ranks as a result, first of all, of his successful navigation of the Northwest Passage, and he gathered into G Division a rather exceptional group of people, trained, as I just said, to above all value, order to live in a hierarchical power situation, to want to have control. That was the right way of doing one's duty to one citizen and society as a policeman.

In those days, Larsen kept in G Division for many years people who became much more veteran northern order keepers than people responsible for the criminal law, for example. People like Glen Sargent spent almost his entire career in the Arctic and was much more a professional northerner of the police background than he was a regular policeman.

He had a sense of great loyalty to his men and to the people that he saw them and himself as serving. But from the point of view of the people themselves, they still represented power. They still represented the capacity to punish, to apprehend and to control under the law of the land in a way that was much more direct and clearly delivered than the manipulations of the fur trade or the missionary.

Therefore, indications of desire or some form of action on their part had particular weight because of the directness of the power that they had the capacity to exert.

Does this come anywhere near to answering your question?

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** No, not at all.

**ROBERT WILLIAMSON:** I suspected so.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** In Canadian society today, if you were going to take a policeman and give him this kind of power, it wouldn't really make much difference who you were, whether you were an Inuit or Anglo-Saxon or a Quebecois. If you had to deal with somebody that both was a policeman plus had all of this kind of power and had that kind of control over your life, you would be intimidated, I would think, into thinking everything they said was command. But the added emphasis I am trying to get on here is what you say the Inuit – generally their view in relation to non-Aboriginal people.

So I am asking: Was there not yet even a further distortion than it would be for normal people in relation to the Inuit? If they had a view that because they didn't understand non-Native people and they had a general sense of awe of these people, to put somebody that is also an RCMP, to have this kind of administrative power and a gateway in and out to the rest of the world, did that not create an unusual circumstance where virtually anything they would suggest would seem like a word from God?

**ROBERT WILLIAMSON:** That, in fact, was what I was saying, that the RCMP had a special power. Not only the power delivered to them by the law, but in this isolated Arctic situation where this power was held without the checks and controls of a society of equal balancing capacity.

Yes, indeed, knowing, as I said the first time in my response to you, that the RCMP had this extraordinary legal power and this extraordinary reputation for being able to deliver the results of this legal power, anything they said had to be respected inordinately carefully.

So the inference of your question that the most mild inquiry delivered from such a source would have extra weight beyond that of this society in the south where people are all of the same culture, indeed, is, I think, a correct inference for that era.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Yes. Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR RENE DUSSAULT:** Bertha Wilson, please.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** My question is a more general one and really goes beyond the specific issue of the relocation of the Inuit, but

I raise it because of the fact that you pointed out that the perception of the way of life at Inukjuak may have been quite different looked at from a non-Aboriginal perspective as opposed to an Aboriginal perspective. The people living there may have felt that they were living quite a good life, whereas the government and other people may have thought, as was indicated, that they were living a starvation existence.

This is something that has come up in our hearings all across the country and in all kinds of issues. This business of the application of white standards to Aboriginal people – we have heard it in relation to education, in relation to health, in relation to the placement of Native children in white homes because the Native foster homes were not viewed as appropriate for placements.

This is a constantly recurring problem – the application of white standards to Native people and it is quite clear that some of the Native leaders see self-government as the only way to address this problem. I think that we have been approaching this problem as a Commission on the basis of the need for public education and the hope that a massive public education would lead to reconciliation between the two groups, Native and non-Native.

I am wondering if you have – having regard to the fact that by and large the Native people in Canada are, in effect, politically powerless, do you have any thoughts on how this problem of white standards impacting of Native people can be addressed? It is a large question, I realize, but I want to take advantage of your expertise.

**ROBERT WILLIAMSON:** I think the very fact that in traditional political terms the indigenous people of Canada are relatively powerless has impelled their development of other techniques to reach the public, to reach through the public to the legislators and ultimately to the administrators.

I take well your point that there are differing ways of measuring things in the indigenous society and the environing white society. I remember a very wise man called Unaluk (PH.) who was talking to me during a storm-stayed rest in an igloo where we were travelling between two camps. He said, “I think we should call the white socuncutloona (PH.),” which refers to eyebrows, perhaps. Cupshunimute (PH.), the how many people.

He said, “In the last camp we visited, we were there for three days and by the time we left we knew all about that camp’s quality of life, the availability of the food, the relationships between the people, the movement of the game, who was going to have a baby, who would like to.” We had some feeling about the – considerable feeling – totality of life in that community, but if a white man came to that camp, his approach would be different to the way we conversed and listened.

Immediately getting off of the airplane, go out there and say, “How many people? How many tents? How many dogs? How many seals? How many caribou? How many this? How many that?” That is the only way he can find out reality in his terms. He said, “I believe if a white man got lost in the Arctic, he would sit down on a rock and count all the other rocks around him.”

But, as I said, this form of calculative appreciation of reality is a result of an industrialized society, a large society with a large number of people and a large amount of mechanization. That form of measurement makes sense in that cultural context and documentation makes sense in that kind of context.

There are other ways, however, of appreciating the same reality which

are just as valid in the context of the culture. So I take your point very well and these forms of valid reality appreciate are still not sufficiently bridging toward each other.

Politically, the capacity for the indigenous people to influence administration through legislation is highly limited by the number of members of Parliament or members of Legislatures that they can bring under their influence. Two members of Parliament for the whole of the Northwest Territories.

So what has happened is that the Inuit particularly, I think, have been remarkably successful in the development of what I call para-political endeavours, the formation of national representation organizations – the Inuit Tapirisat, the TFN, the Original Committee for original peoples entitlement in the Mackenzie Delta. They have been brilliant in their capacity to communicate the reality of the world as they see it today and against the background of their past through the general public and through the goodwill and growing understanding of the general public, they have been able to influence the political process to a degree beyond that which could be expected by votes in the legislature.

They have been impelled to do this by this reality of relative political powerlessness, by their numbers and by their capacity for representation in the legislatures. They have every reason given the history of their relationship with the colonial and post-colonial society to develop this form of national representation and international representation.

The reality of Canada as a major circumpolar power has been perceived by the Inuit and they have joined in the creation of the International Inuit Circumpolar Conference whereby they now bring to bear their influences on the world through a four-nation forum wherein they can help each other and at the same time represent themselves at senior levels or broad levels of appreciation.

This also means that they have realized that there has been a great deal of inertia in Canada, in the United States and very much in what was the Soviet Union in taking an interest in and responding to the needs of the indigenous population. Therefore, they have worked very hard to get the attention of the general public through the work of these organizations and through the brilliant leadership of people like Zebedee Nungak and John Amagoalik and Mary Simon and Mary Sillett and Nellie Cournyea.

You will notice the emergence of the persistence of a traditional value there, the primary importance for intelligence as a selection criterion for leadership. I was able to predict a few years ago that women would not be by any means excluded from leadership of the indigenous organizations, particularly the Inuit, and this has indeed proved to the case.

I think that the rest of the country and particularly the administrators who are by definition people in the defensive role, who write defensively, who write in support of their job as stewards of the public purse and living in the special kind of world of the administration are inevitably likely to be at odds with the representatives of the indigenous organizations whose history has been one of suffering as a result of this cultural gap that has been referred to so frequently.

However, they need to be listened to and they have now succeeded in getting people's attention and it is now expected of Canada in its international context as a circumpolar nation that Canada does more than just listen but take effective action in respecting the perspectives and aspirations of

the indigenous people, which, as they have seen it from their own experience, is probably our best likelihood to be manifested and carried out by self-determination within the context of the larger constitution.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** Thank you very much.

**CO-CHAIR RENE DUSSAULT:** Thank you. I would like to thank you again on behalf of all Commissioners for your presentation and sharing with us the information and knowledge that you have.

We are running behind on our schedule.

We will have a short break and we will resume with the presentation by Shelagh Grant.

— Short recess at 10:53 a.m.

— Upon resuming at 11:15 a.m.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Could everyone get a set. We are resuming the hearing with the presentation of Shelagh Grant.

Ms Grant, proceed whenever you are ready. Thank you.

**SHELAGH GRANT:** Thank you. I will proceed right now.

I want to thank the Commission for inviting me here. In a funny way, I appreciate having a chance to verbally say what I have been writing over a long time, probably in the same way that the Inuit appreciated having a live audience to listen to their side of the story.

Right off, I teach part-time at Trent University history and Canadian studies, but research and writing has been a primary goal and my studies have been in northern public policy and history since 1978 in archival research. It has been the total focus of my research and I have been fortunate and blessed with Dr. Hugh Keenleyside back in 1982 giving me a lot of clues on what happened in the forties.

Professor John Holmes, who was with External Affairs, has actually been my mentor and guide right through the publication of my first book and also in actually helping me translate and understand the diplomatic language of External Affairs, and he was also my hardest critic. "No, that's not right, Shelagh." I can still remember that.

So I am taking this very – a lot of people have had written full-length presentations that they are reading and for the Commission, I wish to apologize because you have a document that is in the most unconventional, unorthodox form that any academic ever presented, and it is partially because of the problem. It is so complex and my role as a historian has been trying to interface all of the issues and all of the things in chronological order so that you have a chronology that is annotated at the back so you can see where each issue fit in to when it happened.

For purposes here, I would like you to actually move – I will say one more thing about methodology, but then I would like you to move right into – no, just hold on a minute. If you want to follow, what I have done is given you a road map with that chronology because you have also two other volumes that are the actual documents.

I have done this because there has been in the past the potential of being "criticized" or someone saying, "That isn't true. That's not what the document says." I think we are all very intelligent, literate people and I have put the documents right there. So you can translate whether I have made

Shelagh Grant was a noted Arctic historian, focusing on sovereignty and security and taught History at Trent University. Her 1991 article for *CARC*, "A Case of Compounded Error" became the focal point of the sovereignty-as-motivation narrative in the early 1990s and persists to the present day

selective use of it or whether that is indeed what they said. That is one way that everybody stops and has second thoughts about this.

My outline plan and my introductory remarks were, first, changed after yesterday. I have a lot of empathy for the Inuit because I think in December of last year, when I opened a report and was told that this was all nonsense what I had said, I all of a sudden realized how it feels when you know you are accurate and correct and being told that you are not. It is a very basic feeling of shock. "Well, how do you explain this again as to what happened?"

I think they can only explain what happened. Observers, even the police – there are still distance and language barriers. They are not living with them day to day, but you were hearing how they felt and how they responded to an experience. Some of the others are peripherally themselves trying to explain what happened or why it happened in their own minds, and I think there are a couple of documents that may cast some light on what happened.

I started out with Mencken's quote of: "Nine times out of ten...there is no truth to be discovered, there is only error to be exposed."

And I guess my introductory remarks are: Instead of personalizing those errors and pointing to this person and that person, which I think is one of the reasons there has been so much of an attempt not to accept or acknowledge some of the problems going back to 1953, actually, that we shouldn't look at success or failure in terms of people but in terms of a responsibility of government so we can get on to the next phase and find a really honest reason to resolve this problem.

From there, I want to jump – methodology. All right, there has been some question. Why did I use archival sources? Number one, that is my expertise. Number two, I purposely did not interview either Inuit – and did not know any before 1991, by the way – or government officials on this issue. Partially, I didn't want to absorb the emotion of two sides that felt very strongly about it and because what I was looking for, they couldn't answer – well, the government officials might per se, but I wanted to be as objective and neutral as possible.

In 1991, I was asked if I would write a story coming from the sovereignty side by a contact and a friend who happened to be on the Board of Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, and that's quite simply: I started out of academic curiosity. Very simple. Asking, "Why was the Inuit position so different from the government position?" because, in fact, I was sitting at that time with the Greenland files in Ottawa going through the sovereignty aspect. I don't want to get into that right now.

In 1991, I realized that you can't write an academic-based report in 27 pages with people accepting it. So then I began right then to examine why my position was so different from the government's, why they were coming from they were and why I would be coming from where I was coming reading the government records.

I covered a wide variety. On the sovereignty issue, it involved Washington. It involved External Affairs. It involved Cabinet and Privy Council Office records. But in the final analysis today, that is only, to my mind, secondary to the real problem.

Then the second biggest problem was that the Northern Affairs administration records are a problem in the fact that they are official statements, wonderful memos explaining to somebody who is inquiring about. They are

For further reading, see S. Grant (2016)

all the official statements and there is a sketch of sort of what goes through and what happens.

But the real problems are not there. NWT Council minutes are not helpful from 1950 to 1953. They were from 1948 to 1950. The Stevenson papers in the Northwest Territories Archives have got all those missing memos, and I have picked up just a few selective ones.

The other measure of putting those pieces together were the RCMP records, but it had to go – Larsen would confirm something that was in the Stevenson papers, but it might have only been a sentence of Larsen's concern. But if you didn't put them together, you couldn't see that one confirmed the other.

Then we also have a problem of what we are talking about which is a very small issue in the whole problem of what was happening in Northern Affairs, supposedly, in 1953. The relocation issue was probably in Arctic Services. It took a lot of time. But in upper level officials, they had a lot of things to worry about at that time and this was only one small issue. But that does not forgive or explain the impact it would have on the Inuit people.

So you can ask me any further questions you might have on methodology, except I do want to say at the outset: I have received no reimbursement for this or for any other reason and over the last two years, I have not been aligned to either side. In fact, I met some of the Inuit relocatees for the first time yesterday. John Amagoalik was the only one and I only met him once for two minutes two years ago that I knew before.

As far as the last two years of research – let's put a little humour in this. It is called academic stubbornness. Out of curiosity and stubbornness – and you can probably define part of my personality that my family know better than anyone.

You have to be stubborn to cope with this because, in fact, it is so complicated. That's why I gave you the road map of the chronology which was the only way I started to make sense of the whole thing.

Also, the previous government studies that were done in the sixties, seventies and eighties tell you what things were admitted to and what were not, and I think that tells you in itself something else.

The significance of the sovereignty benefit – if that plan had been successful, I will argue that sovereignty would not have been a bad thing. It would have been an effective plan, but it would have had to have been a much different plan than the plan in 1953.

So when you really look at it, the sovereignty was only related to the selection of the sites and I think there was more wrong with the plan than the selection of the sites.

So sovereignty was involved in that and if the Commission wishes, I will explain some of the intricacies of the vulnerability of a portion of Ellesmere and any other – actually, it also applied to any unoccupied islands.

However, I want to say at this point that it was not one that was international-law based. It was based on political problems with the U.S. and those intelligence reports in External Affairs – some of the U.S. reports – John Holmes – were leaked on purpose to pressure Canada to moving. They all relate to uninhabited islands and to the fact that the U.S. publicly would not admit the right to sovereignty of uninhabited islands.

The fact that our discovery claims were weak was the fact that Americans actually could declare sovereignty or discovery claims on northern Ellesmere

This is a key point that does not come up often in the testimony.



– not as far as Nares in 1875. Nares was right up at Alert, but there is a midsection in there that is weak from Cape Sabine north to the area which is Alert.

We can argue that an island – there are a lot of political arguments – the east Greenland case I think you probably heard on Monday and I am not going into that.

But I can show you very quickly what the American plans were, where the weak spot was and why Americans tended to still react as they did in the war. Do first and ask later. That happened in Tuli, Greenland. They had an airstrip there in 1949 on a map that was put in accidentally in front of a weather station, handwritten notes in the permanent Joint Board of Defence, but the intelligent reports come from Tuli, Greenland in 1950 and they weren't supposed to build that airstrip until 1951, nor did they have approval for it until 1951.

So these are the sorts of thing that people on the ground were aware of and this is not anti-American. This is the reality of what happened and I don't think it is a political problem. I think it is a problem only in understanding the pressures at the time.

The pressures did not come down from External Affairs or from the Privy Council Office to have a relocation. The pressures came for re-Canadianization of various areas and that meant employment of Native people where possible at the joint weather stations.

So every employment question of using Inuit people – and, yes, you could also qualify it by the factor of its benefit to them because they are getting wage employment. But every employment of Inuit people during that period of 1953 to the early DEW line was based on re-Canadianization of the north which was a protection of sovereignty interests and has to do with a lot of post-Inuit relocations in total. I think that factor for the Commission is probably important.

So I am throwing out the Arctic sensitivities. If you want to ask me that as a question, I will cover it in detail.

One concept, though – I think it was disputed, the so-called MacDonald Report which you may have heard about. The government study missed the whole significance of the MacDonald Report. It was initially requested –and it is in the Northwest Territories Council – as an authoritarian outside report so it would be submitted to Villemars Stefanssen's and the Arctic Encyclopedia at his request.

Dr. Keenleyside's covering note on that report – it was immediately put in secret guard with a very limited number of distribution. The conclusions aren't the problem except that effective occupation is the only criteria that should be followed. The problem was under discovery and there it is dangerous. There are two paragraphs and they are in your volume – the two paragraphs about the discovery claims being dangerous. "Don't touch it. Don't mention what you have discovered because other people might claim their discoveries."

East Greenland – Ellesmere is a contained island and that is why the East Greenland case was suspicious, a problem, and that is why Craig Harbour had a sovereignty reason – because it put a settlement on Ellesmere Island which made the East Greenland case feasible.

I want to go to the problems because in the whole issue here, we have a factor of – and I have outlined the issues for you after methodology. It must

Vincent C. MacDonald was a constitutional legal scholar, Dean of the Faculty of Law at Dalhousie University from 1934-1950 and Supreme Court Justice of Nova Scotia from 1950-1964. For the full text of the MacDonald Report, see Kikkert and Lackenbauer (2014).

The final conclusion of the MacDonald Report suggests that principles of sovereignty on the basis of "discovery" were not particularly strong, but that on the whole, Canada's sovereignty claims were secure through effective occupation because "Canada has made so many displays of sovereignty, in so many respects, in so many places, for so long a period, and with so little challenge, as to establish its title to the whole of the Canadian Arctic region by effective occupation in conformity with international law." Kikkert and Lackenbauer (2014 p. 301).

The initial establishment of Craig Harbour as an RCMP Detachment in 1922 was undoubtedly related to sovereignty. See Morrison (1985) and Dick (2001).

be on page 11 or 12.

I want to add one issue. This was written very quickly, 36 hours without sleep, when I realized what I had to do. So there are typos in this – lovely ones – because it had to get to the binders. So it wasn't proofread, but there is a one issue missing and that is whether there was a basic flaw in the design or concept. I have three issues and there was a fourth.

Mr. Chartrand, you are still looking. I am sorry. It is page 8. There are three issues there. The second one is basic flaws in the design or concept.

Now, I obviously government motivations are purpose behind the relocation and the basic flaws in the design or concept I am leaving because I think you first have to determine that there was something wrong with the actions. I am going to introduce two issues, three mentioned, and then I am going to bring the document that I think may be of importance to you.

There is the question of, first of all, wages which is not on there. June 2, 1954, from Henry Larsen to the Director of the Northern Administration:

There was one matter which I am not clear about and that is the disposal of wages earned by the Resolute Bay Eskimos for their employment with, for instance, the geological survey on Prince Patrick, the RCAF, the DOT at Resolute Bay. This related to Eskimo and Amagoalik and family where their employment was at \$5 a day. I get the impression Amagoalik and his wife do not actually receive their wages either in cash or goods from the Eskimo trading store, but that the whole of their wages goes to your department.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** I am sorry, could you tell us if we have this document in order that we could follow.

**SHELAGH GRANT:** No. I am just about finished.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** We are a bit lost.

**SHELAGH GRANT:** It is in your green book, June 2, 1954. Your green book is relocation and it is chronologically in order.

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** What is the date?

**SHELAGH GRANT:** June 2, 1954. Actually, do you want to follow the chronology instead, then? That is quicker than the actual document, if you want to, and then you can go back to the actual document from the date.

In the chronology at the back of your yellow book, go to June 2, 1954.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Where are you? There are many documents and it is difficult to find it.

**SHELAGH GRANT:** Mr. Dussault, if you go to the yellow one, to the chronology, I think I have probably referred to it there. But the document is in there. I can give it to you.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** If it is in our material, it would be useful for all of us to get a hold of it.

**SHELAGH GRANT:** Yes.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** It is on page –

**SHELAGH GRANT:** They couldn't be paged because they were the actual documents I have copied.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** I have February, May and then July. I don't have a June.

**SHELAGH GRANT:** June 2, 1954.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** You go from May to July.

**SHELAGH GRANT:** Uh, oh. I was cleaning up the chronology. I may have left it out.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** This is page 88.

**SHELAGH GRANT:** I am going to have to beg a little deference on here. You're right. It is in the green book.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** We have it now. It was not easy to find.

**SHELAGH GRANT:** I want to move from there because I think if you go from there to 1956 – and I will put this in order for the Commission if they particularly – in specific order.

Henry Larsen again in his inspection report states:

The Inuit demanded to know how their account stood and stated that they wished to purchase suitable boats. Several of the Natives had good accounts with the Department Native Loan Fund

He said:

All the money earned by working for the RCAF is paid by cheque right into the department.

At this point, Larsen does not know how those credits get back into the account and he is confused himself, and he says:

Mr. Jackson promised he would look into this matter.

This is three years after they went.

Another factor on wages and – this is fur credits. This is the 14 of June 1957. We are jumping to 1957. This is by the Chief of the Arctic Division and it is to the Inspector of the RCMP.

This is in reference to a telephone conversation yesterday between Sergeant Abraham and Mr. Stevenson of our Arctic Division.

Please advise number of fox pelts each Native shipped from Resolute during 1956 and 1957 and the amount to be paid for each fox. Accounts have not been credited here and no records of this information on file.

We are talking about either a year and a half or two years – it is unclear – of no credits for furs. Now, they may have been rectified, but there is a period of time lag when people could have been buying equipment and things that they weren't credited for.

Again, in 1956, the detachment says:

Pay cheques will arrive at Resolute for signature by the Natives and forwarded in the proper manner to the department.

Those files are impossible to get behind and they knew there was a problem at Resolute. The memos tell you that. Mr. Gould was put in charge sorting it out.

I will get to the problem of – well, maybe no. No. I want to go to supplies next because I am still trying to keep chronological.

In 1956:

In the summer, the annual supplies did not arrive at Resolute. The did at Craig Harbour. Inspector Larsen in his report talked of the profound disappointment of the Inuit who had ordered the boats and equipment. As it turned out, the administration had placed the order too late.

In your green volume, there are nine memos – the first one that says that for reasons of circumstances, the order went in too late and it missed the supply boat. Then there was a negotiation and a series of memos, eight more, that really was a matter of cost.

This cost factor – I think you will have to look into it.

To air freight it, it was going to cost over \$6,000 to send up less than half of the 18.5 tons and the Department was unwilling to pay for that – it says in your memos – because, in fact, it wasn't in their budget. They asked the RCAF, the asked Air transport. Air Transport did suggest that maybe perhaps they should charter an air freight.

This went on. This was not settled. The RCMP officer at the time said that it was urgent for the welfare of the Inuit people. It is in the memos. It was finally settled. When they arrived, I don't know. But the last memo saying that it was settled was January 29th of the next year, and then it was only one ton of supplies.

I am talking about responsibility. That was not transportation admitted in that first memo. It was ordered too late.

Then I want to go to whose the economic benefit and this is probably the crux of the report and it is on – I had the yellow ones tabbed at one time and I guess the tabs got removed, but that memo I have put right at the back of – you have a tab. Is it in the right place? No. Okay, move it over one more. Take it forward. The first one is Grise Fiord. It is right behind the – it is Appendix A. Have you got it?

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** At this point, I would like maybe if you could give us a clearer picture of the points you want to make and the documents that you refer to. Some of us – we are a bit lost on your presentation at this point.

**SHELAGH GRANT:** The points I am making right at the moment –

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** It is not clear enough.

**SHELAGH GRANT:** All right. The points I am making right at the moment are the problems. So the first document was the wages that I was covering, supplies and now I want you to go to this document because it covers three major issues. I will read it out.

“Grise Fiord - August 27, 1950”

You have to go to page – again, the order is backwards – 6 under “Food Shortages”.

Shortly after the Howe arrived at Grise Fiord, the storekeeper –

I have whited out names for privacy.

who was ostensibly the operator of the trading store came to see me regarding this problem. He said that the Eskimos had come to Craig Harbour five years before and although the hunting had been good there and at Grise Fiord, there had never been enough tea, coal, oil, tobacco, flour, sugar, milk, 30-30 ammunition and duck for the tents and the store. He said that when the store had run out of food –

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Sorry, my colleagues still have to find the document. It is six pages before the blue tag in the yellow book and it is at page 6 of this particular document.

**SHELAGH GRANT:** When you are running out of time, even the binder can't get his pages in order.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** And you are reading Item g.

**SHELAGH GRANT:** Under "Food Shortages", Item g under page 6.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Yes.

**SHELAGH GRANT:** And then you have to go back over to the next page.

He said that if the police did not given them more food this winter that they would all wish to leave Grise Fiord next year. I tried to explain the

—

And I believe the food was increased in a load, but I am not sure whether it was not for another year.

.....that it was not the police who were at fault but that there was only a limited amount of money available in Ottawa to buy food and when this was used up no more food could be bought.

That was the excuse given. He had said that when the store ran out of food, heating and hunting supplies, the Eskimos did not like leaving the camp to go on hunts because the hardship caused to their wives and children by the food shortages and because of the cold in their houses.

He goes on:

I said the police had tried to get them more food this year and I believed there was more and that the situation should be better. I said I would discuss the problem in Ottawa to see whether something could be done next year so that there would be a no danger whatsoever of food shortages.

This problem is a serious one because it not only affects the Eskimos at Grise Fiord but also the reputation of the Mounted Police. When I was in Resolute Bay I was talking with two Eskimos who had been at Grise Fiord and who were going back there on the 'Howe'. They did not wish to return but there was no space for them at Resolute and they had to be transported on the 'Howe' last year from Port Harrison specifically at their request to go to Grise, we told them that they would have to go. They were most unhappy about this, not because they disliked the situation as far as the community, or the game resources were concerned, but because they could not buy the things they needed at the store. They had told the Resolute Eskimos about this and the blame was directed at the police. If we were going to operate trading stores in the north —

And this is written by a Northern Administration Office who is head of the Eastern Arctic Patrol.

for the benefit of the Eskimos these should not be set up, if as in the case of Grise Fiord, they cause hardship to the Eskimos and blacken the reputation of the police in the eyes of the Eskimo people.

This report is written July – sorry, the name is on the end. I was trying to save time or money, actually. It was written on September, I believe, from the chronology, 1958.

I discussed the interview with....with Constable Pilot and Corporal Sargent. Corporal Sargent said that when boat time had come around this year all of the Eskimos had talked to him about leaving Grise Fiord because of the food shortages.

Not just one or two, all of them.

He said he tried to explain the intricacies of the loan but this was most difficult to explain to explain to a fairly primitive people such as the Eskimos.

One of the factors which complicated the loan was that individual Eskimos ordered large items and this depleted the amount available for purchasing necessities from the Loan Fund. Corporal Sargent felt the problem of shortage of supplies could not be rectified unless a second loan was taken out for the store. He suggested that the establishment of a cooperative might also provide a solution to this problem.

So there were food shortages. There was hunger. There was cold. There were requests to return all in 1958.

Out of that, Bishop Marsh actually had suggested that the trading practices and the store system be changed back in 1956, and it was said that it would be looked into right away. In 1958, it hadn't been.

From the police reports, it looks like they got extra food the next year and that the Inuit were pleased with that. But again we have that misunderstanding of whether they can go home, who can go home, how they can go home because they were discouraged from going home, basically.

We move into the problem of what was wrong. Why was there not enough food in the store? For that, I want you to go to the next page. You will see a report there. Now we are two years later.

This is in your yellow book, Mr. Chartrand.

This is a memo from Constable Warner at Grise Fiord to the Sergeant. Constable Warner was obviously at Herschel before because is comparing what happened in Herschel where he was before to what happened at Grise Fiord. This is 1960, but he is going back to the 1958/59 trapping season. He is claiming that the Eskimos themselves received only credits valued at a total of \$6,140 for their pelts but that the Department had actually sold them at a fur auction for the value of \$17,963.65. He has the exact number for some reason, which is almost three times as much as the Eskimo were paid for it, Inuit for paid for it.

But he goes on and he says:

As you are aware the tariff for furs bought at the Trading Stores under R.C.M. Police supervision is set out by the Department of Northern Affairs.

They don't create them. They just set them per pelt.

The writer knows from personal experience that fur taken at the Trading Store at Herschel Island –

Which is in the western Arctic.

Much of this presentation covers years following the relocation, pointing to ongoing issues at the relocation sites.

– has been sold to the Hudson’s Bay Company at Aklavik by our members. In this way, the trapper received an extra \$10.00 to \$15.00 per pelt.

As compared to what the Grise Fiord Inuit got.

That memo must have rang bells because if you flip over to the next, just turn the next page – and there are several memos involved in between there, but this is the final decision to go for a co-operative. The discussion was that summer between Alex Stevenson of Northern Affairs and the author of this report who is Paul Godt, Supervisor of Co-operatives.

The decision then is by January 1961 that the co-operative would be set up. That is eight years since they arrived.

But if you notice on “The Problem”, the problem was that all of the profits from the stores and all the profits from the fur sales went into the Eskimo Loan Fund. Even as of 1958, the government was still restricting how much of that Eskimo Loan Fund each year could be used to buy government stores.

You’re right, it wasn’t the RCMP that did that. It was the Northern Administration that set the amount that could be used for ordering from the government stores.

Mr. Godt sets out that the problem was:

One of the stores with an initial loan of \$5,000 had made exceptional fine progress under supervision and assistance of the local RCMP authorities. The loan has been repaid and substantial savings have been realized to provide sufficient working capital for the steady increasing volume of business which now amounts to \$30,000 - \$35,000 per year. These earnings have been derived from operating profits, with a rather small overhead, and from profits realized from fur sales during a number of good fur years with increasing prices. Under the present system, where the original loan works like a revolving fund, it has not been impossible to pass on to Eskimos any savings realized from the fur sales.

My argument here is that the economic success which was proclaimed by the Department and measured in the number of pelts and the number of furs that were obtained at both stores, that much of that economic success went into what I call the government loan fund, rather than the Inuit Loan Fund, in 1958, as an example, to the detriment or adversity of the Inuit experiencing cold and hunger.

According to Professor Soberman who was asking me if I had more information, knew where that information on the loan fund went to, he hadn’t been able to track down the accounts. They have disappeared. I am going to go into this. There are other incidents of slow to respond to action. It was set up that way. Why couldn’t it have been set up the way Herschel Island was where the police sold them to the Hudson’s Bay Company? The question right from the beginning.

There has been a question raised on the moral issue before I go into what happened to the plan of why it happened. In 1951, an Eastern Arctic Patrol again, there was a curious item under something called “Justice: A Philosophical Thought by Alex Stevenson”.

He was talking about punishment for capital offenses. In discussing punishment, he says that some people – and you have that document in your green volume eventually – considered it sufficient punishment if a Native is

The establishment and development of co-operative stores in the North takes place throughout the 1950s with Resolute and Grise turning to a co-op structure in 1960. This is an ongoing program throughout the arctic, not just something happening at the relocation sites. See Lackenbauer and Clancy (2019)

The government admits that the sale of furs and other handicrafts at Resolute and Grise were used to pay back the Eskimo Loan Fund as part of the accounting process, though it is clear that this was never communicated to Inuit, including those who held the debt of the Loan Fund. Grant’s assertion that this economic control of Inuit income and expenditure was a problem is an important element of the story of government control, particularly in response to managing the communities after relocation. For further reading, see Cavell (2021).

removed from his home region and banished permanently to another part of the Arctic.

Equally illuminating if you jump back to 1954, the Inuit have already been there for a year. Under Pangnirtung, there is reference to to – I believe one might have been a murderer – who were banished from Pangnirtung from their home communities for offenses and they have asked for clemency for one man and his wife to [unreadable] because of homesickness. It was felt that they had served out his time. It was four to five years.

Commissioners, I have picked up a lot of the questions that have come through. You had asked questions of – I believe the Inuit had an expectation and had agreed to go. The only thing I want to ask is a question – that two Inuit families or Inuk hunters were mentioned in the winter report of that year as being a problem of hanging around the post. Those two names end up in Grise Fiord the next year. I am just quoting circumstance on top of freedom of offering to go, and I think that is something that nobody knows and can answer specifically. I am just lazing it as questions of coincidence.

A dreamed turn into a nightmare and this was the missing link. What happened? In 1948, the first Advisory Committee on Northern Development, the whole issue of re-Canadianization. The Chairman of the Committee, Dr. Keenleyside, urged using Native employment at the military bases as part of re-Canadianizing the military establishments.

There are discussions that go on over that period regarding using Native employment, mostly at the military bases. Then:

I knew personally there was another idea, another vision. We never talked about the relocation.

All he had said is that he was incredibly disappointed that his whole plans or thoughts of what might have happened and he included health, education, economic development that never came to fruition.

I knew he had purposely hired Mr. Sivertz in December of 1949 and I knew in the NWT Council minutes, it was set out in detail as far as why Mr. Cantley was hired. It was only the position at that time.

There were two programs, ideas going consistently. I want you to go where the tab, I think, is sitting in your yellow book, if it didn't get mixed up.

This individual was hired as a special assistant for a short period of time in the Department of Mines and Resources. This report was submitted to the Transportation Sub-Committee or the Advisory Committee of Development, but was part and parcel of a discussion at the Northwest Territories Council. It gets referred to in a 1964 published account by the author who was very upset at what happened in 1953.

Future developments in the Arctic. It is written by D. Jenness. I actually had somebody try to tell me that it was not Dr. Diamond Jenness, and then I had Dr. Bill Taylor check with Stew Jenness and he said that fit. That's where his dad was at the time. If it is not Diamond Jenness, it is still Dr. D. Jenness who sat on the Transportation Committee.

He saw U.S. government policy. He saw that Canada was going to have to assume some load. He also saw that there was going to be mineral development, and you will notice that graph. He also saw the Greenland model. It is all based on the Greenland model. He saw a population explosion as a result of better health and medical care, and what were these people going to do? Where were they going to be?



His idea – and he puts it in a form of a question. This is a geographer's solution and there were two other plans involved.

Staff the Inuit, staff the administrative and scientific stations in the Arctic. Exploit the local resources of minerals, furs and fish. Supply all local surface transportation.

He actually believed in getting economic grants to build boats and for the Inuit to run the whole shipping in the Arctic islands, the small shipping.

Colonize those areas now uninhabited in which it may be advisable to establish permanent settlements in order to assert and vindicate Canadian sovereignty.

Out of that, he admits – this is a dread – it will cost a lot of money. It will involve schools, day schools and then vocational schools – vocational schools at Aklavik, Churchill or Coppermine and Frobisher Bay. The vocational school at Frobisher Bay would finally get built in 1969. This is 1948.

Everything according to Keenleyside's philosophy should be done in advance to prepare the Inuit for gradual assimilation into development of their own northern homelands. His plan was a 25-year plan. He started the schools at Fort Harrison, Fort Chimo, South Hampton or Coral Harbour on South Hampton Island and Coppermine in 1950.

As a result, James Cantley was hired to look into the economics. He was supposed to be a businessman with experience in the fur trade and one of his mandates was to look at the subsidies of furs. In other words, put a price platform so that you could buffer the rise and fall of the price of furs.

He also advised taking over the Hudson's Bay Company and/or doing a gradual intergrade, the two of them, so that you would actually have a government store or a co-operative store handling the fur trade. Henry Larsen picked up on this. He believed, for whatever reasons, that the Hudson's Bay Company did exploit the Inuit and his reports claim so. He saw government stores or co-operatives as the answer. Unfortunately, people in Arctic Services ended up supporting the Hudson's Bay Company against private enterprise.

Dr. Keenleyside left. Diamond Jenness left and you have some people left who with the Korean war, a new set of principles, a budget that was restricted, left over to do something, as Professor Diabaldo said, and a lot of excitement.

You have a report that we are opening a weather station at Eureka and the request to do wildlife studies up there. The Chief of Arctic Division says, "No, no. Go slow because we don't have to put an Inuit Eskimo settlement there." He says:

In case in point, I do not think we should stress any immediate requirement for Eskimos. In any mass movement of Eskimos, we shall use more accessible areas first. However, if these Arctic weather stations prove to be a continuing project, we may find it advisable to place one or two Eskimo families at certain stations.

In 1950, they didn't know whether they were going to be permanent. Alert wasn't established until the summer of 1950.

So what happened to the plan? I guess that is where I come into – the economic benefit I have covered – the reality of a dream turned into maybe a bit of a nightmare for the Inuit people – not to the planners in Ottawa. They

For further reading on Keenleyside, see S. Grant (1990)

See Cantley (1950), excerpted in Lackenbauer (2020)

In contrast to Cantley, Inspector Larsen believed it was important for the RCMP to run the stores. See Cavell (2021)

saw sovereignty could be established in a much different way, and I haven't pulled out all the figures, but the other reason Diamond Jenness used – and he also talked about moving Inuit north in 1944 and 1945, but he also said there was another reason of establishing sovereignty and this was to the RCAF. That was by setting up scientific stations and enormous expenditure went into Arctic science development.

Just as an example, when there are memos showing that the request for an extension of \$250,000 to the Inuit or the Eskimo Loan Fund in 1954 was restricted, that is too much. In 1955, the transportation costs alone of operation of Franklin – only the transportation costs, not the freight of the equipment. Transportation was \$130,000.

So, consequently, you have an idea that started as maybe a part of a whole dream, what did it get added on to this dream? It is a different one.

A 1952 report, L.A.C.O. Hunt Administrator of the western Arctic – he gives only one reason. He doesn't talk. The dual concept of benefit to the Eskimo or Inuit, Arctic sovereignty or benefit to somebody else has always been inherent since 1920 when they first talked about moving Eskimos north for sovereignty reasons. You still had to benefit the Inuit. In other words, you didn't just move any of them. You had to give them a reason to go. Thank goodness we weren't that callous.

But L.A.C.O. Hunt in 1952 is explaining the whole relocation policy and he is talking about Banks Island. On your Eskimo Loan Fund, that is no. 4 on the list that we don't talk about because it wasn't High Arctic.

He said:

The N.W.T. Administration which is responsible for Eskimo affairs was anxious to eliminate large scale relief among the Eskimo on the mainland, and all efforts were in consequence directed towards their rehabilitation to the Arctic Islands.

And there is the word "rehabilitation".

You are asking me as a person what went wrong. If you look at the Eskimo Loan Funds, the original document, it wasn't an experiment or a pilot study to see if they could adapt. For that reason, they didn't put any money into it. It was to pay for itself. Other than the transportation up there, it was to pay for itself out of this revolving Eskimo Loan and the profits and it has continued to pay for itself out of the Eskimo Loan Fund to an excess of profits going into the Department's fund until 1960 or 1961 when it became a co-operative and when the decision is to build schools, educational facilities, in other words all of the facilities that were left in Port Harrison. So there is something wrong with the whole plan, the whole concept.

Then I do want to say this and I want to say it very earnestly: That the approval process is also at fault. The Eskimo Affairs Conference in 1952 was not a policy body forum. It was a forum for discussion. Every representative group by the instructions on the initial part were allowed five minutes to talk on each issue. The consensus – and if you look at the proceedings, there are no minutes. There is just proceedings.

It was felt that – and there were two agreed. One was on education and one was setting up an Eskimo Affairs Committee and that Eskimo Affairs Committee did meet for the first time in October 1952. Under relocation policy, they agreed generally to maybe move people from overpopulated areas, but on policy, there was only one paragraph involved. That relates to: It should be investigated the places of Cape Sabine, which was the northern

The ELF supported the relocations in 1953 as well as other projects in the North. In 1954, it supported a variety of economic projects. For further reading, see Tester and Kulchyski (1994).

For further reading, see Clancy (1987) and Lackenbauer and Clancy (2019).

part of Ellesmere, and Craig Harbour. Nothing on Resolute.

By the next Eskimo Affairs meeting the next May, the decision has been approved. It has gone ahead and it is in force. In other words, something in the system fell through the cracks. The input of the Commissioner of the RCMP, the input of the churches, the missionary people involved with the Inuit didn't have a say on the approval.

The other problem on that approval process was that there were complaints almost immediately, even before they got up there. The NWT Council, where the RCMP did have a voice, had said, "Stop. You can't move," and this was regarding Resolute. The Resolute issue is complicated because Larsen's reports – it becomes evidently clear and from the ACND that they thought only trained people from Fort Chimo – because that telegram to Fort Chimo is looking for trained truck drivers, machine operators and it is specifically to go to one place one, and that is Resolute.

The telegram to Port Harrison was to go to Craig Harbour and Cape Sabine on Ellesmere. It got shifted in a change of plans that occurred from March to June when it was decided that the Fort Chimo people had lived in homes already. The government said, "This is only an experiment. We are not putting any amount into accommodation at this point."

So we have an experiment that was supposed to be part of a plan. The RCMP approved it. The question and the talk of Eskimo – in fact, the Director of the Northern Administration does say in the Advisory Committee on Northern Development that there were three men that may be available for work in the north. That may have been something else. The minutes are too vague to tell who was available for what. That is in May.

In other words, the whole process of this plan may not have been important to the people in Ottawa, but it was to the people who went. Simple terms.

The process of getting back down, as I said, is another problem because I believe from that report, which, by the way – in some files, I found that 1958 special report and there is one for Resolute and one for Grise. In some files, it is missing, the interim pages that talk about of the food shortages. The ones that are in the Department files just go page 1 and then to the people who were transported. Somebody had removed the problems. I maintain in total that mentally somebody has removed the fact of people reporting – mentally ignored the fact or denied that there were problems.

Sometimes it comes through vaguely, "Well, there may be social problems," or, "We are working this out." But in the official statements, it is talked about as a success. The Montreal Gazette, "Eskimo homes in the Arctic said to be a success," and all of a sudden we are into the process of trying to live up to an expectation.

But the people in Ottawa are not aware exactly – Grise Fiord really is out of the way. If you are not on the patrol boat, you don't visit it. The RCAF officers see Resolute, but Grise is really out of the way or visual.

I guess, in a sense, I am saying that I didn't realize Diamond Jenness was that much involved and I could never understand why his book was said to be said inaccurate, why government studies picked quotes out of it that were unrelated to the relocation section, which he calls "steering without a compass", by the way, and I think he is looking at the dates between 1955 and 1953. He has a lot of admiration for when Gordon Robertson comes in and what he is trying to do.

This is extremely important. For those in Ottawa, this was a pilot program. It was discussed briefly at the EAC and approved by the Deputy Minister. It is not clear that the Minister knew about the relocations other than being informed about it, thus the ACND would not have known or been involved in the planning either. This speaks in part to the way Northern Affairs operated in the early 1950s and in part to the relatively small scale of this project.

See Jenness (1964).

I think it is a problem from the top knowing what is happening at the bottom within a department of that size. I think it is a problem with Arctic Services knowing exactly what is happening, its divided authority. What is really wrong with the policy?

Diamond Jenness says it much better than I and because he was part of the original idea, maybe he more than I could tell you exactly what he wrote in 1964. He attacks the policy being a three-point policy. I wondered how he knew.

He says: "The advocate of these three programs –" He quotes the policy.

– did not realize apparently that he was deliberately reviving a policy which Canada had adopted with their Indians more than two centuries before and that he was perpetuating her racial problems by rejecting the Eskimos as equal partners with the whites in developing Canada's northlands.

By segregating them not in carefully surveyed reservations adjacent to white settlements but in remote regions, for the moment not too exploitable by white man, where he expected them to support themselves without becoming a drag chain on the rest of Canada – he is talking about the welfare payments.

Unconsciously, he was advocating a form of apartheid, the creation of a Canada Bantustan. He was following in the footsteps of that spokesman for the Northwest Territories Council in the s who believed that Eskimos could be useful servants at police and trading posts to furnish a pool of unskilled labour for any construction that might arise in the north and could supply a few of the furs that adorn our ladies in Paris and New York, but that in race in culture they differ from the white man and fall far behind of their knowledge and skills. Kennedy agreed – must carry the white man's burden. She must protect and sucker her Eskimos and Indians whenever they need her help.

Her missionaries must instill into them the comforts of the Christian faith, but she is not obligated, like Abraham, to take them to her bosom. She should shelter them in her own homeland where benevolently ruled by government officials they can pursue the same life as their forefathers without obstructing in any way the progress of their white county men.

There is one very angry man. He had a dream, as many others did in the administration, from 1948 to 1950 and it fell apart.

Dr. Keenleyside left partly out of the delusion that his budget was going to be totally cut of the plans that he had for health and education in the north, but there was also another opportunity. He said that when you are hurt in one way, there is opportunity that opens the other and when he couldn't do what he wanted to do in Canada, the Korean War intervening was the excuse. He took a position at the United Nations where he thought he could further his commitment to mankind and humanity.

There was one very angry Diamond Jenness because he thought the Inuit could be really a part of what was happening in the development of the north. He had worked with them and he honestly believed in their ability and that all they needed was training. Unfortunately, that training needed money. So that was my dream that turned into a nightmare.

The approval process, I think, went on. There was a problem and on

page 21, you have a quote of how the Department was still getting around approvals of the Eskimo Affairs Committee. It was not until 1959, actually, in the Conservative government that there was an insistence that the Inuit should be asked to sit in on the Eskimo Affairs Committee.

It was an attitude of how to get around questioning decisions made by the Northern Administration.

This is the attitude I have instructed our Northern Service Officers to adopt in their dealings in the field with missionaries and traders, so that we always reserve our position, and our right and duty to act independently of their wishes, and possibly on some occasions against their interests which may not be public or general.

That is a failure of a government system to work because the checks and balances have been removed. That is maybe why people didn't react as fast as they could. Communication and distance was definitely a problem and culture of why the Inuit couldn't get their problems translated over into action.

But the bottom line I want to talk about in one page are my comments because I feel what has happened – and I have a lot of empathy for what Bob Williamson said. I have enormous empathy for the Inuit people when I realized nothing was going to come through the system to get them back. I have empathy for the women and children. It was real – hunger and cold. There were other little – the police tried to do something. They tried to get one Inuit hunter to stay back with them when they went hunting so that the women wouldn't be alone and cold and frozen. At Grise Fiord, for a number of years, they were sixty miles away from the police post.

I am asking the Commission to look at the situation as a failure of process which belongs in government accountability and government responsibility because I maintain it has become so personalized as far as people personally feeling they are being attacked. Maybe they are responsible here and there, but in a system that had worked properly, those checks and balances should have been there to prevent it happening.

Perhaps the people involved became too convinced of their infallibility and that the success and failure was theirs instead of the projects or the development of the north, its success and failure, was theirs instead of the governments, and somehow you get mixed up in what is what. Instead of only being part of something, of a dream that didn't happen, of a relocation plan that you thought or expected to happen, it didn't happen that way.

A government official said this to me privately: that the problem was not 1953, but as what would be considered a scandal of the cover-up that went on since. Now, what started as a bent truth or a little white lie to create an image of success hoping that the success would catch up to the expectation all of a sudden becomes something that has to be defended at all costs. I think we have to erase that right now in going through those studies.

In 1968, they did note that you do not move Inuit at a distance from family and kin unless you financially support means of returning them and means of them having going back to visit. But no such conditions or no such offerings were made for those Inuit at Grise Fiord or Resolute. That is a meeting held in 1968 and is covered by a covering letter in 1969. Again, the Stevenson papers came up with a lot of interesting things that they knew about.

Another issue at the time was to give them proper information in advance to what they were going to so that they wouldn't have undue expectations. It gives you a signal of maybe what happened before.

By 1968, they knew the problems. By 1977, they started officially continuing the denial process that there was a problem. They had another study in 1982 to prove what actually Alex Stevenson told them in 1977, that there were indeed promises. He should know; he verified them. He switched them from one year to two years, it looks like from his patrol report, but he also admitted to sovereignty. He also twice – on two incidents – admitted to other factors.

Rumours of requests. He didn't say that there was anything specific and if you are going to get into a game of semantics, whether it is planned or proposals or general or whether there was a request that you had the actual police request on a piece of paper handed in to Ottawa, no requests came through that system. But that does not mean that people didn't know that they wanted to return. And to the Inuit, that was their request to return and they were discouraged to.

In 1966, George Wenzel brought through a rather disturbing report that the government Coastguard had said that they would not return Inuit or take them back on visits. This was not the quotes in my general comments and he has the document. The government was not in the business of transporting Inuit, but they would transport supplies and the government personnel.

So we created a plan without a means of following through on it. It would have been expensive, but the plan was created.

So I am going to say over the past two years of my research that I provided a lot of answers I didn't like finding. It adds new factors for consideration as far as the written and unwritten objectives, and that's why all of a sudden the sovereignty issue was of no consequence whatsoever. In fact, if the first dream had happened, it wouldn't have been a problem.

Members of the Department, I believe, had full knowledge of the sovereignty intention, but if you want to use semantic words and say, "Re-Canadianization hasn't got a sovereignty issue," fine. You can use that game. We all know the real world.

There were a number of government-funded field studies that did have the answers and they are very difficult to find. There are two that I haven't had a chance to read and I think Bob Williamson was part writer of one of them. It just arrived last Saturday. I am pulling them all in. I am getting the names and starting to pull them all in, plus the meetings that were held to discuss them. They are in the Stevenson report.

Is it not doubly dishonourable to penalize those who first took part in an experiment to see if they can adapt? I am asking that because it was only set up as an experiment, but the experiment went on for seven years before it was financially funded into something else.

Did the Inuit know they were part of an experiment, an experiment that involved placing them away from the government store so that they would become more independent and not rely on hand-outs? I don't think that was explained to them.

Did they know that they couldn't get close to – pablum, by the way, and powdered milk were important to young babies at the time. Did they know there was that distance? I don't think they did and I don't think the people in Ottawa really understood the problems of the simple idea and what was

Stevenson's paper is reproduced as Document 89 in S. Grant (2016).

really happening out in the field.

I think somehow the RCMP at the detachment were caught right in the middle with the responsibility on one side and some of those reports going to their superiors. They are not going to tell of the problems that they should have solved or should have prevented. They are going to report that everything is going well and hopefully by the time the boat arrives, it has gone well. The incredible onus on them in that sense is just a broad plan that shouldn't have been approved and probably wouldn't have been approved if it had gone through the right process.

I think we have to depersonalize it. My heart goes out to the Inuit. My heart goes out to 80-year old former officials who have done a lot in a lot of other fields in Canada government, that they should think that they are personally responsible.

I think we have to depersonalize the individual responsibility and I think we have to put it into the reality of a breakdown of a little part of our government process that had enormously adverse effects on Inuit people and that that adversity had grown because we refused to believe their story. If it had been resolved back in 1966, 1973 when they asked to go back, we wouldn't be here. It is much of that reluctance.

Finally, two lines. Can we dispel the notion of infallibility of government for once? Can apologize? I do in my heart. Can we admit to the truth of what may have happened on both sides or are we just going to continue to expose the errors?

I am sorry to have made such a complicated issue more complicated, but I can honestly say all the factors are incredibly complicated and to try to sort them together, it is not just one piece of paper and it is not just one general problem. It is everything put together that is the problem.

Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you. I would like to ask you as a start: To repeat your views on the August 27, 1958 memo –

**SHELAGH GRANT:** I will give you the full memo with the signature at the bottom which is on page 11, I think.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you. But this memo is an interview with Corporal Sargent and others.

**SHELAGH GRANT:** It is the –

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** In fact, what I would like you to concentrate on is – you read the excerpt on the left-hand side about the desire of people to leave Grise Fiord. So I want to know if your view is what is said there that the whole group in Grise Fiord wanted to be returned back to Port Harrison because of the difficulty to get things in the store? Is this your view in reading this?

**SHELAGH GRANT:** I think the emphasis they wanted to leave – now, leaving where?

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** That is my question. I read the text and I wanted to know –

**SHELAGH GRANT:** In 1956, there was one Inuk from Pond Inlet who wanted to leave and couldn't, but then he got permission to go because of

sick relatives the following year. So there is already a precedent that when you request it, there is a whole year that passes before you are allowed to.

I don't think the Inuit understood the process of getting a request to the police, the police to the Northern Administration, the Northern Administration back. I believe, in all fairness, that they were told they were to go to Montreal. It wasn't that easy.

If you get to Resolute – by 1959 and 1960, they wanted to go to Resolute because you were at least closer to friends or there are planes there. People had visited – two men had gone and looked for wives at Resolute. I mean, there is logic rationale in there, but at Grise they were totally isolated and if you are hungry and you are cold – there was period there that they felt that way obviously and this officer in charge of the Eastern Arctic Patrol reported that.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** I understand from your answer that it is quite obvious they wanted to leave for somewhere, but that being said, your point of view is that it is – from your reading of the text and the whole context –

**SHELAGH GRANT:** I think they wanted to go home.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Yes. That's your point of view.

**SHELAGH GRANT:** Yes. Resolute would be the other option because family and friends were there.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** And this was the only document that you found relating specifically as this to the fact that the community wanted to leave Grise Fiord? You didn't come across –

**SHELAGH GRANT:** In 1956, there was talk of – and I believe Alan Marcus has the full one, but there was discussion of leaving. Again, what gets reported as discussion of leaving and what gets reported within – I think you have that communication gap – between there – there is no question – on the feeling that you can't go right away or you can't go for another year or we will discuss it in another year. The police report said, "Some believe they may wish to return." The police reports say, "May wish to return in another year." That is the way it is put in the police report.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you. Commissioner Chartrand, please.

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** Thank you for your presentation, Dr. Grant.

I would like to ask you a question about the standards for the assessment of the policy in its implementation that you would recommend to us.

You have indicated that issues have to be depersonalized. I think we recognize our own eyes are subjective. It then becomes necessary to craft some objective lenses using which we might appropriately for our purposes look at the policies and the manner in which these policies were implemented.

We have to ask: Did they do the right thing or did they not do the right thing? As you have indicated, we cannot do that with our subjective eyes. We need an objective standard.

I am searching in both your document – I looked at methodology on page 4 in particular and I listened to your oral presentation, and I would like to ask this question to obtain your assistance in assisting me to understand the



objective standard, what you apply in your work for the assessment of this policy.

I think it will be generally agreed that one cannot rely on the facts speaking for themselves *res ipso loquitur*. We need, it seems, some interpretative rules against which to assess the facts perhaps against, for our purposes, an intended reason or an intended goal for looking at them in the first place.

Let me refer to one or two very brief examples to illustrate the difficulty which arises for us who are required to look at conflicting views in different reports. I will just refer very briefly to two illustrations of the difficulty.

**SHELAGH GRANT:** All right.

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** In your earlier work or in an earlier work that I have seen, you have made some references to the unavailability of marriage partners, if I may put the issue that way, and that received – you referred, I think, to the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights as a standard by which that particular hardship might be measured.

One of your critics admitted on the facts of hardship, but, again, there is no standard available against which one can measure. Was there a hardship or was there not a hardship? One could go on forever that way and call into aid the old tune, “Duelling Banjos,” but I think we could never get anywhere unless we have a standard.

If one looks at standards such as human rights standards as an example and we might provide answers to some of the questions that you have put – who is responsible? The people at the top or the people at the bottom? International standards, for example, put the responsibility on state and its institutions through which it acts and its agents and so on.

I wonder if you have discarded those standards which we saw in your earlier work and, in particular, what objective standards are you urging us to adopt now? You have suggested that this issue be looked at as a matter of process, but the question is still outstanding: By what standards are we going to assess the process to determine whether it was good or bad?

**SHELAGH GRANT:** That is an excellent point and a well-appreciated one. When I wrote it in 1991, there had been no Canadian Human Rights Commission study into the issue and I think a lot of those factors of the problem of how do you evaluate it – and, as I said at the outset today, I am no legal expert. So I was not making specific recommendations of what to recommend.

However, I support Dan Soberman’s view completely and if you want to look at the values, I have to follow a legal interpretation that comes from the Canadian Human Rights Commission interpretation. I believe it belonged to a moral right, an ethical right because the United Nations had criticized Canada on Inuit policy during the 1950s. That is mentioned in the Stead Report specifically. Dr. Gordon Stead was part of the Advisory Committee on Northern Development and he actually had stated that it was an issue that had been brought up in the United Nations.

We are still digging up as to whether it was in minutes or whether it was something that they brought up and it came back from a committee. But as to what moral right or ethical right, I think Dan Soberman covered that last night.

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** I am sorry, I may not have understood the purpose of your study.

It is an historical analysis, but, again, is it intended to throw some light on the question as to whether this was a bad thing or this was a good thing? If that is a purpose, then we must have a standard. I am not urging a legal standard upon you. I am only asking what standard you might adopt. What standard do you adopt, an historical standard to assess the morality of an issue? Perhaps you are indicating it here. So I am searching for the standard that you apply in coming to the conclusion that some things were good or they were bad, whichever one you might conclude.

**SHELAGH GRANT:** All right. When I threw away my notes and decided to ad lib, I left out the fact that I saw myself here as an investigator rather than an essayist or a professor giving a final paper. I was reporting on my findings because I think there has been so many added layers of interpretation on top of the actual documents and what actually really happened. I was really trying to play the investigative role and give you what had happened.

Out of what had happened – and that is under “Methodology” – I guess I am asking the Commission to evaluate that in two theorems whether it was appropriate to the time and whether the refusal to acknowledge and cast the blame that the Inuit maybe weren’t telling the whole story is equally inappropriate, is less inappropriate.

I think there are two issues at stake, quite frankly. I think one happened then and one happened since then.

Does that answer your question?

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** Yes, I think it does very well. Thank you. I will repeat it to make sure I have it right.

I think you are indicating that you sought to dig up the facts and to present them and you did not assume that the facts speak for themselves, but you wished to present these facts to us in order to urge this Commission to evaluate for itself whether what was done was appropriate to the time, to use your expression, and that, ergo, you are concluding that there is still that work to be done on the part of this Commission.

Do I understand that correctly?

**SHELAGH GRANT:** Yes. One point. I had a recommendation in there and then I took it out, but personally – and I don’t have a reason to believe that my personal opinion is important in this stage because I think the Commission’s opinion is more important – I would like to see a team taskforce that involved legal, Inuit, cultural, sociological, maybe history, but it is a multitude of issues that are involved that are important. I don’t think one person can do it totally and do it well – not just to look into it, but I would like to see them as getting the basis and then step one in negotiating. I would like to see it moved out of the Department which, for whatever reason, feels it is personally responsible and put in to a mediation process of a solution quietly without threateningly all by itself.

Maybe that is just Shelagh Grant who wants to facilitate something happening sooner rather than later, and maybe that doesn’t fit with the legal process or the government process, but that is what I would like to recommend.

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** Thank you again.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you. Mary Sillett, please.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Thank you very much.

Without preamble, I am just going to ask these questions and I hope you can understand why.

We were told, I guess, of one of the objectives of the federal government in relocating the Inukjuak Inuit to Resolute and Grise Fiord was to make the Inuit as self-sufficient as possible and not to depend upon the RCMP posts, not to depend upon the equivalent of HBC posts, not to depend upon old age pensions, et cetera.

I was wondering: In your research, did you think about how able the Inuit that were relocated – how able were they to meet that objective? I asked that thinking that, for example, if you were to put me in Ukuk (PH.) where my grandfather lived and said, “Live,” I don’t know if I would be able to do it considering that I have lived in the south for a long time.

I am wondering: In your opinion, did the Inuit have the abilities to be able to meet that government objectivity?

**SHELAGH GRANT:** That is a good question because I have debated that with Dr. Diabaldo and I have actually talked to an RCMP constable about it.

The fact that they survived is a credit to their ability and probably to the police in some respects, but certainly to their ability. But if you look at Diamond Jenness’ perspective, they didn’t agree to go out to survive.

What they were trying to do by placing them back in time was to reincarnate all of their prior abilities and you could say that they weren’t totally – primitive is the wrong word for it. They had already been influenced by the whalers, by the fur traders for a long time and depended on that ability of other goods from whalers and Hudson’s Bay posts and traders, unless you were going to talk about some of them who had literally no contact in the centre. There were little pockets that had less contact with traders.

Were they capable? They were capable. They proved themselves capable, but did they know that was part of their project when they were going up?

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** I guess one thing that you said surprised me based on what we had heard in the previous days. We had heard that the Inukjuak Inuit were used to living in tents, were used to living in igloos and for them to move to Grise Fiord or Resolute Bay to live in the same kind of conditions was not extraordinary.

You were saying, for example, that some Gujuak (PH.) Inuit – I don’t know if the Inukjuak Inuit were included in that – had already lived in homes. Were there any Inukjuak Inuit who had used –

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** There was an old U.S. Airforce base. These people were actually employed with the U.S. AAF during World War II and when the base was shut down, which was about 1947/48, it was perceived that they had lost their hunting skills or the independence and they did increase their welfare payments all of a sudden, supposedly, out of that.

But there was the perception that here they were trained already as truck drivers, as machine operators and that maybe at Resolute – and certainly the Department of Transport had assumed that there was this fit. But as I said, the communications in those days from the memos, the disproportionate connection of those memos and the timing of them was absolutely extraordinary between the time that it was thought of.

The proposal went through in March and they were gone in July. The proposal was first put down in rough form before it was approved and that

was the end of November, the 1st of December. At the end of December, it was still debatable as to whether there were problems with society.

So we are talking about something that was really in physical terms put together for those locations – very quickly.

Yes, they had, but would they survive? The other options were to put them near a fur trading post and the Hudson's Bay Company – there is a memo that is not in there unfortunately. It is December 1951, Nichols to Cheshire that is the proposal of relocating to elsewhere or to Ellesmere because of the earlier thought.

No, the Hudson's Bay Company did not want to go to Ellesmere. They said, "But we need more trappers here in the Pond Inlet/Arctic Bay/Clyde River area." That is why I say there were other choices out there.

The 1952 Hudson Eastern Arctic Patrol report also mentions about the availability at the Arctic Bay area. It could take 40 more families. Clyde River could take more people.

No, this is where the sovereignty-driven part comes into it of the locations.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Could you tell me what employment opportunities were there in Grise Fiord? I think we are fairly clear on the employment opportunities there were in –

**SHELAGH GRANT:** The police post.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** All right.

**SHELAGH GRANT:** I think there was a thought as to whether – there was a thought eventually that scientific expeditions would use people from Grise Fiord as well as Resolute, whether on Northern Ellesmere or that, as guides. But when you just arrive there for one or two years, you are not exactly an expert and the argument was made that the Defence Research Board, for instance, could continue using their Greenland guides because only they knew Northern Ellesmere.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** My final question is: We have heard some presentations which say that there was no hardship. There certainly was no hunger in the High Arctic and certainly there was lots of game. Then we hear other people, especially in April, saying that there was a lot of hunger.

I was wondering: Based on your research, could you explain these real differences?

**SHELAGH GRANT:** This is where I must admit I was looking in the government records. I tried not to even relate to synthesize it with what the Inuit story was because I don't think any Inuit, from what I have studied and learned of their culture – I have been up myself to the Arctic and I have talked to them. I don't think they complain of hunger the way we do. They can go one or two days without food and that is sort of normal. Hunger is something that is not having food period.

Specifically, I think the problem in 1958 – and may have been right from the beginning – was not having access to "white man's food" or the government store food which they had been used to for years and years with the trading post.

Then there is the family allowance, we have to admit, and there is the fact that the old age pension was boosted from \$8 to \$40 a month which makes

Some of what Grant is saying here is in relation to other relocation projects that were specifically based on employment plans - Inuit were sent to Churchill, Arctic Bay, Clyde River and elsewhere to engage in wage employment throughout the 1950s and this was often discussed at EAC. For further reading, see Tester and Kulchyski (1994).

an enormous difference in the life of an Inuit family that you might want to stay closer to the post if you had an old – if your mother was 70 years old.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Georges Erasmus, please.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Could you tell me about the issue here you mention a number of times in your report – it starts very early on – point 6:

The attitude of the administration reflected a regressive change from the progressive liberal attitudes of the late 1940s, administration to an apparent entrenchment of more conservative views.

And you say:

– with evidence that will show of such attitudes do not reflect the general opinion of the times.

Could you talk a little bit more about that? Was that when Hudson Bay officials were being hired and Diamond Jenness had just walked out the door? Was that what you were talking about?

**SHELAGH GRANT:** I am talking about – I think there was a very idealistic dream. There is a real sense of it that Dr. Keenleyside was a bit of an idealist, a small “I” liberal, very progressive. His ideas would have cost a lot of money and there were a lot of people who followed him or believed in his – whether Jack Pickersgill, Pearson, Arnold Heaney – he was part of a gender that they believed in that. But then when you have the atomic bomb test in the fall of 1949 and then you have outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950, changing circumstances – during that period of months, Dr. Keenleyside was down in South America loaned to the UN on a technical trade mission in Bolivia.

When he came back, the whole circumstances had changed. His budget was cut. The rules of what he could do were changed. Also, he had been pressured for a year at that point to take the UN position.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** He had been pressured for a year what?

**SHELAGH GRANT:** To take the position in the UN, to head up the head of the Economic Technical Advisory Committee.

He no longer had, I don’t think, the influence to fulfil the dream he had hoped for and he left. The people who came in had different agendas.

Henry Larsen – if Diamond Jenness’ is critical, Henry Larsen does not criticize anybody publicly. But if you get into his private comments to the Commissioner – and they come at the end of a report under “Personal to the Commissioner”, he was incredibly critical, first, to start a Hudson’s Bay Company. Then it moved into the Northern Administration and then it moved into factors of how it was affecting the Inuit people. In fact, he believed that there were too many traders in the Northern Administration.

He is talking about the bottom level of what is happening to the Inuit. He had a different vision, too. His vision would have fit with the original one. The other one predominantly discounted the ability, maybe, of the Inuit people, but I don’t know whether that was as important as the cost of getting from A to B in a short period of time.

It was only easier to set up a scientific expedition stations. It was easier – there was an accommodation that occurred between Canada and the U.S.

by October 1953 at a very senior level in Washington that made some of the sovereignty threat a little bit more understandable, handled. We had a change in name. We had a new Deputy Minister put in. There were changes that were occurring that were to look after one problem.

The relocation was an experiment, but it was to cover too many things, too many authorities as well involved, but that does not explain denying what happened.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** The business of the police inquiry into the excessive profits on the fur, something in the range of 200 per cent, from your records here, it looks like it is not clear whether or not it was ever credited back to the store, to the trading post or else the individuals themselves.

**SHELAGH GRANT:** It was never given to the individuals. It was supposed to go back. Professor Soberman had done more on this because he had asked me if I had any more records, and we discussed some of the problem involved in there. I didn't have one document at that time and he didn't have two others, but he tried to get back into that.

The money had gone – supposedly the excess had gone into – and I think Professor Gunther tries to cover part of it on there. It was supposed to have gone into the co-operative stores, but the problem is that when you looked at the difference in what the Department was getting from the furs and just basic adding and subtracting, what they got into the furs versus what was at the end of the account at the end to go into the co-operative stores, it didn't match.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Whatever surplus they had went into the co-op.

**SHELAGH GRANT:** It was supposed to.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Yes, in theory.

Can you tell us about your views on whether or not sovereignty had anything to do with this and if it is either sovereignty or the concept of Canadianizing the north or re-Canadianizing the north, is it splitting hairs what we are talking about, whether it is title to the land or –

**SHELAGH GRANT:** I think it is a play on games. The fact of re-Canadianizing the north – the government in Ottawa – it was a Cabinet directive in 1947. It was again reasserted in 1953.

Re-Canadianizing the north was to protect sovereignty concerns – protect, reinforce. The question was not that any Greenlanders or Danish government was going to roll across and demand that this was going to be part of Canada. It had nothing to do with that at all. It was the potential protection until they could show effective occupation.

The problem was that there was no permanent settlement on Ellesmere. There was a police post, one police post in 1951. There had been posts, but that didn't count to the U.S. who did not recognize unoccupied territory as somebody having a sovereign title to it.

I think you will have to look at the whole issue of the Arctic Islands' game preserve that was established in 1925. That was in fact for sovereignty reasoning and – I am sorry, I didn't give you the back page of that External Affairs memo that says specifically that it was a creation of a means of showing that you could effectively enforce regulations.

Importantly, all of these changes occurred following the relocation in summer 1953.

So, consequently, you could say, "Greenlanders, you can't go and kill muskox in that area," and they would have agreed to follow it. Therefore, that is factual evidence of effective occupation.

What the whole list of factual evidence of effective occupation in – there is a book like that that I have a xerox copy of. It doesn't tell you the factual evidence that you haven't been able to maintain effective occupation. In other words, what they were trying to prevent was the evidence that showed that they hadn't been able to administer authority.

If you can't control the Greenlanders migration and if you can't control illegal hunting, you don't worry about it if the Greenlanders are not a big problem. But if they arrive over at the joint weather station, at Eureka and say they have been camping on Ellesmere and you are concerned about how the Americans perceive the title of that land, then it becomes a very big problem. So you have to solve it.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** In your paper called "Their Garden of Eden", you mention the –

**SHELAGH GRANT:** That wasn't my title, by the way. That's all right.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** It is the title of this document anyway.

Would it be sovereignty and suffering of Canadians in the High Arctic?

**SHELAGH GRANT:** I apologize. I have said in –

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** What I wanted to get to was how you –

**SHELAGH GRANT:** Whether sovereignty was the issue. There is concern –

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** What I wanted to get to here was in relation to the U.S. Airforce intelligence. They were actually doing a study on the possibility of claiming uninhabited regions of northern Ellesmere Island, and then they decided, even while they were doing this, that they would tell Canada otherwise. And if Canada wasn't going to co-operate, then they might reopen this issue.

**SHELAGH GRANT:** Right. The significance of that document is not that the U.S. were going to – that they were actually planning – in fact, John Holmes remembers, because he was very young at the office at the time, of talk about this document. The question was whether it was leaked purposely.

The significance of that is that the Americans tended to use various pressure tactics to get Canada to agree to things more quickly. Their military men made decisions very quickly and all they had to do was get a "yes" or "no" approval, but to try to get it through Canada and its political system of having political approval became an enigma to them and they were very, very frustrated.

In this sense, what that document leaked to External Affairs said in no uncertain terms was, "There are the islands that are relatively unoccupied. There are the islands – one of them we had discovery claims to – that we are planning to put our weather stations on. Now, are you going to give approval or are we going to have the Joint Defence Agreement?" That is what was unwritten because that is what occurred between the time they received a copy of that document.

Mackenzie King went to see Truman. Then they had the negotiations in December and it was publicly announced in February. It was probably pressure tactics in reality, but the whole issue was laid out there. The islands

– if we don't do something, we may have a right and if we are threatened by another force or can prove we are threatened, we may have international justification for it.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** But this laid the conditions for moving Inuit to islands in the High Arctic.

**SHELAGH GRANT:** How does that lay the conditions for it?

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Yes.

**SHELAGH GRANT:** Canadianization became – civilianization initially became a part of that agreement which was to keep most of the initial activities under mapping and under defence transport. In other words, military preparation for this defence of the Arctic Region was to be somehow perceived and acknowledged in the public as civilian functions. But the American intention – and that comes through the memos by Heaney and Pearson – was that this was never intended to be a long-term situation that – the joint weather stations were particularly vulnerable.

There are incidents where even the question of the officer in charge was challenged and was reported as a problem. The veto really by the American officer in charge held that if the Canadian officer challenged the American operating officer, he would be held accountable in Ottawa.

There are reasons and they are reiterated by memos by Graham Rowley here as Secretary, of various other officials that those joint weather stations were the most vulnerable part that required re-Canadianization, plus the supply missions. Those were the two things – if you were to pin it on Americans on those, then there was means that they could possibly establish rights to that area because of their settlement, whereas we had none originally. It was part and parcel of trying to protect our sovereign interests.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** You mentioned in that same study paternalism. Could you mention a bit about that?

**SHELAGH GRANT:** I guess that was a viewpoint in reading over the documents, memos, correspondence, reports and some of the members of the Department and maybe some of the lower officials, some of the Eastern Arctic Patrol reports – I wonder, too, whether it was myself at that time – late seventies, s – translating something that was written in the fifties that I did not remember.

That is when I rethought that when I found the Jenness report and then I started looking back at how other people in the late forties thought of things, and I wished to retain that, that it is paternalism, but it was not necessarily a general overall opinion. I think we moved backwards for a short time and that is in my summary of my conclusions.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** You make some mention about what you think might be very little to avoid undue hardship. You couldn't find any records of any discussions or measures to actually avoid undue hardship.

What did you mean by that?

**SHELAGH GRANT:** You are going back to the 1991 study.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Yes.

**SHELAGH GRANT:** Yes.

For further reading on the Joint Arctic Weather Stations, see Heidt and Lackenbauer (2022). Importantly, there was a weather station at Resolute Bay, but no indication of plans for developing one at Grise Fiord, suggesting different strategic priorities for the two sites, which are not readily acknowledged in discussions about the relocations.



I didn't see any emergency, medical evacuation, any planning for – no, there was a minimum of stapled goods that was to come out of the initial – there wasn't any excess in case they ran into problems. In other words, it was planned as if there was no back-up for emergencies. The police had – they knew that there were no caribou skins, by the way, in the summer of – May 22, 1953. The Hudson's Bay reported no caribou skins. Caribou sinews – those are the threads that are used to tie the skins together, but no skins.

Stevenson was able to get 60 sent up from Port Harrison, but they originally ordered 450 and this was both clothing skins for the cold, sleeping and other uses. There hadn't been anything done at that time to replace it. The police phoned for buffalo skins to cover the tents. They phoned for reindeer skins as emergency for clothing. Well, we know reindeer skins – that debate has gone on as being more difficult to sew together for warmth than the other.

Those back-ups weren't there. It was a trial and it was done too quickly and not enough thought, in my mind. But then the person who did the preparing and ordering – his background as a Hudson's Bay supervisor may have assumed something without the total responsibility. What you would do as a trader, if you didn't quite order enough supplies in, that wasn't really your fault. But if you are government, you are in a different position.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** When this was going to go ahead, there were actually doubts of the project by the military and others.

**SHELAGH GRANT:** Yes.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Could you explain that?

**SHELAGH GRANT:** The first reference comes in the NWT Council. That is just for Resolute. The military were against – RCAF Air Commander Ripley wrote a letter. It can be found – I may have to tab these for you in the documents specifically one after another that you want.

This is Document 49 in S. Grant (2016).

Air Commander Ripley actually wrote on July 6th, for some reason, thinking maybe he could stop this. The fact is that he did not believe they should be sent without proper accommodation, without proper preparatory training.

He had just actually been involved in a discussion with Mr. Sivertz, General Myers and Mr. Rowley at Peperall (PH.) Airbase talking about hiring Inuit at Frobisher. Now, the agreement at Frobisher is that the USAF were going to supply accommodation and they were going to supply free fuel and free water and boost the rate from \$115 to \$140, I think, a month for people hired there, and yet we were – I think Commander Ripley had a point here. Why are we sending a family expecting them to get part-time employment at Resolute from the RCAF base when, in fact, there was no accommodation for them? That is where Bud Drury in his covering letter – there was no proper consultation on this.

He also writes again in February 1954 saying that there were complaints about them being wards of the RCAF. In fact, the RCAF probably did a lot more than has been officially acknowledged as far as hand-outs of clothing. I know there is one RCMP report that talks about the bulldozing roads and stringing up electricity.

I think there was a lot of empathy for the Inuit community there, but that shouldn't have come after. Those complaints were ahead, but the letter arrived too late. They were on the boat by then.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** I guess we could keep on going for quite a while, but I will just wrap up with two more questions.

You say there are missing files that curiously – in the spring, there was a file that had previously been opened and it was closed again, the Larsen –

**SHELAGH GRANT:** The Larsen telegrams that went out with the promise to return in one year and the covering memo, why he put that promise in because he met the Cape Dorset Inuit who hadn't been returned as he had reported and should have been returned to Cape Dorset.

This is part of the problem. There is so much to try to cover. Yes, they were found in a transportation file and they were found by another professor who told me about them and he gave me the number.

I went for them and the file was closed. I went back and I checked with the archivist and he said, "Yes – no – well, which document are you talking about." And he said, "Well, has it been cited," and he gave him the citation which was a paper that was presented at the Inuit Studies Conference in Laval. So he said, "Okay, but I can just get you the document." He was very honest and he said, "Look, this is a ridiculous file. It is a transportation file. What are these telegrams doing in it?"

The answer to that belongs in the Stevenson paper. There were some files that were sorted in 1955 by somebody – and I don't want to personalize this – and he sent them back to the Arctic Services taking out, I guess, what he wanted. He sent them back with a memo, but the memo happens to be in Alex Stevenson's files that he sent to his boss to say that he had sorted the files and took out what he wanted and he sent the others back to – the *C.D. Howe* files – Arctic Services to check to make sure that he hadn't thrown anything out important.

Alex Stevenson, for whatever reason, kept those files in Ottawa, but he kept the memo in his own files in the Northwest Territories. That is the only possible reason it could get stuck in a *C.D. Howe* transportation file.

There were others. There were irregularities throughout. There were memos that were sort of piled high with a string around them and their little corners ripped out, which means after they had gone to the archives, they had been removed.

It may be an over-eager researcher. Maybe somebody – heavens knows. Those things happen and I must say that I think Canadian Archives do a better job with their records and make them more accessible to researchers than Britain does. I must admit that Washington is something else when you have to sit in a reading room with people with guns on their hips and other factors. So I don't accuse the system.

The memos that should be there aren't and they are elsewhere. They are copies in the police files. They are copies in the Stevenson papers. There are copies in other files. They didn't keep them for whatever reason.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** The studies that you mentioned that the government had done, the field studies in the sixties – you have one. How do you know that there are more?

**SHELAGH GRANT:** Alex Stevenson had one list that were done. Then W. Kemp and George Wenzel did some at Resolute and then I went back to their bibliographer. The Stevenson papers have copies of meetings that were done to discuss relocations.

Then when I get a copy of one study, I look at their bibliography and find

that another one had been done. So I have been more or less piecing it together from bits and pieces. It is taking a while and that chapter – “A Matter of Perspective” – is not quite complete mainly because I would complete it and then I would get another study in.

There is a general consensus that the relocations generally were not a success, but there was really a genuine effort in the sixties and seventies – and most of it related to the DEW line construction – of looking at: If it wasn't a success, how can we make it better? But then somewhere along the way, it became that we don't discuss why it wasn't a success; whereas if you are trying to make it better, you discuss it and then all of a sudden when you don't want to admit a problem, it becomes hidden.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** So these studies which were done earlier, actually, state the fact that they are not quite as successful as they could have been.

**SHELAGH GRANT:** A lot of them are done on the DEW line and mines and that, but there are some that talk about the whole issue generally.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** I could ask you –

**SHELAGH GRANT:** None on Grise Fiord, by the way.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** – a lot more questions, but I think I will leave it there.

**SHELAGH GRANT:** Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you very much for sharing so much material with us.

The Commission has already looked at your material. We are certainly going to look very closely at the additional material you have given us and talked about this morning. Thank you.

**SHELAGH GRANT:** I appreciate that.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** We are going to adjourn for an hour. So we will try to be back at 2:20.

Thank you.

— Luncheon recess at 1:20 p.m.

— Upon resuming at 1:20 p.m.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** We are just going to start. Could everyone take a seat. Thank you.

So our first presenter will be Alan Marcus and he will be followed by Magnus Gunther, Professor Gunther.

Good afternoon.

**ALAN MARCUS:** Good afternoon.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** You may proceed when you are ready.

**ALAN MARCUS:** Thank you.

My name is Alan Marcus. I am a doctoral candidate at the Scott Polar Research Institute at Cambridge University in England.

I would like to thank the Royal Commission for inviting me to appear before them today, and for the opportunity to express some of my observations on the relocation issue.

Importantly, these are studies on relocation for specific employment objectives that take place following the High Arctic Relocations.

Alan Marcus is a cultural historian who completed his master's and doctoral research on the High Arctic relocations. His 1990 Master's Thesis, *Out in the Cold*, focused specifically on the High Arctic Relocations. Marcus' doctoral work included a comparative study of the High Arctic Relocations and was later published as *Relocating Eden*. (See Marcus (1995).)

For the last five years, I have been researching the Canadian government's Inuit relocation policies of the 1950s. One of my principal case studies has been the relocation from Inukjuak to Resolute and Grise Fiord. I have also examined some twenty other incidents of government-sponsored Native relocations in Canada and other circumpolar countries during the 20th century.

I first went to Inukjuak five years ago, in 1988, to conduct research, shortly after the government relocated some families back to Quebec from the High Arctic. It was my first opportunity to interview relocatees and related families. At that time, there were no contemporary published reports in the academic literature on the relocation, and I decided to conduct further research.

I was particularly intrigued by what were clearly opposing views between what Inuit relocatees and government civil servants regarded as the motives and implications of the relocation. There appeared to be a gulf of misunderstanding between the two sides. After listening to the presentations made over the last few days, it is apparent that this gulf remains firmly in place.

I wrote a Master's thesis on the relocation and received a Master of Philosophy Degree in Polar Studies from Cambridge University in 1990. This thesis was revised and published as a monograph entitled "Out in the Cold", in 1992 and published by the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs in Copenhagen.

I have expanded my research on Inuit relocations and am in the final months of completing a Ph.D. at Cambridge. My field is cultural history and my methodology has been to combine archival research in a number of Canadian archives with field research in four Inuit communities, including Inukjuak, Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord.

I have interviewed many of the relocatees and I have travelled around southern Canada during the last few years interviewing former government officials who worked for the Department of Northern Affairs, and RCMP Policemen, Hudson's Bay Company traders, missionaries and others who were personally involved in the project, or who came into contact with the Inuit relocated.

I have listened with great interest over the last three days to the presentations made before the Commission, and after this time, I have to agree with Commissioner Dussault's comment made on Monday that this most certainly is a difficult issue to assess.

The Royal Commission has played an important role in this issue by providing a forum for the relocatees, government officials and researchers to present their views. This has been greatly valuable, but people will still want to know what are the facts, what is the truth? Has the issue become so politicized and divided that the truth will elude us? Why are so many well-meaning individuals looking at the same thing from radically different perspectives?

First, if I may, let me look at the reasons for the relocation. Was it sovereignty? Was it humanitarian or was it something else? History, as we know, is not so tidy. I believe there were several factors for the move. One was related to effective occupation.

Researchers have been looking for a political motive, a document which categorically states that the Inuit were moved to safeguard sovereignty.

Yes, Ben Sivertz and others have told us of the government's desire to Canadianize the High Arctic islands above Lancaster Sound in the 1950s. The

Canadianization of this territory in the face of growing American military activity has already been recorded in history books about the period. It is no secret and certainly no surprise that Canada should wish to show in the maps as a matter of national pride that it was demonstrating a presence in this vast, unoccupied space on that map which was in fact a part of Canada. As a short illustration, it might be useful to read a short quote from a document from the Advisory Committee on Northern Development from the period we are discussing. It is a confidential document entitled "Policy Guidance Paper for Release of Information on the North".

I think it reflects the government's concern at that time about Canadian presence in the High Arctic. The date of the document is May 28, 1954.

On the issue of public information on the north, the object is stated:

The first object of public information on the north is to emphasize that the northern regions are as much a part of Canada as any other area in the country. It is most important that all Canadians should be aware of this fact in order that the measures to stimulate and encourage the development of our northern frontier will be supported and sustained.

I take notice of the word "frontier" and what do you do with a frontier. Well, you often colonize it.

Under the heading "Canada/United States Relations in Sovereignty", there is the passage: "No emphasis should be placed on Canadian claims in the north, lest we seem to be on the defensive."

This statement indicates a weakness, an unease of external perceptions. Not necessarily an actual threat to title, but, nonetheless, a concern about how others conceived Canadian occupation in its northern-most Arctic islands. Hence, the drive towards Canadianization of the islands.

Again, this document was from the period we are discussing – May 1954.

This process of Canadianization, for example, involved the re-establishment of the RCMP posts at Craig Harbour in 1951 and at Alexandra Fiord in 1953.

Had the posts at those locations not been remanned as flag detachments, the Inuit would never have been moved to Ellesmere Island. Throughout the 1950s officials at the Department of Northern Affairs discussed the repopulation and colonization of the High Arctic islands. This relocation experiment was referred to in government documents as colonization project, a potential forerunner of more Inuit moves to come – in short, a prototype.

The government's actions to re-establish a Native population in the High Arctic islands and their actions to re-established RCMP posts in the area were twin instruments of Canadianization, of demonstrating "effective occupation" – which refers to *de facto* sovereignty. We are not doubting the issue of *de jure* sovereignty over Canadian title, but we are acknowledging that the actions were taken as part of the government's broader desire to Canadianize this vast territory which in the early 1950s looked particularly empty due to the noticeable lack of a Canadian presence.

In the early 1950s, the Department of Northern Affairs successfully sought to encourage Inuit from the MacKenzie Delta region to relocate on Banks Island by offering financial assistance from the newly created Eskimo Loan Fund. Repopulating Banks was part of the same thinking behind repopulating Devon Island, Ellesmere Island, Cornwallis Island and others. Devon Island was considered several times by the Department for Native repopulation during the 1950s, as it had been in 1934 to 1936 during a failed colonization project.

For the Department of Northern Affairs, it was perfectly simple. It would be useful to have the northern Arctic Islands repopulated and the Inuit were the only people able to do so. The rationale of good hunting would be used and Inuit could be moved from areas designed as "overpopulated" to a region which was unpopulated. It would give these Inuit an opportunity to hunt and trap in virgin territory, potentially rich in game. They could leave their dependence on relief and become self-reliant once again, it was thought. It would kill two birds with one stone and everyone would benefit. That was the idea.

The specific decision to target Inuit from Quebec for relocation was, I believe, largely political. As Doug Wilkinson has recalled, Farley Mowat's "People of the Deer" and its controversial indictment of the government's Inuit administration policy, or lack thereof, was indicative of rising public concern in the early 1950s of the plight of the Inuit.

There were a number of documented cases of starvation and epidemics amongst the Inuit that the public was made aware of by the media in the early 1950s. The Department of Northern Affairs was responding to a crisis of confidence when it undertook the relocation experiment amidst great publicity as a high profile opportunity to be seen to be finding a solution to what was then known as "the Eskimo Problem".

The move was motivated by a political response to reduce dependency on relief. Was it also a humanitarian gesture? Gordon Robertson told us that 95 per cent of the motivation of the move was to reduce the overpopulation of Quebec. However, Ottawa's process of labelling northern Quebec as overpopulated is an interesting one.

Reuben Ploughman, the Hudson's Bay Company store manager at Inukjuak in 1953 informed us that starvation didn't enter into the relocation at all. Nobody was starving he said, and the RCMP records reported no cases of starvation either. It wasn't for lack of food that the move was made, Mr. Ploughman said. In fact, he reported that 1952-1953 was a bumper year for fox at Inukjuak, with 5,000 fox pelts traded, far exceeding expectations. He should know, that was his job. There was no starvation or serious lack of food in the Inukjuak area in 1953. That is a fact.

Was this therefore an attempt to depopulate Quebec of a portion of its Native population? I believe it was, but it wasn't done because of scarcity of game. It was done because of a concentration in the E-9 Port Harrison district of high relief and family allowance benefits which were collectively viewed by officials as "white man's hand-outs".

This takes us to the next point. There are a number of references in the documents that officials regarded the experiment, as Gordon Robertson has told us, as a means to establish Inuit in the manner of the traditional way of Inuit life in self-reliant communities, so they wouldn't be dependent on hand-outs. That is what he said.

The Department of that day, we are told, thought the Inuit way of life should be preserved and insulated from the seductive easier way of life the whites had. Rehabilitation was the term used at the time. The RCMP called the relocation at Grise Fiord a rehabilitation project, and the constables wrote articles explaining how they were managing to rehabilitate the relocatees. In other words, this was an experiment in social reform. It is ironic that the Inuit themselves had no knowledge, as far as I am aware, that they were being relocated for a rehabilitation experiment in social reform.

It is important to recognize that, although 1953 was a good year for fox, planning was based on the results of the previous years, including 1951 and 1952 which were low-fur years. Even though fur years tend to follow four-year cycles, the overall trend was in a decline in furs and in prices per fur, leading government officials to believe the fur trade was unsustainable. The relief figures for Northern Quebec were the highest in the Arctic, according to Cantley's 1950 report and internal Department records.

How was the word “experiment” used? What were its implications? It was an experiment to repopulate the Queen Elizabeth Islands with a Native population. It was also an experiment to see if Inuit from southern regions of the Arctic could adapt to life in the High Arctic environment. The government had never tried such a move before – to take Inuit from the southern Arctic and move them to the northernmost Arctic regions.

As James Cantley, Chief of the Arctic Services Section, said in the meeting held on August 10, 1953 to discuss the relocation, “the main purpose of the experiment is to see if it is possible for the people to adapt themselves to the conditions of the High Arctic and secure a living from the land.”

It was an experiment to see if there were sufficient resources in the vicinity of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay to support a Native population. And it was an experiment to effectively depopulate northern Quebec, which was repeatedly referred to at the time as overpopulated.

This move was therefore not a humanitarian gesture but a pseudo-scientific experiment being undertaken not by scientists but by bureaucrats.

We have been told that the Inuit who took part in the government’s experiment were volunteers. It has been suggested in various presentations that because the government considered the people to be volunteers that this was somehow sufficient justification for any hardships they might experience while participating in the experiment.

It was cold – well, they volunteered. They didn’t have the same amenities in the High Arctic as in Inukjuak – well, they volunteered. They wanted to return home – well, it was difficult to take them back. Maybe they will change their minds once they are out of the dark season. And besides, they volunteered.

I would suggest to you that the use of the word “volunteer” has been used by the government as an overriding justification for whatever difficulties the Inuit may have experienced. There has been considerable discussion during these proceedings about what it meant to be a volunteer for the relocation. How can we define the depth of meaning for being a volunteer in this case?

The Inuit told us in their April testimonies that they did not volunteer. In this context, “volunteerism” is related to fear. Hugh Brody’s excellent paper, which he has submitted to the Commission, describes the Inuit concept of fear, particularly as it pertained to white people and authority figures like RCM Policemen. The paper provides us with a basis for understanding the fear the Inuit experienced, from their encounters with the police at that time in the fifties.

But, let us say for the sake of argument that they were keen volunteers – where does that take us?

First, we must ask: How well were they really informed? As Commissioner Sillett has pointed out, they did not participate in the planning of the relocation.

Did they volunteer to go to a place of better hunting, a place they were told would be rich in game? Perhaps, but did they volunteer to go to a distant northern land that had essentially a foreign environment where they would have to learn new hunting and trapping skills suited to living in the High Arctic.

Did they volunteer to endure the three and a half month dark period, during which they would have to hunt, having never experienced anything

Cantley was not Chief of the Arctic Services Section but an Administrator within Arctic Services.

Many research papers were submitted to the RCAP during the Hearings stage. Many of these papers are available via Library and Archives Canada.

like the dark period before?

Did they volunteer to be separated on board the boat as they reached Craig Harbour, when they thought they were going to all stay together – as the oral testimonies and records clearly show us, and as Daniel Soberman reaffirmed from his report yesterday?

Did they volunteer to go to a place where they would have difficulty finding spouses because of the small groups of related family members?

Did they volunteer to go to a place where there was no Hudson's Bay Company store to which they were accustomed, no Anglican church, no school and no nursing station, all of which they had access to in Inukjuak?

Did they volunteer to be permanently separated from their extended families and homeland?

The list goes on and on. I would suggest to you that the Inuit did not volunteer for these eventualities. It was not part of the bargain, regardless of the fact that a two-year promise of return was made. That is a fact. However, much officials thought that they had actual "volunteers" for their quota of ten families in 1953, the Inuit from Inukjuak had virtually no idea what was going to happen to them – it was a voyage into the unknown – which challenges any notion that the government had the people's informed consent.

Gordon Robertson suggested that it was "quite possible there was a major misunderstanding". Well, there certainly was. We have all agreed now that the government through its representatives made a promise of return that after two years if the Inuit wanted to move back, they would be assisted to do so.

When J.C. Jackson, the Department's officer in charge of the annual Eastern Arctic Patrol held a meeting with all the Inuit men in Resolute Bay on 21 August 1956, together with Superintendent Larsen, Ross Gibson and an interpreter, he reported that the Inuit asked about going back to Inukjuak and seemed to think a promise had been made. He reported to his superiors in Ottawa that he told them he had no knowledge of a promise. This is three years after the move.

But on the 22nd of October 1956, two months later, Ben Sivertz, Chief of the Arctic Division, reminded Cunningham, Director of Northern Administration and Lands Branch, that "they only agreement to go in the first place on condition we promise to return them to their former homes after 'two or three years'". But the promise was not honoured by the Department until 35 years later.

Ben Sivertz informed the Commission that the plan was to take some of the population of Quebec away for a better life. Co-Chairman Commissioner Erasmus responded with the question: "What do you mean by a better life?" This question goes to the heart of the controversy. Mr. Sivertz replied "so that they would be independent and wouldn't live on relief". That was his perception and the perception of a government department as a rationale for carrying out an interventionist act. It was not an Inuit perception; it was a white man's perception. And the government turned to the instrument of relocation as a result.

We have been told that after a few years or so, the Inuit at Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord enjoyed a rich harvest of game – walrus, seal, polar bear – did this constitute a better life? No, not from what was said at the April hearings. However good the hunting for marine mammals may have become, it did not in itself constitute a better life.



What did they miss from being relocated to the High Arctic? Did their relatives in Inukjuak starve? No. In fact, the Inuit in Inukjuak enjoyed the economic benefits derived from a rise in the price of fur and in income received from soapstone carvings – after a temporary period in the late 1940s and early 1950s when the Inuit economy was depressed due to the unstable fur market. But fur prices rose again and the Inuit in Inukjuak received one of the highest levels of income from handicrafts in the Eastern Arctic in the 1950s.

Within a matter of a few years, the Port Harrison district, as it was then known, was no longer labelled “overpopulated” and in fact became relatively prosperous. That was a better life. But the relocatees, who included among them, as Mr. Ploughman and the records have informed us, a number of excellent carvers, did not experience that better life because they were separated from their homeland.

For five years, I have been in search of the facts and the truth, however difficult it may be to find 40 years after the event. I have listened to the relocatees in their homes for many hours telling me of their experiences as a result of being moved to the High Arctic. And I reached the conclusion, as the Commissioners may have done after hearing the Inuit testimonies in April, that the people did suffer as a result of the relocation. This, I believe, is a fact.

Perhaps the controversy surrounding the claim for \$10 million in compensation has clouded and served to further politicize the issue. But when a person suffers as a result of an external act of intervention, compensation is a natural process. Some critics have suggested that clever lawyers and a \$10 million pot of gold have induced the relocatees to act out tales of hardship.

We have heard critics suggest that those Inuit testifying today were only children at the time of the move, and have been influenced by events. This is part of the myth surrounding the controversy.

Yet the Commissioners have had to repeatedly point out to witnesses at different times during the last few days that that was not the case at the April hearings, and that in fact there were 10 or 12 elders who appeared who were adults at the time of the relocation. And, what about those relocatees who have testified who were children or teenagers at the time of the move – have forty years clouded their memories – or is it not the case that children can suffer too? And that children or teenagers who experienced difficult circumstances, such as permanent separation from their families and friends, or hardship and cold, can carry those experiences for the rest of their lives? Of course they can, that is a fact.

But, we are told, these are Eskimos. They are used to the cold. They are used to migrating long distances. Hardship and uncertain survival were their lot in life. We were only trying to do the best thing for them. This is where I believe there are, in effect, two truths.

In my discussions with the planners of the relocation and the RCMP constables responsible for supervision of the relocatees, I have been struck by the integrity of the individuals and the sincerity of their motivation to implement the relocation for “the common good of the people”.

We have heard presentations from various people over the last few days – men from the Department of Northern Affairs who were based in Ottawa, like Ben Sivertz, Gordon Robertson, and Graham Rowley, or Henry Larsen, as we heard his thoughts told by his son Gordon, or the constables in the

Development of a handicraft industry was another element of the NWT Council’s plan for developing the Inuit economy following the realization that the fur trade on its own could not sustain Inuit, particularly in northern Quebec. For further reading, see Lackenbauer and Clancy (2019)

field, Bob Pilot and Ross Gibson. There is no doubting their sincerity, I believe, when they said they were acting in what they thought were the best interests of the people.

But what they believed to be in the best interests of the people and what was actually in their best interests as the Inuit saw it are two different things.

I do not believe that officials set out to deceive, to coerce, or to cause the hardship that we have heard the Inuit experienced. They wanted to help them. And yet, where does that leave us? On the one hand, we have people of authority who wanted to do good, who planned and carried out the relocation, and, on the other hand, we have people who have suffered for forty years, in some cases, as a result of those actions. It's no wonder that this issue is confusing.

But I would argue, that you can have people acting for what they believe to be the best intentions, and yet, people suffer as a result. This is the argument for two truths.

Ross Gibson told us that he thought, "I was working for the Inuit." I was struck by that comment. Bob Pilot told us on Monday of when he was a senior official with the Territorial government in the early 1970s and became aware that people wanted to move back to Inukjuak. He tried to do the right thing, to facilitate their relocation back to Inukjuak. But it wasn't so easy. What happened? Reality got in the way: Bureaucracy blocked good intentions. As Pilot said, "the federal government and I nickled and dimed each other to death".

But some he was able to move back; others remained. But that was the 1970s and not the 1950s. Most of the people were not assisted by the government to move back until 1988. That was 15 years after Bob Pilot learned of the wish of some people to do so. If it could happen in the 1970s that moving back to Inukjuak was made so difficult, we can imagine how much more difficult it was in the 1950s to obtain permission and assistance to move back to Inukjuak.

The Inuit have told us that they wanted to move back from the start – from the first dark winter when they were hungry and cold and missing their friends and extended families, and their homeland in Quebec. Yes, they were Inuit who could survive one of the severest environments on earth, as their ancestors had done, but they were human beings too. And it was then, as it is now, a natural human response to miss the place you know and the people you know.

They wanted to go home, but they couldn't. They had been placed, for whatever good intentions, in a location from which they physically could not return to their homeland without the benevolent assistance of the government. They were beholden completely to the government and its officials. This is a fact.

It may not be useful to point fingers at who was right and who was wrong, but let's face reality. The Inuit were separated from the officials in Ottawa who now controlled their destiny. They were separated by geographical distance, separated by language, separated by cultural differences. This had two results. It insulated those small Inuit communities at Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord from contact with the outside world, and it insulated the well-meaning officials in Ottawa who were of the assumption that everything was working out just fine with their High Arctic relocation experiment. In other words, it insulated those Ottawa officials from the reality of the hard-

ships those Inuit were experiencing. I believe that to be a fact.

The reality was that as the Inuit have told us, and as Ross Gibson informed me, "it was so cold, dark and miserable that first winter, that if the Port Harrison people had been able to go home, they would have done so". In effect, the government created a grand experiment to relocate Inuit to the High Arctic where they could be self-reliant happy hunters once again, free from the temptation of white man's hand-outs, and yet the people could not go home on their own. That was the basic flaw of the entire project.

Somehow, not one of the planners recorded his concern that the relocatees would not be able to go home on their own. Commissioner Wilson was incredulous, it appeared to me, when she interviewed Ross Gibson on Monday, when told by him that not one of the Inuit chosen for the relocation had apparently asked him, "What if?" "What if I want to go home?"

So what happened? The relocation plan, in effect, offered the Inuit a one-way ticket on the *C.D. Howe* to a foreign land from which there was no return.

Co-Chairman Dussault said yesterday that the Commission hoped by holding these hearings to help the Canadian public to understand what had happened in the relocation, in light of the conflicting views. It would be a bonus if these hearings would allow both sides to come closer to a conciliation.

In closing, I would like to say that I have presented what I believe to be some of the salient facts in this issue, which served to explain, I hope, why there are, in effect, two truths. But differences in opinion have not kept the two parties from finally coming together, and those differences need not prevent the Canadian government and the Inuit from reaching a solution.

Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you. I will start asking some questions.

You spoke of this being viewed by you as a social reform, an experiment in social reform or social engineering, and that the human point of view was not the main purpose. I think you referred to a statement made earlier this week by Gordon Robertson saying, "Well, it was 95 per cent for human purposes."

I just want to be clear because you went on to discuss what is the better life. When you say that from your examination and analysis from the documents that you feel that the human purpose was not paramount by far, it was more a desire to experiment all kinds of things that you enumerated –

**ALAN MARCUS:** That's right.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** – did I understand you correctly when you said that the human purpose was barely there? Is that too strong or is that what you told us?

**ALAN MARCUS:** Obviously it is a complex issue.

My feeling is that it was largely a political response to the great overwhelming concern that the Canadian public and, indeed, the people overseas expressed about the way in which the Canadian government in the early 1950s were treating their Inuit population.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** So a response to external factors more than a response to living conditions that were the situation of Inuit people in

Inukjuak Quebec?

**ALAN MARCUS:** Yes, that's correct. I think it is the fact that while the Department had labelled the region as "overpopulated". There were no cases of starvation in that area in the time.

There were in other parts of the Arctic where a humanitarian gesture in the form of resettlement might have been appropriate, but in that particular incident, I do not believe that that was in fact the overriding motivation, no.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** If we move to the related question of what is a better life, the implication – and I think it is quite clear in the documentation that one of the major purposes was to enable people to return to a self-sufficient way of living. Of course, the best interest of anybody is not something easy to assess. We all know that.

Again, is your assessment made in the context of the situation that was in existence in 1953 or how do you avoid looking today at those things and putting our view to a situation that was quite different in the early fifties because that is what we were told as to how the Arctic was in the early fifties and that it is difficult for somebody who has not witnessed that firsthand to really understand what it is was and what the conditions were?

So how did you take that into account in your assessment of the whole event?

**ALAN MARCUS:** I hope so. I certainly tried to do so.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** By what methodology or what did you do to prevent yourself from looking at it from a perspective of 1990? Is there a way, a method? I am asking you this because it is a concern that we have.

**ALAN MARCUS:** Yes, of course, and I think it is a vital concern. It is too easy to judge the past from the eyes of the present.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** So the standard.

**ALAN MARCUS:** Yes.

But having said that, for me, I could not have done this research based, for example, solely on archival evidence. It was crucial to me to go and meet not only the Native peoples involved who are still alive, but also as many government civil servants, including those people who have appeared before you in the last two days and many others who had no part in the relocation but had, in fact, come into contact with the groups in the 1950s to try to get a sense with an open mind as to what were the conditions prevailing at the time.

The whole issue of self-reliance is an interesting one. Certainly there was the view at the time that in the Port Harrison district there was a problem with self-sufficiency, but I would suggest that that was largely due to extraordinary circumstances because in the case of the time period in question in the early 1950s, the Inuit economy was based almost exclusively on the white fox fur. After the war, the price of fur crashed from a high of around \$25 a pelt to a low of maybe \$3.50 a pelt.

Well, something happened at the same time. Family allowances were introduced in the north and to the Inuit in the late forties and the government increased the relief to the Inuit as well.

I feel that what essentially happened is that the Inuit's buying power that they had enjoyed for some years at the Hudson's Bay Company store, for

example, in Port Harrison was weakened considerably by the crash in the price of fur, but was supplemented by the coincidental family allowance credits which were given and the increased levels of government relief.

What that did is that it established, I think, a very interesting relationship between the government of Canada – and specifically the Department of Northern Affairs, Resources and Development, as it was then in 1953 – between the government and the Inuit. I think it developed an exchange relationship, that, in effect, it was something that hadn't happened before.

I give you money in the form of hand-outs, as it was called, and I think that family allowances at this time, because they were so new to the north, and relief were collectively seen by officials as hand-outs. I give you money and I expect something in return and it gives me a rationale for doing certain things. In this case, we are thinking of a relocation experiment and wanting to recruit you to go on board.

Now, the government didn't have that form of exchange relationship prior to this period from, say, the late 1940s, 1949, into the early 1950s. Because, at the same time, you had such a political outburst, so many letters to the Prime Minister and the minister about Farley Mowat's book and other publications, Richard Harrington, there was a real concern that something had to be done. This was the Eskimo problem. The Eskimo problem was rising relief benefits, dependency on welfare, poor health, an unstable fur-based economy. Something had to be done.

The Port Harrison district consistently had the highest levels because it had one of the highest concentrations of Native peoples in the eastern Arctic.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** In your discussion with the Inuit people involved or the relocatees, did you discuss about a genuine desire by young people at the time to really have resumed the life of hunters and trappers that they had? This was expressed to us in April, that there was the kind of life that they were not happy to be dependent. They were very much looking forward to the possibility of a good life in hunting and trapping.

So did you – you have met with many of them. How do you distinguish that because we were told, "Of course, it was with the promise to return" ? So it was not necessarily seen in the whole picture, but could you expand on that?

**ALAN MARCUS:** I think there is something very important to be taken into consideration when talking about self-sufficiency and self-reliance in this case, and that is the difference between hunting and trapping.

In this case, the government was giving relief benefits largely because of a lack in the proceeds from income from trapping fur, but the people who were moved, although they were described in documents and by Ross Gibson as all being dependent on relief, that doesn't mean to say that these people weren't excellent hunters and that hunting was not a difficulty for them in obtaining food for their families.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** We had a discussion yesterday about the Eskimo Loan Fund. Could you tell us what is your understanding of what was the situation?

We were told that this created a debt to the Inuit and it was one of the reasons why for many years afterwards they weren't paid in cash whatsoever. It was put against the debt that they had acquired.

Could you tell us from your research what is your view on the purpose

and the specifics of this fund?

**ALAN MARCUS:** The Eskimo Loan Fund was a peculiar beast. The intricacies of how the fund actually worked, particularly in the early years, were, I think, a mystery not only to me but to some officials at Northern Affairs at the time. They certainly expressed that to me.

The purpose of the Eskimo Loan Fund created, I believe, in 1952 was to financially assist Inuit to improve their economic wellbeing, but it was used in a certain sort of way. For example, the first loans of the Eskimo Loan Fund were made for this resettlement, three \$5,000 loans to the three places where they were going. Of course, they were originally destined to go to three locations, including Alexandra Fiord.

As well, a loan was made – I think several loans were made at the same period in the early 1950s to the Banks Islanders so that the government could help to financially assist them to resettle from the MacKenzie Delta on to Banks Island, a similar idea although, of course, vastly differently because they had schooners and they could do so of their own volition, whereas in the case of the people we are talking about, the government actually had to provide transport.

But in that case on Banks Island, the Department was not able to get the Hudson's Bay Company to open a post there largely due to the success of Fred Carpenter, a very well known Inuk of the Bank Islanders, at trading his furs directly with the fur auction and thereby passing the middle men which was the Hudson's Bay Company.

So the government, in order to encourage the Inuit to repopulate Banks Island, hopefully permanently, used the Eskimo Loan Fund to help to provide financial assistance. The difficulty with the Eskimo Loan Fund in the case of the stores established at Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord is that while it was originally conceived as sort of a co-operative arrangement such that the names of the loans for those two stores were in the names of Inuit, one was Ahistosik (PH.) who was called "Fatty" on the Eskimo Loan Fund form to self and the other one was Sudlivinik in Resolute Bay.

So the thought was perhaps by the designers in Ottawa that these Inuit could essentially become the shopkeepers and the accountants of these stores and manage their own affairs and certainly Henry Larsen was very keen on the idea of the Inuit being able to establish co-operatives from this period and not to have to deal with the Hudson's Bay Company store.

Unfortunately, of course, it didn't work that way as you perhaps have already heard. In the case of Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord, there were incidents particularly at Resolute Bay where people were supposed to be paid for items and I found a number of receipts to this effect.

People were supposed to be paid, for example, for work that was done for a geological survey teams and others that came up to Resolute. The cheques were paid to the Department. The Department paid it into the Eskimo Loan Fund, but it paid it into the general account for the store and it was not credited at least in the very early years to the individual accounts. That would explain why it was that people are complaining today that they did not receive payment for services.

The same thing happened, as I believe I overheard Shelagh Grant mentioning this morning, that the officers were given, I believe by James Cantley, a former Hudson's Bay Company fur trade Commissioner and Chief of the Arctic Division in the early fifties before Ben Sivertz took over – that prices

would be set for furs at the stores.

The furs then would be sent out by the policemen. James Cantley would handle the sale of the furs at the fur auction in Winnipeg, but what would happen in a number of cases is that they would realize a greater sum than the initial price that had been credited to those Inuit. That surplus amount was credited to the particular loan, but it was not credited to the individuals. That was another problem of the Eskimo Loan Fund.

So you had cases with Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord loans where considerable profits were being realized even from the early years, principally from fox, but those profits weren't actually being returned to the people as it was originally, I suppose, in the early days of conceiving these establishments. Profits weren't return to the individuals. Essentially, the fund was used as a revolving fund to advance purchase supplies for the next year.

So it was a bit of a muddle until things changed in the early sixties and those stores became co-operatives.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you.

This fund, as you have said, was under the name of a member of the community and that was a problem also because of the possible ownership and it was part of the decision to move toward a co-operative form.

Are you aware of a situation where – you mentioned two cases where the money was not returned specifically to the people. When you say it went into the general account, it was indeed the general account of the fund itself.

**ALAN MARCUS:** No, I would say it was in – as far as I can see, it was in the general fund for that particular loan.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Against that loan.

**ALAN MARCUS:** That's right. Although I have found a number of records relating to those loans, they are sparse and it is difficult to actually pinpoint throughout those early years precisely what was happening. But certainly one gets a general impression.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** This was mentioned this morning, the auction sale that was higher and the price was not returned, but my question was exactly this one: If you were aware of the different loans, is there any record that you have come across of the loans in the fund itself because it was for a different purpose for what loans were made, if I understand correctly the system?

**ALAN MARCUS:** There certainly are documents relating to the Eskimo Loan Fund which identify throughout this period in the fifties who the loans were made to and what the balances were on all of the loans, yes.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** These were individual loans.

**ALAN MARCUS:** That's correct.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** We are not talking about the loans that were made for the group.

**ALAN MARCUS:** That's just it. They weren't made to the group. That's right. That was the difficulty. When Ahitusuk (PH.) or "Fatty", as he was called in the records, died eight months after the move, there was a considerable difficulty for the Department because legally his widow was entitled to that surplus.

Three loans were taken out for the project on behalf of the groups of relocatees - one loan for each destination. However, the Department of Finance insisted that one individual be responsible for the loan, which meant that a single individual was selected to "hold" the loan on behalf of the group.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you. Bertha Wilson, please.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** Thank you. When government policy is not articulated at the highest level, as seems to have been the case here – Mr. Robertson stressed the matter never came before Cabinet. It was discussed at that level – I am wondering how a researcher like yourself proceeds to ascertain what the government policy was. Do you ascertain it by looking at what those who had the responsibility for implementing it did – that is, the government agents, the RCMP and so on – and then draw inferences from that as to what the government policy must have been? I am just curious as to what kind of process. Obviously it is in the public interest that government policy be clearly indicated. In fact, it is surely essential so that the public can understand or appreciate and assess the government's performance.

I am just wondering because I suppose this is why we have had to hear from so many individuals. The only way, it seems to me, that we can glean what the policy must have been is through what they did. This is a fairly difficult and, to me, unfortunate process and I am wondering what you as a researcher does. Is that the process you engage in? Look at what people, in fact, who are carrying out presumably the policy, what they did and then infer from that what the policy must have been? Is that the process?

**ALAN MARCUS:** I think we are talking about two things here. I believe Gordon Robertson's remark is made in reference to the sovereignty issue when he said that the question never came up in Cabinet. I may be mistaken.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** That would be part of the policy. That would explain or be basic, would it not, to the policy, what the reasoning was?

**ALAN MARCUS:** There are several different things here. In terms of departmental policy and Northern Affairs, there is substantial documentation, tens and thousands of files at every level in that bureaucracy from the field officers, once they were actually appointed later on in the fifties, all the way up to the Chief and the Director of Lands Administration, Deputy Ministers and whatnot, and indeed documents and Deputy Ministerial files from the Minister. So there is substantial documentation relating to policy matters within the Department of Northern Affairs.

Sovereignty issues are slightly different, undoubtedly, because they certainly did concern Northern Affairs and particularly the Advisory Committee on Northern Development which Graham Rowley was the secretary. A number of policy-related issues concerning de facto sovereignty in them – waterways or whatever – came before that committee and those records are available.

The advantage I had, I believe, in talking with people, whether it was on the sovereignty issue, people like R.H.A. Phillips or Gordon Robertson or Ben Sivertz or others, was being able to once having looked at various documents to bring them with me and to discuss them at great length and to get their feedback.

I thought these were documents often relating to those individuals and it was extremely helpful in trying to interpret departmental policy and broader government policy.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** What prompted me to ask the ques-

This is a very good question about the type of decision this was and at what level decisions were being made. It is most likely that this was a project-level decision, given who was involved in decision-making and the lack of broader Inuit or Arctic policy at the time.



tion was that I guess there was a reference – I think it was in Mr. Gunther's report – to the fact that Mr. Sivertz was a fifth level civil servant. It seems to me that you get into that sort of thing when you can't find any enunciated policy at the top level.

**ALAN MARCUS:** In that particular case, Ben Sivertz in August 1953 – that perhaps Mr. Gunther was referring to regarding this meeting which is often quoted which was held on the 10th of August of 1953 at the time of the relocation.

Mr. Sivertz enjoyed a special position in respect to the Deputy Minister and was, perhaps to some extent, outside of the stratified bureaucracy of the Department at that time.

Of course, then he became shortly thereafter Chief of the Arctic Division, Director of the Lands Branch.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Commissioner Sillett, please.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Thank you very much. Just one question.

You said that the relatives of the relocatees in Inukjuak – they didn't do that badly following the period of relocation. So I was interested in asking you: Do you have any information which would tell us how the Inuit in Inukjuak lived and the Inuit in the High Arctic lived following the relocation? For example, you talked about economic conditions, but do you have any idea about how they fared with respect to education and health with their relatives remaining in Inukjuak?

**ALAN MARCUS:** Again, it is complex and I wasn't there and it is really difficult for me to say without having had firsthand knowledge. I can only speculate from what people have said and documents that I have read.

In terms of the amenities that people have focused on, like, for example, the well provision store at Port Harrison with a much greater variety of supplies than those that were created in Resolute and Grise, or the school or the nursing station or the church – yes, those services were available there and it took a long time for them to become available in Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord.

In Resolute Bay in terms of schooling, we have had in the audience the first teacher. She was a teenager at the time, Leah Idlout, who helped the children teaching. In fact, a number of photographs were taken by the Department of her and much was made at the time that she was helping those children at Resolute Bay with their studies.

But it wasn't until later in the 1950s – in the case of Resolute Bay, right around 1959 – or into the early sixties in the case of Grise Fiord that schools were actually created and qualified teachers were brought to those communities.

In terms of quality of life, though, life with one's kinship groups, life living on a land that you know, that, I feel, perhaps in this case, was far more important. Really, it is extremely difficult to put any sort of evaluation on the difference between being separated from that life that you knew in Inukjuak and the one that you essentially had no choice but to live in Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** I guess the reason that I ask that question – I did remember in April hearing someone saying that when they left, their education had been interrupting and saying that, “My friend finished school. I never had that chance.” I heard people saying, “I had no friends when I went to Grise Fiord and my cousin did.”

I have found that we haven’t focused on that question very much and I was just wondering if you had that kind of information.

**ALAN MARCUS:** Certainly, that is exactly what I was told as well and some people told me that they were in school. The *C.D. Howe* came. They were put onboard the boat with their families and when they reached the new communities, of course, there was no schooling at all.

They expressed to me the same concern that they weren’t able to benefit from the teaching of Majorie Hinds in Port Harrison or the teacher who replaced her – from that education, certainly, yes.

Others have spoken of how much they missed best friends, people they were related to Inukjuak. Others have spoken of missing certain things, very personal things, too – particular areas of the land, missing certain berries that they used to eat in Inukjuak which weren’t available to them at Resolute Bay.

I think one of the most interesting books which has come out recently is by Mark Nuttal entitled “Arctic Homeland”. He has a chapter discussing “memoryscape”, the knowledge that Inuit have for a particular landscape and the associations they have of hunting experiences and family experiences which have taken place in that landscape. They are very much rooted to that landscape.

In the minds of the planners of the relocation or the field constables involved, my impression from my discussions from them is at the time they viewed the Arctic as the Arctic, as white, barren and that the Eskimo was an Eskimo and that they didn’t necessarily differentiate between particular people and their need to live in a particular land and the knowledge that they had for that particular land, especially when times were difficult in terms of knowledge of hunting.

They had none of this when they moved to Ellesmere Island and Cornwallis Island. It was completely foreign, despite the help that was offered to them and which was undoubtedly very necessary from the Pond Inlet Inuit. They had no sense of association of the landscape there whatsoever. It was a foreign place. It was a completely different place.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Commissioner Chartrand, please.

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Marcus, for your presentation. I have read some time ago your publication and many of the other documents, and I would like to ask you one question and I hope you will be indulgent with me if I have misunderstood the substance of your work. I would like to invite your assistance in furthering my understanding of our work.

It occurred to me – and I said this in April at the earlier hearings – that in the circumstances of this relocation, the Inuit people did not have the usual safeguards in a free and democratic country whereby the performance of government is assessed. They had, we were told, no access to the franchise, no vote, no effective access to the courts. There were no Inuit ombudsmen.

We are in a situation today, it appears, where we are being asked, in a sense, or invited to assess government actions in retrospect in circumstances where the normal modes of assessment were absent at the time.

I am concerned about the matter which has already been raised and that is of the apparent need – and I say “apparent” because I am going to ask your view on it – to create a 1950s lens to do our work in order to assess the performance of government.

So I am going to ask your scholarly opinion with respect to the question of assessing the hardship, the admitted hardship – it seems to me they are admitted hardships – to determine if a wrong occurred of a kind to which the state of Canada now ought to respond. I will phrase it that way and I will invite you to correct the description if you believe it is necessary.

You are urging us – and this is a part of the question. I am asking if you are urging us that in striving to assess the hardships to determine if a wrong of a kind to which Canada ought to respond in fact occurred we ought to put on one side the admitted sincerity – you referred to the motives of the individuals concerned. I want to make sure that you are advising us that we ought to put that to the side, that they are not relevant. We should admit the sincerity and, on the other hand, look at the admitted hardships.

I am asking you that because I would like your view as a scholar as to whether then you believe that it is our duty to develop the appropriate 1950s lens with which to make that assessment. I say that because I notice on page 77 in your conclusions that you include a reference to breaches of human rights, but I am not able to discern that the conclusion is based on an argument of yours.

I am saying, then: Are you then inviting us to complete the crafting of what I have called the 1950s lens? That is the relevant standard. I hope I have phrased my question in a way that it makes it understandable and I would be happy to try to rephrase it in a shorter summary, if you wish.

**ALAN MARCUS:** Right. Well, I am not a legal scholar.

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** May I clarify that?

I was not suggesting that you ought to use a legal standard. I was only asking if you thought that a standard was appropriate.

**ALAN MARCUS:** It is a difficult question. Undoubtedly, perhaps one of the most difficult questions that there is to consider having accepted that the planners of the relocation, many of the field officers acted with the best of intentions and were men of great sincerity and high moral values, but that the people involved, the Inuit, nevertheless suffered, as indeed they did, I believe.

I believe that there are certain fundamental assumptions that we need to make when it comes to considering what are called human rights. For me, in this case, it regards just one thing and that was the very act of placing a people on a boat, of transporting them to a land far away, of making them a promise that they could come back, but of their not being able to do so physically on their own and, for whatever reasons, the government not doing so.

I believe, though I am not a legal scholar, that this was a fundamental human right that was violated. In fact, the Inuit relocatees were, for want of a better word, incarcerated, contained on islands in the High Arctic and that they had no choice once they were on the boat and that they were not able to

come home by any means that was within their ability to do so.

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** Thank you for that explanation.

Is it fair to derive from your work and from what you say that your examination of the facts offends your sense of justice? You referred to this belief and to these fundamental assumptions and that in order for us to assess the government policy, we need to explain why it is that your sense of justice is offended.

You see, there were other relocations in Canada as well and I am concerned to ask whether one can in fact develop such a particularistic notion of justice as to be able to make a determination of one set of facts which would not apply to another set of facts and are we to develop a particularistic notion of justice on each particular set of facts.

So this is the nature of the difficulty that partly faces us. But I do believe I understand what you have said. I characterize it as a sense or belief that you have from your serious examination of the facts that an injustice of a kind that you referred to as human rights, but for our purposes it appears that we would have to develop the substance of it.

Thank you very much. You may wish to add a comment, but I do want to offer my thanks.

**ALAN MARCUS:** Yes, thank you. I would only say that that is the very considerable responsibility of this Commission and I wish you very well in taking on that task.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Georges Erasmus, please.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Thank you. Could we go back to the Eskimo Loan Fund.

How many loans were involved in this venture? I am starting to gather that there were three loans to assist in the relocation and then there were at least two for the two separate trading stores. So that is about five. Is that correct? Are there more or less?

**ALAN MARCUS:** Initially, there were only three, one to each store, and each was in the name of the designated camp boss.

Because the Alexandra Fiord detachment – because the people in the end were not relocated to Alexandra Fiord, I don't believe that that third loan was used or used very substantially. So essentially in the end you were left with two loans – one to Grise Fiord and one for Resolute Bay.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** You are not really sure what happened to that third \$5,000 loan.

**ALAN MARCUS:** Not off the top of my head.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** When we were being presented with information from Shelagh Grant, her opinion in relation to this surplus that you were responding to with René Dussault a few minutes ago was that she didn't think that that had ever been credited back to the store's account. In your document – I think it is yours – at page 39, you quote Fraser:

In the case, concern has been expressed because the profit from the annual operation of the Eskimo trading stores has not been returned to the Eskimos. We now understand that this cannot be done because of the unusual circumstances whereby the trading stores were established.

For further discussion about the initial ELF projects, see Tester and Kulchyski (1994)

I am getting the impression that you are also saying the same thing, but what does that mean?

**ALAN MARCUS:** In this case, Fraser was saying the same thing.

As they say, it is a quagmire. The amounts were probably credited to the individual loan for that – not for that community, but for the store and, for example, Resolute Bay. But it was not credited back individually to people. In other words, that money they never saw at all.

The government, as far as I am aware, the Department used those funds as a revolving account in order to advance purchase supplies for the following and, in some cases, of course, there was still a profit, a surplus credited to that individual account.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Have you seen this letter that was quoted earlier, the 20th of April 1960? It is to Coombs from G.B. Warner. It is about the Eskimo trading store at Grise Fiord and it outlines the specific amounts. You must have in relation to having –

**ALAN MARCUS:** It could be. I would have to look at it, actually, to –

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** It talks about so many white fox sold at \$15, so many others sold at \$18 and then some sold at \$20, the total amount being \$6,000, and then the auction being \$17,953 and the difference being \$11,000 and so forth.

You are citing the figures fairly closely there and so I guess you must have seen it.

It seems from this that the constable was suggesting that in fact the trappers had not been refunded.

**ALAN MARCUS:** Again, I would have to take a look at it, but that could well be the case.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** You talk about in 1956 there having been concerns at a meeting in Resolute Bay. Could you explain that? I haven't heard about this meeting before.

**ALAN MARCUS:** That is actually also in my monograph. I don't know what page it is on, but it is in there.

See Marcus (1991)

That was, I think, to my mind, a crucial meeting because that meeting was held at a period of three years after the move – so at the very time when this two or three-year promise was supposed to come due.

That meeting was attended, as I mentioned, by the Department's officer in charge of Eastern Arctic Patrol, Jackson, and also by Ross Gibson and Superintendent Henry Larsen. At that meeting, as Jackson recalls in his patrol report to the officials at the Department in Ottawa above him – it may well have been Ben Sivertz – the Inuit, all the men of whom were present, spoke of wanting to go back to Inukjuak.

He says, as far as I can recall, that they wanted to go back for visits, they said, but I think one has to remember that it was this gentleman and not the Inuit themselves who were recording this meeting which was held. It was therefore his interpretation of their request. Whether or not they actually requested to go back permanently or whether they actually requested to go back for visits, certainly it is another world. It is impossible to peg down. What he states is that they went back. They wanted to go back for visits.

But what it meant to me is that those Inuit men, all of whom were present at the meeting in Resolute Bay, expressed a concern to go back to Inukjuak

for whatever purposes. They expressed a concern at the very time that this promise was to have come due.

In his report, J.C. Jackson acknowledges that the Inuit told him undoubtedly through the interpreter who was present that they thought they had been made a promise of return, but what J.C. Jackson told his superiors was that since he had no knowledge of a promise being made, he informed them of that. He suggested to his superiors that if no promise had been made, that the Inuit should pay their own way back.

Now, of course, that was impossible at the time and it wasn't a cash economy at the time. It was credited on the store. They didn't have the funds and there wasn't the commercial transport for them to get on board a plane should they have had the funds to go back to Inukjuak.

But what I think is significant is the fact that it is recorded at that very time in 1956 at the annual inspection of that camp, that they expressed a desire to go home and that that desire went up the ladder to the senior people at the Department of Northern Affairs, the Director, for example.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** When the report got to Ottawa about the particular constable not knowing about the promise, did someone from headquarters respond back and say, "There is an agreement if these people want to go back," as we have been very clearly told here repeatedly, "that they could go back, that this was an experiment"?

**ALAN MARCUS:** Firstly, he wasn't a constable. He was called the officer in charge of the Eastern Arctic Patrol. In fact, he was one of the officials working for the Department of Northern Affairs and they, at various times, took turns being the officer in charge. For example, Cantley or Stevenson, at various times, were the officers in charge.

I was unable to find any memos at all relating to the response, if there was a response, to this report. This, after all, wasn't a memo as far as I can recall. It was the annual Eastern Arctic Patrol report. So this was on some page within perhaps a 20-page document about the annual Eastern Arctic Patrol. So there wouldn't necessarily have been a responding memo.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** In the interviews that you have had with the Inuit, did you check and see what their impression of this particular meeting was, what they said?

**ALAN MARCUS:** What they informed me was that they had from the beginning said to officials that they wanted to go home, that they did express their wish to go home and that they did so from the early years.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Could you tell us your view of the type of families that were chosen? We have been getting different types of views on what actually took place.

**ALAN MARCUS:** Of course, that is a very sensitive issue because while Majorie Hinds prepared a dossier on every single individual that Ross Gibson selected to go and she described every single individual – and there are other reports, police reports on a number of the individuals who were selected – I don't feel that it is my right to go into those personal details. But certainly those documents are available and I couldn't certainly make available copies of those documents to the Commission.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** All right.

**ALAN MARCUS:** The overall impression was that these were people who were dependent on relief at this time and that these people who were not necessarily the best hunters or trappers, rather, and not necessarily the worst trappers, but perhaps people in the middle.

But, again, it is so subjective. It doesn't necessarily mean whatsoever that these were the characters of the individuals involved. These were perspectives which were written down by white officials who may or may not have had a command for the language, but they were not Inuit and they were making subjective decisions about the characters of those individuals.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** We are interested in a section of your report that talks about – these were kind of like advanced pioneer colonies, forerunners of things to come if it was successful and that some officials seemed to have had ideas of starting other colonies in the north if in fact these were successful.

Could you express your views on that?

**ALAN MARCUS:** Yes. From the very outset, it was described as a forerunner and it was from the very outset described as an experiment. Should the experiment prove successful, further relocations to the Queen Elizabeth Islands could be undertaken.

In the press reports in the major Canadian newspapers, headlines screamed that this would be a forerunner of potential future Eskimo repopulations of the Far North. Through the 1950s, the feasibility was discussed certainly by the Director of the Northern Administration and Lands Branch at the Department at that level.

What happened was that after the move in 1953, the Department became concerned that it did not know precisely what was the availability of game in the areas of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay and that resource studies should be undertaken.

When the idea for moving people again in 1955 came, only a certain number of people were moved. Later on, it was decided that no more people should be moved until these resources studies had been done – not by the Department of Northern Affairs, but by the Wildlife Service. Even as late as 1960, it was still being considered at the Director level of the Department at least that further Inuit colonies could be created in the Queen Elizabeth Islands.

They discovered that area resource surveys hadn't been done and they were shortly done thereafter. However, by that time, around 1960, things had changed completely and by then it was decided – the movement was to do the reverse, to move Inuit off the land and into settlements, as occurred, and centralization of the Inuit in the 1960s.

In so doing, you were providing them with rather expensive services and it would have been foolhardy to have created further colonies at the northernmost areas in the High Arctic where transportation costs would have been prohibitive. So it was deemed by that point no longer necessary to pursue further colonization as it was described with the High Arctic archipelago.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Do you feel that yourself to the reasoning for the move originally and the consideration of moving more people up there? What do you believe the reason for these colonies were?

**ALAN MARCUS:** The million dollar question.

As I have said, my feeling is that there was a keen desire on the part of the government to further Canadianize the northernmost islands. As I have said, those detachments on Ellesmere Island were put there, as Bob Pilot has said, for one purpose alone – even if it was for the small amount of policing action to keep Greenlanders from hunting muskox on Ellesmere Island.

The purpose of those detachments were that they should serve as flag detachments, that they should show the flag, that they should be symbols of a Canadian presence and administration in that area of the High Arctic. It is without a doubt that these relocations were part and parcel of the same ideology and that without those two detachments, this idea would never have gotten off the ground.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Thank you.

In relation to your section called lack of services, we have been told by others and have read that in fact everyone was given an x-ray and medical check-up, everyone moving north. How could it be that Markoosie, as you mentioned here, possibly could have been spitting up blood, actually had tuberculosis, as was described, virtually most of the year at least prior to this? How would it have been possible that he could have had an x-ray and an examination and not actually been put up.

Secondarily, how would it be possible that once they did arrive in the north and his situation seemed to have gotten worse that it was yet another full year before he was actually flown out to get service when at Resolute I am sure there were flights there fairly regularly?

**ALAN MARCUS:** I think that is question that relates very much to the context of the times. Today, of course, such an event wouldn't take place, but back then things were, of course, extremely different.

According to official reports, the x-ray machine was either not on board the *C.D. Howe* or not operating at the time that it went to Port Harrison. It may have been put on board when the ship went across Hudson Bay to Churchill, but by that time, Markoosie Patsauq may well not have been x-rayed because those people had already received, supposedly, some form of medical examination at Port Harrison, although they did not receive at that time an x-ray at all.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** You are quite clear on that, that there were no x-rays in Port Harrison at this time.

**ALAN MARCUS:** That's correct. It is in the monogram. There are two reports which corroborate the fact, including one my Majorie Hinds who was extremely upset at the fact that those x-rays weren't able to be carried out at Port Harrison and she berated her superiors at the Department to that extent.

The question about why his tuberculosis went unnoticed at Resolute Bay is more difficult. I don't know why. I can't even speculate why. The question about why he wasn't flown out once it was discovered by Ross Gibson, I think, has very much to do with the times, that the Inuit were expected to wait for their medical examinations, to a large degree, until the annual patrol of the *C.D. Howe*. It only docked at each settlement for a day or two and, as we have heard earlier from Professor Bob Williamson, the handling of those Inuit on board the *C.D. Howe* for their medical examinations was pretty hasty at times, pretty rushed at times and pretty depersonalized at times.

So it would only be to speculate that the thought was that this boy would be all right until the *C.D. Howe* came, at which point a proper examination by



the doctor on board could be conducted as was usually the case.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** In the examinations you have done of this period, were there any occasions when people were actually Medivaced out or did everyone have to wait for the annual evacuation? Markoose had to wait a whole year and then finally when they did discover it after they x-rayed him, they still didn't fly him out. He was shipped out. Was this what was happening all of the time?

**ALAN MARCUS:** In the case of Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord in the fifties, there were instances – it may have been late fifties, early sixties. Bob Pilot would be able to tell you better about that, but there were certainly instances where people were because of emergencies, not because, to my knowledge, of tuberculosis but because of some form of medical emergency were Medivaced out and, in some cases, USAF air crews were scrambled from Tuli in order to do that.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** You make mention about at times it seems there was some conflict between different federal departments. There was, it seemed, concern amongst the RCMP about professional healthcare coming to communities that actually blocked the possibility of bringing in a nurse, it seemed, to the Grise Fiord detachment. If, in fact, that occurred, the actual reason for the RCMP to be there would be lessened or negated.

**ALAN MARCUS:** I was surprised and, I suppose, to some extent, alarmed when I saw that particular RCMP report. In that case, in the mid-sixties, when perhaps the concern about effective occupation had lessened from what it was in the American military escalation of the early fifties prior to the DEW line.

It could well have been the case that the RCMP were no longer sure that those detachments on Ellesmere Island or, perhaps, at Cornwallis would be necessary in order to show the flag. Therefore, the only other task that they had was to look after the welfare of the Native communities there, and one of those tasks was to provide first aid treatment.

Now, if a nurse was introduced to the settlement, that would do two things. One, they would no longer be required to perform that function and so that would be one less responsibility that they would have and one less reason for their actually being there.

There was also the concern about teachers, for example, as far as I am aware, being introduced into both communities and that the RCMP, initially at least in the case of Resolute Bay and more successfully, perhaps, in the case of Grise Fiord, was able to block perhaps the early introduction of federal teachers to those communities.

The other concern was that it was seen to be a considerable advantage in the case, for example, of Grise Fiord that there were only the RCMP there as officials. If you introduced other officials, be they nurses, be they teachers, be they administrators, the RCMP would no longer have exclusive control over those communities and what took place.

I think that is, for example, illustrated back in Port Harrison where Ross Gibson described both for us in his interview and certainly to me the difficulties he had with the welfare teacher Marjorie Hinds who was a considerable personality and who disagreed with him on all sorts of points.

When you had other officials, you had whites representing other agencies, as in the case of Port Harrison, a number of other whites representing other

agencies, it acted to modify the control of the RCMP. The RCMP still at that time had ultimate say so, perhaps, and undoubtedly that was the case in Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay. But in community like Port Harrison with a more sizeable population of professionals and representatives of other agencies, that certainly wasn't the case.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** How serious was the lack of enough members of the other sex in Grise Fiord? We have heard this. What was the real magnitude of the problem?

**ALAN MARCUS:** If you relocate a few extended families to an extremely isolated location, you can be fairly sure that they are going to have difficulties, teenagers are going to have difficulties in finding marriage partners.

In the case of Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay, this situation was compounded by the differences between the Pond Inlet Inuit and the Inukjuak Inuit as is reported in the RCMP documents at considerable length throughout the 1950s and the 1960s. In their reports, which were filed monthly, they recorded if there was any inter-marriages between the two groups and it was a long time, as far as I am aware, before there was.

You had, in fact, an almost ludicrous situation where RCMP constables such as Bob Pilot were being asked by Inuit men in Grise Fiord if he could assist them in finding a potential partner.

Superintendent Henry Larsen realized very early on that this was a fundamental flaw of the relocation plan and he suggested, therefore, two or three years after the move that his constables in Inukjuak find girls of marriageable age to send north to those communities as perspective spouses to those bachelors.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** My last question has to do with the conversation you had with Ross Gibson in which he said to you that during the first winter, it was so cold and on and on, that had the Inuit, presumably at Resolute, had an opportunity to return, they would have all done so.

Did he mention that there were any other occasions when the Inuit actually wanted to return or were there other conditions like this when this occurred? For instance, we have been told by others that there was concern about lack of food and there was virtually a revolt, I think, in the late fifties or something, that if the stores weren't supplied better, they would want to return.

**ALAN MARCUS:** I believe he made that comment, although, of course, I would have to check it, in a letter written to me on the 7th of May 1990. I must admit that in the several times that I have interviewed Ross Gibson and in the correspondence I have had with him, he has been extremely candid about this period.

As I believe he said in his interview here, he suggested the idea that the Inuit be re-rotated from Quebec to Resolute Bay which suggests that he was aware that there were individuals who were keen to go back and, therefore, others could be brought up to take their place.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Thank you.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Just one question. I asked this question of Mr. Larsen's son. I have always wondered if you knew the answer to this. In Resolute, I guess, there is RCAF and they are all men. We know that that is not unusual for bases, but the RCMP – and in the case of Larsen, he had a

family but he didn't bring his family up. I am wondering why wouldn't he bring his family? Was there a policy that – why would they not bring their families to the north?

**ALAN MARCUS:** You are speaking specifically of Superintendent Henry Larsen?

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** It occurred to me that he was one of the people who – he was stationed, I guess, in Resolute or – was it Resolute or Grise Fiord?

**ALAN MARCUS:** No, Superintendent Henry Larsen was head of G Division for the whole of the Northwest Territories. So the only place he was stationed was Ottawa, but he did make regular inspection trips to the various detachments of G Division.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** My question is then: It seemed to me that the RCMP during that period didn't bring their families. Was there a reason for that? Do you know?

**ALAN MARCUS:** Again, Bob Pilot, who may still be around, would be the best person to give you that insider knowledge.

As far as I am aware, there was a policy to only have bachelors, certainly, at certain detachments in the north. At others, at least later, there were married men detachments, but the RCMP had a rather – as a paramilitary organization, it had a rather unique system for deciding on spouse material.

As I am aware from this period in the 1950s, should a member, as they were known, want to marry a particular woman, then the RCMP conducted an inspection of that individual and questioned people who knew her. But, again, I really don't have that specialist inside knowledge.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you. Thank you for presenting a summing-up of your research and answering our questions.

**ALAN MARCUS:** Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** I would now like to ask Professor Magnus Gunther to come forward. Good afternoon.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman and Commissioners.

I see that it is a quarter to five and I was supposed to be on this morning, and it has been sort of tiring just waiting to get here. So I can imagine how tired you are and how patient you have been and how well you have handled all of this.

So what I will try to do is cut back on the presentation that I was going to make, keep it relatively brief and try to keep as much time as possible for questions because I gather those are perhaps more helpful to the Commission than sometimes our written presentations.

But I thought in any case that I would like to just cover a few points at least in my written presentation. I would like to just briefly introduce myself. My name is Magnus Gunther and I am a Professor of Political Studies at Trent University.

I am basically going to be talking about a report that I carried out under a contract, a government contract in which I was asked by the Department of Indian Affairs to review all of the allegations which had been made about

Magnus Gunther was a political scientist who taught at Trent University and was hired by the DIAND in August 1991 to review the documentary evidence related to government motivations for the relocation. Gunther's analysis concluded that the government had acted reasonably. The release of Gunther's report prompted significant backlash, both among Inuit who brought their case to the CHRC and later to the RCAP, as well as among academic commentators

how the government had handled the relocation in order to see whether these could be confirmed by documentary corroboration. In other words, I was asked to see whether there were one or more smoking guns among the documents that would establish conclusively government culpability on the various issues that they had been accused of.

Now, my findings are at considerable variance with the conventional wisdom which has appeared in the press on this matter and the views of various Inuit witnesses such as those who appeared before the Parliamentary Standing Committee in 1990 which were the ones that I read very carefully. I haven't been able to read the comments of the witnesses who appeared in April.

I want to make as an introductory comment, if I may, Mr. Chairman, a comment about documentary analysis. Clearly, one of the – first of all, all I could do really with documentary archival analysis was to provide a part of the story. I could not and I did not give the rich and dramatic texture of accounts given by those Inuit and others who were there and can actually remember.

There are always problems of reliability and completeness in the case of documents. There is always paper erosion in files. There is always that frustrating point when you think, "Oh, I have something here," and then you look in another file to try to confirm and it just isn't there.

A lot of things that people thought were useless 20 years ago such as RCMP daily diaries or monthly reports or quarterly reports seem mostly to have been thrown out. Accounts that contained trivial amounts for an Eskimo Loan Fund disappeared not because of malevolence or anything like that – simply, it is one of those things that happens.

So there is always an incompleteness with this. Documents rarely give a totally unambiguous answer to questions, proving once again that history is not there only for historians.

In this case, too, the documents are mostly, apart from the Inuit letters in the files, which, by the way, were saved by chance, were written from the perspective of the dominant white culture. They give, in other words, the view from the top.

However, having said all of that, I would argue that there are some real advantages to documentary analysis which makes it an essential part of any attempt to recreate a story now 40 years old.

Documents do not change over time. The interpretation of them certainly does, but the documents are there. The words remain the same and they don't change in that sense, but oral history is due. Documents do not develop a life of their own. Oral histories sometimes do. Oral histories are organic and like all live organs, sometimes grow and develop and change with time.

While recall information can convey a richness of personal feelings, of attitudes, of personal perceptions which documents fail to provide, memory is nonetheless a very, very fallible human mechanism.

As all know, memory is firstly high selective. Second, memory is often highly defensive and, thirdly, memory is limited simply in the amount of data that it can process or remember. I am struck here, for instance, by – Constable Gibson was asked the other day whether he had ever written any letters inquiring about the health of patients who had been moved to the south, and Gibson said "no". Once they had moved on the *C.D. Howe*, that

is not something he would have done, and yet I was reminded that in 1954, when a young 12-year old man from Resolute was diagnosed as having T.B., in fact, there is a letter from Gibson to the Department asking for further information about where this young man was and pointing out that no letters – or that while letters had been received, they were very incomplete and his parents were concerned.

The same thing with Gordon Robertson. Gordon Robertson said that as far as he knew, the promise to return people was something that he was uncertain and yet in 1956 there is a letter that he sent out saying, "Look, we are still very unsure about whether these projects are doing well," and that letter says clearly, "We are going to bring people back if they fail."

So there is a limit to the amount of data that anyone can process and remember and this is particularly true of people who are looking back 40 or 50 years.

Moreover, it seems to me that the problems of corroboration are especially serious when they become highly politicized. I am involved at the moment in oral history which I have been carrying out for the last two years in which I am trying to recreate the experience of a group of people who were resistance fighters in South Africa between 1961 and 1964. They were broken up by the police. Many of them had long terms of imprisonment and one, whom I knew very well, was hanged. I am trying to get that story together and what strikes me with the oral histories that I am getting is the enormous amount of variance in the way people experience the same events, and it has convinced me at least very, very much that oral history has to be examined in an incredibly careful way, very, very systematically if one is going to understand it properly and has to be corroborated.

Despite this or perhaps because of it, I believe that two forms of evidence can complement one another – if not complement, at least challenge one another. In the case of my research, I believe modestly at least that I have been able to find some of the causes for the extraordinary discrepancy between what the documents say and what some of those who are relocated now say.

It seems to me that there are two areas in particular where misunderstandings – not necessarily malevolence, but very, very serious misunderstandings occurred. I offer very tentatively these as some partial answer to this extraordinary discrepancy that we have seen.

I think those two areas are, first of all, the question of the promise of a return which is figured enormously and I think there were two sets of perceptions there – and I think that needs to be looked at in some depth – and, secondly, I think the bizarre Eskimo Loan Fund that you have been looking at has created enormous residue of chagrin, irritation, misunderstanding and has been one of those things that has fed the fires over the years.

Mr. Chair, there are five areas in which my documents disagree with the prevailing wisdom on these matters. First of all, I do not believe the documents support the idea that sovereignty was a primary factor or even a material factor in the relocations.

Second, I do not believe they confirmed the view that the Inuit were either forced or tricked to move and then deliberately kept in the High Arctic against their will. This, I do not believe, was a case of kidnapping and forceable confinement on the part of the government, though I would add that there were serious misunderstandings about what had been promised at the time of the moves.

Third, the issue of how badly flawed were the preparations. I will not in fact cover this section about the preparations in this presentation. We can perhaps pick that up in question time. But I asked myself in my report, “Did the problems –” and there were certainly problems around the preparations – “fatally flaw the enterprise?”

Again, I would argue that the documents suggest that there were problems, but again we have to look at within the terms of the circumstances of the time. I think it is very, very important not to apply the standards of the nineties in that situation in the 1950s, although it is very, very tempting to do so because that world seems so bizarre from our point of view in some ways. In other ways, I think there were some admirable aspects of government at that time.

But when we look at how government functioned and what it could do, I think one has to take into account some of the relative conditions that were at work at that time.

Fourth, I look at whether the Inuit relocatees faced an environment of radical deprivation both in a lack of government services and basic essentials of living. Again, I think that the documents show a more complex picture than has been suggested, but I do go in fair detail – well, the problem is information on this issue. How do you compare Inukjuak with Resolute and Grise Fiord? You can. I try in my report to make comparisons on which were better off with respect to housing or medical services and so on, but one can only do it very, very tentatively.

But I do come to the suggestion that the northern settlements did in some respects or the people going to the northern settlements did in some respects far better up north than they would have done in Inukjuak.

Finally, the question about whether the whole project was a success or a failure. My conclusion to the report was that at least until the late 1960s at Resolute, these projects, at least as portrayed in the archival and other documentation, constituted a limited but not – I have changed the wording a little bit here. I had originally “a limited but not insignificant success story” and I have changed it here a little bit to “a limited but quite significant success story”.

That I say was true of Resolute. In a strange way, things picked up in the 1970s in Grise Fiord. For instance, it is claimed that by 1970, where very few people had had full-time employment in Grise Fiord, Reu says that by early 1970, all the men had full-time employment at Grise Fiord. So the situation there would have changed very much.

It is clear, too, by the way that if you evaluate these projects, there is a real difference between Grise Fiord, which was the step sister in some respects and did less well than Resolute, where by 1966, at least, the claims were that this was a very, very successful Arctic community by certain measures at least.

Let me take a couple of these points quickly. I am of two minds here, Mr. Chairman. I will try to go through the sovereignty stuff – I am torn. Obviously every word I have written here is precious and rich and very, very important, and yet on the other hand we are all human, we are all frail and we all want to go home, despite the richness and value of what I have to offer here.

What can I say very, very quickly? Let me see if I can pull out the main points on my dismissal of sovereignty.

There are two versions of Gunther's report. The second edition, completed in August 1993, is reproduced in Lackenbauer (2020)

There are basically two views on whether sovereignty was key. One argues that sovereignty was the prime reason for determining the time and location of the moves. There is another more circumspect view that has been taken by Kemp who did a contract for the Makivik Corporation in 1982 and Kemp came to the conclusion that sovereignty was considered but not a central issue in the relocations.

Soberman, too, is very circumstantial, I find, about whether he feels sovereignty was important, but he said it was nevertheless material.

Now, I reject both of those views. I reiterate in my paper here the comment by Dean Vincent Macdonald in 1950 that Canada had in every respect and for a long period and little challenge clearly established its title to the whole Canadian Arctic by effective occupation.

This then raised the question of whether there was a *de facto*, a threat to *de facto* sovereignty in the High Arctic at this period that warranted the movement of 50 or more Inuit to help Canada strengthen its claim to sovereignty.

I argue very, very quickly that in the case of Ellesmere Island, there clearly was not the slightest concern about either *de jure* or *de facto* sovereignty. I am overstating myself to some degree because I am rushing and I am abbreviating, but there was –

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** I just want to make sure that you feel at ease to present. We are going to go extensively on the question period, but I would like you to be comfortable in making the presentations you want to make to us.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** Thank you, Mr. Chairman. That is very kind of you and very reassuring.

My sense of it is that in the case of Ellesmere, two Greenland families hunting for a couple of years and then the threat that there might be more hunters appearing at Etah some time in the future was in no sense a threat to sovereignty.

Clearly the RCMP were very, very concerned by what hunting was going on and there might be more hunting that might cause problems in Ellesmere. They were particularly struck by the documents, say, by the importance of the fact that the Greenlanders had been killing muskox. There had been a Royal Commission on the importance of the preservation of the muskox. The RCMP took the protection of the muskox extremely seriously.

When the reports came that the Greenlanders who had been tolerated for many years before because a number of them had been employees of the RCMP – when the news came that they were killing muskox as well and that more of them might appear, that is what I think provided the catalyst for the reopening of the RCMP post and later the 1953 post. On top of that, I argue that it was then decided to graft on a settlement, a relocation scheme whose origins lay elsewhere. In other words, the presence of the RCMP to control hunting infractions and to ensure that Ellesmere was not overhunted – not a sovereignty, but a game law preservation issue – then became the basis for piggybacking a relocation scheme.

In the case of Resolute, I argue that there, too, the case for sovereignty is weak. First of all, planning for the Resolute relocation started well before the Canadianization and sovereignty discussions of early 1953. Resolute was in the works as a possible site for relocation well before all of those discussions

in Cabinet and all of those discussions in the Advisory Commission on Northern Development.

Secondly, I would point out that the Canadianization discussion, when they came later on, did not necessarily mean and were not cast in terms of colonization. Canadianization meant to the government providing all Canadian government services – and that is really clear in 1953 and the main memo from the Privy Council on December 29, 1953. Canadianization did not mean colonization. Canadianization meant the Canadian government replacing American civilians. They were hugely exercised about the presence of the American civilians at the weather stations.

There were only 20 of these, but they were symbolic of something that the government felt was very important. The government was irritated that instead of Canadians providing the statistical services at the weather stations, the Americans were doing this.

That was the concern – expanding Canadian government civilian services – and the reason for that is very clear, that the international court cases on this have always maintained, quite apart from the political issues that were involved – but the international court cases have always said, “In the High North, you don’t need colonization to establish your sovereignty. What you need is effective occupation and effective occupation means having an effective civilian administration or government, not necessarily only civilian administration present in a territory.”

I also argue that the idea that there the GCI radar station was in the winds for Resolute is not the case. I disagree quite strongly with Professor Grant on this.

I would mention one other thing that I have here on page 7. I mention that at an early 1953, the February 1953 meeting of the revived Advisory Committee on Northern Development, the Deputy Minister of Resources and Development was specifically asked what his department was doing – this is February 1953 – with respect to the issue of effective occupation of the north.

He was asked: What contribution could the inhabitants of the north make? Young, who at this point could have very easily said, “Oh, you know, we are sending up because the decisions had already been taken and the plans were in the works” – in fact, many of the decisions, in part, had been taken a year before, but at this point it was very clear that Young knew that people were going to be asked to go to Resolute and to two other sites on Ellesmere, and he could have mentioned this.

This, in other words, would have been the precisely appropriate point at which to indicate that the Department was sending Inuit north for the purposes of asserting sovereignty had this been the case. But he says absolutely nothing about this.

What he does is he outlines a ten-year plan for the education of the Inuit which was to be carried out over the next few years, the assumption being, I assume – this is my reading into the document – that with education, Inuit could be employed as civilian government employees and, therefore, make their contribution in that way. That is my reading of it anyway.

Finally, I would just mention that it is quite inconceivable, given the nature of the discussions in the ACND, that there could have been a decision that the placing of a radar station with 100 Americans at Resolute could have occurred without the most extraordinarily extensive discussions either in the Cabinet Defence Committee, which there certainly weren’t, or the Cabinet

The ELF is approved in mid-March 1953. Young is actively working on developing these relocation projects at the time, so having Cabinet support would have helped accelerate them had they been considered to contribute to sovereignty.



itself or the ACND.

My argument is – and this, I think, is probably the core of what I want to try to say as to the origins of the projects. The projects were, I think, in fact, born during an absolutely horrendous period in Inuit history. After World War II, government services to the Inuit were grossly underfunded, administration was haphazard and dispersed and despite the genuine attempts that were starting to be made in the last forties to at last ameliorate the truly awful situation of the Inuit, the condition was in many ways worse than ever.

This was the period when epidemics ravaged communities with deadly effect every three or four years and the statistics are horrendous. TB had struck the Inuit communities with devastating effects, disrupting community lives, community and family lives. I would say this, Mr. Chairman, there is one thing that really struck me as I was doing this. If there ever was a tragedy of monumental proportions, it was this TB ravaging of the Inuit communities. When read the letters that came from people from the south who were being treated, it is truly devastating.

A quite incredible number of Inuit were evacuated to hospitals in the south for an average stay of two years. Sometimes, Mr. Chairman, treatment involved having to lie still all the time. That was part of the standard treatment for some patients at least.

Fifteen to twenty per cent of the Inuit were affected. In fact, in one incredible year, an extraordinary 1,600 out of a total population of 9,500 Inuit were in hospitals in the south.

Infant mortality was extraordinarily high, an astonishing 470 per 1,000 live births in 1950, but this number fluctuated quite violently. I am just quoting the most dramatic here.

After the first year, the average life expectancy was still only 31 years. There were only 245 children at school in 1951 and this figure was probably somewhat inflated. The schools didn't function particularly well. There are interesting accounts on this.

On top of all of this, the Eskimo economy, as it was called, collapsed between 1949 and 1951, literally collapsed. Fur prices dropped from \$26 per pelt in 1946 to as low as \$3.50 per pelt in 1950, an unbelievable drop.

At the same time, the cost of store bought goods on which people were becoming more dependent – i.e. white man's food – had not ceased rising. The Inuit were caught in a severe crunch of increasing costs and radically declining revenue.

What were the government services that were available? They were appalling. To serve the 8,500 Inuit in the whole of the Northwest Territories, there was in Ottawa a staff of seven. In 1950, there was a Chief of Arctic Services, two administrative officers – that was Cantley and Stevenson – two clerks and two stenographers.

In the field, in the whole of the Northwest Territories, there were six teachers, one of whom was in Port Harrison, and there were 72 RCMP officers and Inuit special constables. There were six nurses and there were three doctors in the whole of the Northwest Territories.

By the time the relocations had started, the Ottawa staff had increased by 102, this despite the fact that the Department actually in 1951 and 1952, despite this crisis, had had its estimates cut because of the Korean war and other financial policies.

Thus, in early 1950/51, many of the Inuit communities in the north were

caught in the grip of a deep and seemingly hopeless crisis of devastating health problems, increasing population. Interestingly, at the same time as the Inuit population had this extraordinary death rate, they also had the highest birth rate in the world.

A collapsed economy and by today's standards very, very limited albeit dedicated government assistance – it was in this situation that one of the two administrative officers of the Department – Cantley – was asked by the Northwest Territories counsel to prepare a report on the nature of the crisis and to offer solutions. His 55-page report is, I think, a call to trying to understand government policy at the time. It is never mentioned and so maybe I am mistaken, but it strikes me that it was the most unusually thorough attempt using very crude measures in a way, but it is the first time that there is a really lengthy, thoughtful, systematic attempt to get to grips with the crisis and to suggest some policies.

The policy offerings were rather weak, as one can guess from the department that had so little resources, but the analysis is interesting because it helps us to understand, I think, the why Quebec issue.

Cantley came to the conclusion that the main immediate problem faced by the Inuit was not only the collapse of the fur-based economy but population in relation to existing resources, as the phrase of the day was. Moreover, in this respect, the most serious area of concern was in new Quebec, in northern Quebec. It was here on what was called the hungry coast, as it was known at that time, that the problems of the relation between resources to population was the most serious.

As the annual RCMP report put it – that actually is a splendid report. It is an unusually graphic, sensitive report by an RCMP officer. You have heard parts of it before. It is by a man called Corporal Mansel. It gives you a good example of sort of the best of what those offices could offer.

He says in his report – this is 1950, admittedly – that there is an ingrained fear of starvation in northern Quebec, and that is one of the reasons why people keep concentrating at the settlements. The reason for immediate cause and concern and alarm in Cantley's words was because of the size and density of the new Quebec population. It was very large. Out of a total population of 8,500 Inuit at that time, 2,700 were living in new Quebec.

As the report says, with 30 per cent of the Inuit population – and these are crude measures, but this gives you some idea of the sort of thinking at the time, although it is very, very interesting that Professor Williamson, I think, asked some of these questions this morning. With 30 per cent of the Inuit population, new Quebec had only 15 per cent of the land area and 17 per cent of the coast available to the Inuit for hunting and trapping.

In Quebec, there were only 57 square miles of hunting territory per Inuit compared to 138 square miles in the devastatingly poor Keewatin and 75 square miles per Inuit on the somewhat better off Baffin Island.

The solution Cantley proposed to this problem of over-population and concentration of population in relation to the available resources was to distribute population to other available suitable places where a better living could be obtained. As he says in his report, there are few places where the resources are sufficient to support a large population for any length of time, and by that point, Inukjuak – this is a guess because the figures fluctuate quite a bit and the statistical gathering resources were few and far between. The population of Inukjuak was estimated to be around about 500 of whom

probably about 60 to 70 would have been living in the settlement.

So he says, "There are few places where the resources are sufficient to support a large population for any length of time, but there are enumerable places where a few families can hunt and obtain a living indefinitely." In this respect, he said, the 185,000 square miles not presently occupied in the High Arctic merited, in his words, consideration.

Now, it is very interesting that a year later, 1952, Cheshire, the General Manager of the Hudson's Bay Company – and this is interesting, I think, because it provides some broader context for the remarks that we heard from Mr. Ploughman – just prior to the first conference on Eskimo affairs in 1952 in a lengthy analysis of the Eskimo economy, not quite as lengthy as Cantley's, emphasized the same point. It was Quebec, he said, that merited priority consideration as soon as possible because there the decline in country food was the most serious.

There, too, concentration in restricted areas made the Inuit almost entirely dependent on fur and casual labour for the bare necessities of existence – his phrase.

Now, strangely enough, at the same time in 1952, things were improving at Inukjuak. The field report for 1952 – I am sorry, I have jumped ahead a little bit. There is one other point I would like to make.

So one element in this policy comes from, I think, these two policy documents. The other aspects of the policy came from a more ad hoc series of developments and accidents and opportunities that were to be seized.

At the same time as these reports were emanating, there were other matters occurring the field that seemed to confirm the need for expanding population to the High Arctic. In 1950, Cantley's colleague Stevenson reported on the 1950 crisis at Cape Dorset when 110 Inuit had to be congregated at Dorset and two airdrops made of food to save them from starvation. It is at that time, by the way, when Stevenson starts talking about the need to obviate this problem and send people north of the Lancaster Sound that he adds on a point about, "This might be useful for sovereignty if that was thought necessary."

The next year Idlout suggested that his very large camp at Pond Inlet should be established on Ellesmere and Stevenson reports this as a significant factor. The reopening of the Craig Harbour RCMP post in 1951 suggested that now there was an additional way of improving the lives of people under RCMP protection. Cantley in 1952 felt that there were certain developments at Resolute that required an RCMP officer to be there again as the single authoritative voice of government because of certain problems that had occurred in the previous year, and that offered another opportunity.

So the background to the locations, in summary, I say on page 12, was the general crisis that developed in Eskimo land as it was called. In the late forties and early fifties and in particular in northern Quebec, the problem of skeleton public services, minuscule bureaucratic resources and the urgent feeling that an even worse crisis was in the offering in the long run.

This was all reinforced by a 1951 northern Quebec medical report which confirmed the prevailing view that living in settlements and dependents on white man's food led to nothing but ill health, particularly pulmonary diseases and malnutrition.

I do note that in the case of Quebec in 1952, the RCMP reports the last year as being a good one – no doubt about it. Food has improved. 1953 was a

bumper year. There were 3,500 fox taken. By the end of 1954, a total of 5,000 fox had been taken where the average was about 1,500 per year.

But the response to these reports was – and I am quoting the officials here – no two years were ever the same for the Inuit and feast always follows famine. So the immediate situation and improvement in 1952/53 would not have played a major role.

It was clear, too, said one report that the long-term problems were the greatest concern. Low fur prices meant that even in the years in which there were bumper harvests, there would still not be sufficient funds to pay for white man's food or to replace worn-out equipment. The time was past, said the documents, when the Inuit could rely on white fox and other means would have to be found for them to obtain a reasonable living, and that is where the sources of the policy lie, I believe.

Once again, I would note that by the end of 1954 problems of overcrowding were reported in Inukjuak. In 1956, the RCMP felt that while hunting was not good, things would have been worse had people not gone to the High Arctic and many had gone south to Great Whale River in connection with, I think, a DEW line project.

The population of Inukjuak by that point in 1958 had been reduced from 500 to 337, a very, very precipitous decline. 1957 was another year – an up and down year. Large amounts of clothing had to be issued to the people in the area and relief had gone up, and so on and so forth.

One last point on all of this. I would like to stress, then, that in my view, the sovereignty claims are both flimsy and flawed – very, very little evidence that really stands – and that it is these kinds of references to the problems in northern Quebec and the crisis in the Eskimo economy that are a major reason for the relocations.

Strangely, in 1953 this all changed. In December 1953, the government finally – it was the end of the Korean war. St. Laurent had taken his decision that the days of benign neglect were over. A new department was created with the youngest minister that there had ever been, with the youngest deputy minister.<sup>21</sup> The funds started flowing. It was the end of the years of penny-pinching and minimal government. The floodgates opened and within a few years, the Department had to defend itself against the claim that there were more officials in the north than there were actually Inuit. By that time, the settlers were in the High North.

Mr. Chairman, despite all of my – put an academic in front of a captive audience and they can't resist it.

I want to say a – I will pick two things here. One is the issue of were people volunteers or not. I would like to make another comment on that and then I would like to deal with the issue of the broken promises and then finish with a brief comment on were things better in some respects or were they worse in the north. Then I can go to questions.

I am always assuming that when I have talked for half an hour it is actually only five minutes and it is usually the bored look on my students faces that introduces me to the reality of time.

Volunteers. My sense of it is that the Inuit who went to the High North were neither helpless, compliant pawns in the hands of the RCMP, nor were they equipped to make a fully informed decision on the basis of complete information about what the environment and circumstances of their new lives would be.

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My reason for this view is as follows: The archival documents – and I am only working on archival documents or written material – show a number of examples of Inuit who did not want to make long-distance moves and simply refused to do so. So there are a good number of counter-instances, a good number of them where people were saying, “Well, let’s try to get these people to move,” and the reports say, “No, they won’t move. They just won’t do it.” That was true of groups as well as individuals.

I think to create a general stereotype of the compliant Inuit is a mistake. The archives also show that Larsen was a stickler in insisting that Inuit voluntary co-operation was essential in any moves, but the officers, I note, did have some leeway in pressuring people to move short distances from settlements – 10 to 20 miles – when it seemed that they were becoming overpopulated or there were problems of a lack of hygiene.

The reports that I have seen, however, say that when an officer ordered people to move out 10 or 20 miles that they say, “We ordered people.” They didn’t say, “We want volunteers.” They said, “You have to move out 5 or 10 or 20 miles outside the settlement.” There was one instance of that in the Harrison area I came across.

Thirdly, I would not again that the Inuit witnesses who appeared before the Parliamentary Committee in 1990 did not say or not overwhelmingly say that they had been forced. Only one of the seven said that he had been forced to go north. The others said what? They said the RCMP had arrived and looked for people “willing to move”. This is what the witnesses said, confirming Gibson’s point that he had asked people who were willing to move.

They stated others said that they had moved because the RCMP had agreed to their conditions. Another witness said that they had moved because the camp leaders had decided the matter for them. However, as I say, one witness said that he – I think it was a he – had been forced to move against his will.

I would mention, too, that the idea of moving was not new in 1953. The Eastern Arctic Patrol in 1952 had asked if people would like to move north and allegedly, according to the reports, ten families had said in 1952 already that they would like to move. In fact, one of those ten is mentioned as moving then in 1953.

However, all of this does not imply the Inuit understanding of the project was complete – far from it. But this does not in turn mean that the agreement was non-voluntary or that it was unreasonable decision on their part to make.

The situation at Inukjuak was harsh and marginal. The Eskimo economy had collapsed. The RCMP had promised that they would get more game, more furs. I believe there was also a promise about housing that I came across somewhat later in the fifties. In one instance, the use of a power boat which was a powerful inducement in an area where only three families had these – in fact, that is one of the first things that the leader of the camp going up to Grise Fiord insisted on. He said, “Where is my power boat?” Sargent then wrote and said, “Can I give this used RCMP boat to the Inuit?” and he was told ‘yes’.

These people were the poorest of the poor. Marjorie Hinds’ reports give extensive detail about the state of their clothing, whether there was food or not, how healthy people looked, and so on. That is not to say that they were

all badly fed. For instance, some of them, she says, "Yes, there was a lot of food in the camp," but when she describes the equipment, she also says, "These are the most destitute or they haven't had clothes for years and so on and so forth. They were the poorest of the poor in a sense."

They were promised they could return after two years by Stevenson – I emphasizes this – if they did not like the project. They were promised the constant presence of the RCMP and this would have been a very considerable reassurance and they might have been told – and I stress "might" – that there would be other Inuit there to help them adapt.

I would like to just emphasize this. In the whole of northern Quebec, 2,700 people had the services of one nurse and three RCMP officers. The three groups going north – that is 54 people – were going to have the services of five RCMP officers and four special constables.

In the terms of the time, in terms of what was available, that was a very, very considerable contribution of what was available in terms of government services. In fact, I estimate later on that in the eastern Arctic, the RCMP was committing 30 per cent of its person power to these three projects. That is not to say that those RCMP officers didn't have other tasks, but that was a very, very considerable commitment of resources on the part of government.

In these terms, I thought looking at it all that it did not seem unreasonable to participate. Decisions to go south to the lonely TB hospitals might have been far more difficult to make in terms of comprehension of what awaited them there, and yet these two were decisions people took – painful ones, but reasonable ones and ones, to a large degree, based on trust.

I am going to leave the whole issue of preparation and I am going to jump here, Mr. Chairman. I look at, if you like, planning of supplies if you have any questions on that. I look at what Ms Hinds reported. I look at whether the Department took reasonable steps to help people with supplies. I look at – and I am very critical of – the decision to separate people on the *C.D. Howe* and I summarize my comments there on page 18.

I look at what helped people given when they arrived on page 19. I looked at the question of missing supplies also on page 19. My comment on –

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** I am sorry, the document that you have given us has only 17 pages.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** Oh, I am sorry. Yours is single-spaced and mine isn't. I will go through this – I don't think the paging is that urgent, Mr. Chairman, but I will go through it really very, very quickly with you.

It is under "Preparations", page 9, planning of supplies I mention in the middle of that page, Ms Hinds' information at the end of that page. The help given at Inukjuak is at the middle of page 10. The missing supplies is at the bottom of page 10, a very brief comment – the very brief comment on the health, what they knew about health; the role of the RCMP in contributing to the success at the top of 11.

I comment on how difficult the first year was at Grise Fiord at the bottom of page 11. I comment at the very bottom of page 11 on the commitment of personnel that the RCMP and others put into this.

My conclusion on page 12 is that in general the preparations given the truncated resources of the Department, the abject poverty of the participants, the parsimonious approach to government spending and the obsession with

self-help and the individual responsibility of the day were adequate and acceptable, despite all of the problems that had occurred and despite the criticisms that are made of them.

I would like to very quickly turn to the promises that were made because I think in many ways that and the Eskimo Loan Fund and how that developed – and I don't say anything about the Eskimo Loan Fund here. I can comment on that in response to questions.

Let me just jump here to the promises to return. The Inuit witnesses appearing before the Parliamentary Committee hearings stated that promises were made that if they did not adapt to the High Arctic, the government would return them to Inukjuak. These promises were not kept.

I believe that the anger and chagrin that has been expressed around this question is one of the core issues which has kept the sense of grievance among the relocatees alive and it is crucial, therefore, to try to clarify it. And I have tried, to the best of my ability, to do that.

I believe the documentary analysis sheds some light on the profound misunderstandings which occurred around this question.

First, it is clear that promises were made to return people if they were not happy and this was understood and accepted by all the key officials involved. There is a very, very curious lacunae in this whole thing in connection with Constable Gibson. I cannot understand, given the telegram that Larsen sent to Inukjuak on April 18, 1953, how Constable Gibson, unless Constable Webster received it and never gave the telegram to Constable Gibson – the telegram is so explicit – how he could not have known that people were supposed to be recruited for two settlements on Ellesmere Island and how he could not have known that they were to be told they could be returned in one year should they wish to. Larsen makes it very, very clear in the telegram.

Second, no one expected the promise to last forever, although as late as the early sixties, the Department started arrangement to send back one family that wanted to get back to Inukjuak and that had arrived in Grise Fiord in 1955.

Third, the RCMP were required to and did report each year on whether people were content to stay or whether they wanted to leave. For instance, the report that Professor Grant mentioned today mentioning the desire at Grise Fiord of all the people to leave is, in fact, reported, but it is elaborated on in a different way in the annual report from Grise Fiord on that year. I can comment on that later.

The RCMP did – they didn't say groups. They named individuals when they wanted to move, but it is very, very interesting that the reports and this is maybe where some of these cultural problems occurred that have been discussed. Some of the reports – as the reports put it, they were reported as a definite expressed desire to move. Very often they would say, "There has been some discussion about wanting to move back to see a parent, but nothing definite. If something definite is reported, I will let you know."

Fourth, the main problems in the 1950s – and I think it is important to bear this in mind given what you have heard in the last while. The main problems in the fifties was not people wanting to leave, but too many people wanting to go up to the High Arctic, especially to Resolute. For example, in 1955, 70 people wanted to move north from Inukjuak and Pond Inlet. It was an enormous number for the time.

Because of transportation difficulties for such a large number, only 30 ultimately went. In 1958, as another example, 50 more people wanted to move north. Ultimately, only 22 did. But Resolute had an enormous growth in population in those years. From 22 people in 1955, it grew to 83 in 1958 and 120 in 1964. There was a 600 per cent increase in ten years.

Grise Fiord grew much more slowly. In only tripled in size over a 12-year period between 1954 and 1967, increasing from 32 to 91 people. After 1958, the problem, as the Department saw it, was to try to slow down the number of people wanting to go to Resolute and to restrict movement to Resolute.

The Department, ultimately, in 1959 refused to pay the transportation costs. Up to that time, by the way, transportation costs were always paid by the Department. They were not a cost of the Eskimo Loan Fund as being said. Eskimo Loan Fund did a lot of different and stupid things, but it didn't force people to pay their own transportation costs up to the north.

Only relatives of settlers already there were given government assistance to go north. One person did definitely indicate – this, again, the reports – did indicate unhappiness at Grise Fiord in the first year, according to the RCMP, but said that he was willing to wait and see what the spring and summer would have to offer. The RCMP note that since he was a better carver than hunter – he is actually one of the finest carvers in Inukjuak – he would be happier running the trading store. So they were hoping that he would run the trading store and wouldn't necessarily have to go and hunt.

He, however, unfortunately died of a heart attack in the summer of 1954 and so it is impossible to know whether he and his family would after all have chosen to return to Inukjuak the next year.<sup>22</sup>

The reports in the fifties generally said that people were enthusiastic about remaining. That is what Stevenson said in 1954. He uses the word "enthusiastic" and Stevenson was really one of the finest linguists in the north. He knew everyone's dialects and so there could not have been a communication problem there. Maybe there was a cultural issue of interpretation and reactions of people to one another.

However, there were from time to time indications of discontent, especially if the hunting was poor or there was some tragedy in the community. In fact, in 1958, the case that Professor Grant mentions – there was a much more serious issue in 1958 than the stores being empty and the supplies and not having sufficient supplies.

There was a terrible tragedy in 1958. Two of the children of one of the settlers playing on the flow ice had drown and the deaths of those children apparently were absolutely devastating as the reports say on the state of morale, and that was one of the main reasons too as to why people were all – the RCMP report says that everyone wanted to leave.<sup>23</sup> They wanted to leave Grise Fiord after that. My sense of it was that it was less the trading store than that tragedy that was the case. However, again, the RCMP report goes on to say that once the *C.D. Howe* arrived and summer came and the supplies were in the store and people were some distance from the tragedy, they, as it states in the report, "changed their minds".

Sixth, overwhelmingly the reports say that people told the RCMP they wanted to visit and not to return to Inukjuak permanently. That is true of the case that was just discussed Mr. Marcus.

I think this is the most important thing. There was a real distinction. I think it is very important to distinguish between visits and permanent re-

22. Gunther is reported to have said 1964 during his testimony, though it is clear that he is speaking of "Fatty" who died in the late spring of 1954 after only 8 months in the High Arctic.

23. These two deaths of Thomassie's children Allie and Salluviniq, are discussed in detail in Audlaluk (2020).



turns. I think it is reasonable to assume that in the 1950s most people wanted to visit rather than to return permanently to Inukjuak; that although lonely and socially isolated in the first years, not by any means inconsequential matters, they nevertheless were doing in most ways far better than they had at Inukjuak.

They encouraged people to come north not only for extended social support – and the letters started going south in 1954 asking people to go north – but also because they were able to persuade their relatives that life would be materially better in the High Arctic.

When they asked to return for visits, however, they were told visits would not be paid for. There is a crucial letter, for instance, which has been read to you before where in 1961 one of the camp leaders writes to Gordon Robertson and says, “I would like to go back for a visit. I would like to see my sister,” and Robertson writes back a letter which says, “We cannot pay visits, but if you can find another reason – ask the RCMP for another reason, we can pay it.”

Well, what I think he is saying there is that Treasury Board guidelines did not allow departments to pay for visits. They did allow for permanent returns – that was stated very clearly in the Treasury Board rules – and they did allow for situations where if a “rehabilitation scheme” was failing, people could be sent back, individuals could be sent back under those circumstances. But visits were not available.

So what did people have. They had the opportunity of paying for their own visit – difficult, although in 1956 the feeling was that, harsh as it may sound today, at least five of the people with over \$1,000 credits in the store – the officer in charge of the Eastern Arctic Patrol felt that they were wealthy enough to pay for their own visits back. I think it is a rather harsh view.

Or, the alternative was to take free rides on the RCMP planes. There were two RCMP planes. One came in 1955 and I think another one the year after. There is correspondence to say that the RCMP did arrange free rides to Churchill and to further on. In fact, the regional administrator in Churchill in 1958 says something like, “Why are you asking us for help in connection with these three people who want to go to Inukjuak? We usually arrange these things informally with the RCMP and usually that is not a problem.” So free rides obviously did occur, but that stopped after 1961. The RCMP started charging and they were not willing to allow for visits any more. They were not going to give free rides for visits. So returns on that basis, then, had to be permanent. Permanent returns were, according to all of this, legitimate.

Let me just perhaps end at this point. I was going to say something about the issue of comparing Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord and Inukjuak and perhaps if there is a question on that, I can try to do that. I won’t go on to how successful the settlements were.

I am sorry, Mr. Chairman, you have been terribly tolerant and I am really stretching my welcome here, but one of the last things I would like to say about this – the complex issue of how successful the settlements are is really tricky and especially when I am doing a couple of shorthand generalizations here.

There are so many issues of success. Clearly, a lot has been brought out in terms of being comfortable, missing friends, emotional kinds of things. I have not gotten into that, but in terms of income, I think it is possible to say that people moving north did very well. I want to give one example.

1953 to 1954 was the very, very tough year that the Grise Fiord Inuit had on the Lindstrom Peninsula. Very difficult year. You have heard all about it – the first year of adaptation and so on. Strangely enough, that was also a bumper fur year. So they did extraordinarily well in the amount of fur they caught. In fact, per capita, they caught more fur at Grise Fiord in that first year than they would have in that bumper year in Inukjuak.

But, for example, in 1951, the average family income was \$390 per family. In that first year at Grise Fiord, the average family income was estimated at \$1,100 per family. So my guess is that – and it is a guess – dollar income doubled or close to tripled – let's say doubled – even in the most difficult year that they had at Grise Fiord. I am not saying that went on year after year by any manner of means, but they did reasonably well and the reports constantly say, "There are \$300 worth of credits that everybody has gotten. People say this is a lot of money."

Now, let's turn to Resolute Bay because I think there the situation was far more "successful", at least in certain terms. At Resolute Bay, income was considerably higher than Grise Fiord throughout this period. Employment, mostly part-time, in the summers became very, very widely available within two years – so much so that the first three houses which were sent up in 1955 were not assembled until 1957 because the Inuit were otherwise occupied by employment and hunting.

In 1956, five families had credits of over \$1,000 in the trading store which was a very, very large sum of money at that point. I have made my point on that before.

Let me jump to 1964. The average family income was about \$2,700 per family in Resolute. There is a very, very long study by Bissett, the Resolute area study which goes into every aspect of living at Resolute at that time. This would have placed these families into the second quintile of Canadian income earners. This did not take into account – let me put it this way, I don't want to say subsidized rents and so on. I want to say: This did not take into account income in kind. Some have estimated that this might have added another 60 per cent of total earned income and this would have placed the families well over the mean in Canada. I stress that the data here is very tenuous and you have to be very, very careful and you have to take it with a pinch of salt.

Bissett noted in 1964 that all 18 households he studied – this is ten years later – were well equipped with radios. All had one and eight had more than one. Tape recorders, 12 households; record players, households; telephones, all households; washing machines; 15 households.

Resolute, in the words of the report, had relatively high income. Game was still available in abundance.

So my argument here is that this was a very appreciable improvement in the living standards of people from the starting off point ten years previously. However, none of this static. By 1969, there was a huge crisis again at Resolute. The co-op which had been doing terribly well is suddenly \$30,000 in debt because people were not paying their heating bills and so this was not a static issue at all.

The Yale University anthropologist Bockstoce, in his 1966 study of Resolute, concluded that because of the abundance and ready accessibility of both labour and game, the Inuit at Resolute were among the most affluent Natives in the Arctic. He noted that one person had \$7,000 in a bank account.

Moreover, Resolute had avoided the community fragmentation which had occurred in some places. The co-op, in particular, had had a potent effect in combatting apathy and resignation and the co-op was of fundamental importance, he thought, in creating a sense of community, self-development and self-control.

It had created community interests and what was emerging was a new confidence in coping with the environment which was still, though, he said, largely controlled by the white man.

Let me leave it at that and thank you very much for your patience. I am sorry. I honestly had thought I could do this very, very briefly.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you. Don't be sorry. We were very happy to have this overview of your thick report that we have all read.

I would like at this point to ask Commissioner Paul Chartrand to start with the questions. Commission Chartrand will have to go in a few minutes and he will start the questioning.

Paul, please.

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** Thank you. My apologies for having to leave to get home on time or to get to the plane on time to get home. I regret the constraints under which the discussion has to take place.

In order to try to make the best of the circumstances, I propose to do as follows: I will ask a question. I will identify a question and then I will attempt to provide examples to show the nature of my concern. Having done that, I shall attempt to restate the question and invite your response. I am sorry about that, but it is my best shot in the circumstances.

The question has to do with a matter that appears to go to the heart of your report – not only that, but also to the heart of the work of this Commission. I am concerned to ask about the standards that you would have to apply to the assessment of the performance of the government in respect to these matters that have been discussed. I don't wish to engage in a discussion of the facts.

We are, it seems, at least this matter historically has been put in this way: Was there a wrong of a kind to which the government ought to respond? It appears, then, that if that is a goal, then one must provide an objective standard. You begin your own work by referring to the desirability of objectivity in assessing whether there was a wrong of a kind to which the government ought to respond.

I stress that when I am referring to standards, I am not necessarily referring to legal standards. I will not assume that a legal standard is required in assessing the government performance. I might note, by the way, that I am not telling you this as a political scientist that there are mechanisms in our country whereby the assessment of government is carried that have nothing to do with legal obligations, such as turfing the bums out, to use a common expression at election time.

My concern is that in looking at your report, you use different relative terms with which it appears to me you purport to assess different fact situations. Let me give two examples only.

At page 59, for example, you use the relative term "well". One can say, "Well done, my boy," after a son has done a high hump. Well, he has jumped four foot five. So there is a standard against which we can measure what "well" means.

To do something responsibly. "I congratulate you, my son, for calling in at nine o'clock to tell us where you are. That is responsible." There is a standard there – the behaviour is assessed against the realistic expectations known to the individuals, the parent in this case. So these are simple examples of the requirement of standards that appears to be attractive to the ordinary citizen.

Now, you use these expressions, these relative terms "well" and "responsibly" in a context in which you purport to judge how, what you call, projects are carried out. I want to refer to only one more example where you purport to assess another aspect of what you referred to as a project, and I will adopt your term in this case.

On page 45, you use two other relative terms, that is "not perfect" and "not incompetent". Those terms appear on that same page, page 245. So later, it appears to me – and this is the part of the questioning. I am asking you to assist me by clarifying this matter – that in rejecting other work that has been done in assessing the performance of the government, you appear to reject attempts at the identification of applicable standards.

I would like, again, in this case to provide only two examples. The first case involves a rejection of a standard without an apparent argument to counter it. It is at page 153 where you refer to a work by Grant. The reference, as I understand it – and you will correct me, please, if I am wrong. You know your work better than I do – to some human rights standards whereby the government performance might be assessed, and the reference in Grant is to the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights of 1948.

You say in a footnote that Grant is apparently unaware of the existence of Article 29(1) which, as you know, is the qualifier to the declaration of rights. That is, they are permissible in some cases. It is a matter of balancing. You point that out, yet what you do on page 264 does not appear to conform to your own rigorous standard established on page 153. That is, you admit the existence of hardship with respect to marriage. At page 264, you do that. You admit there was a hardship.

But in so doing and after your criticisms on page 153, you do not explain why you dismiss implicitly Article 16(1) of the relevant human rights declaration which you know is a standard applicable to the matter of marriage. I want to read it just to remind you.

"Men or women of full age without any limitation due to race, nationality," and so on, "have the right to marry and found a family."

So my point there is that there is a rejection of an argument without an argument to meet it.

My next example is a different sort. It is an example of a rejection without – rejection of a standard; again, I am referring to standard. In this case, the standard is another scholar standard. In this case, the rejection does not appear to meet the argument and then that is another question that I would ask about.

I don't think I have the page number, but you will be familiar with it. It is a response to the term "experiment" and this matter has been discussed in the last few days. I do not wish to invite a discussion of the substantive facts, but simply to look at the analytical framework here and I will just emphasize that again.

You use the term "pilot project" instead of experiment, but I ask you: If a pilot project does not meet the proffered standard – that is, a test or trial

to generate generalizable knowledge – you seem to be implicitly asserting that a pilot project does not fall within a test or trial to generate realizable knowledge. My concern is that in the context of the work which it criticized, it appears to me that the standard that is offered is advanced as a useful standard and that the question about a standard is: Is it a helpful standard with which to assess government performance or is it not a useful standard by which to assess government action?

It seems that your concern is directed at an entirely different matter. You look at the facts, the original facts out of which the standard arose. Now, many will argue, I presume, that standards themselves are not in their nature good or bad depending on the original facts which give rise to them. Human rights standards are all, are they not, borne out of wars and misery and the unconscionable exercise of state power?

So a standard, such as a human rights standard, is used to apply objectively to new facts in order to avoid a particularistic notion of justice. If not, it seems to me that that is what we and I think you are striving for. That is why I am asking the question. We need not a biased view, but an objective measuring stick with which we can apply to different fact situations.

Now, the question, then, is to ask you about your use of standards on the one hand and also to ask for your advice to us as to whether you believe that we ought to establish standards with which to assess government performance.

I noticed that in your work you demonstrate by the language that you use great confidence in the analysis that you use and you use on page 159 the words “dishonest” and “irresponsible” to characterize works which you criticize and at page 256, a travesty of the truth. These are expressions that I am not familiar with in scanning the usual scholarly literature and I was wondering if they had relationship to the advice you are giving us this afternoon.

In the first page of your presentation this afternoon, you are comparing oral history to written documentation and you characterize memory in its relation to oral history as highly defensive. I was wondering if you meant, then, to compare written analysis as offensive.

So the question is: What is your view with respect to standards and I wonder if you might assist us by explaining your use of the standards, particularly keeping in mind the examples I gave of the use of relative terms which are not standards and applying different relative terms to different fact situations?

I am sorry I have had to go on so long. As I said, there are time constraints and I sincerely hope I am able to wait for the complete answer. Thank you very much.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** You have asked a very, very tough question and I agree that it is a very important one. Let me just deal sort of in reverse as best I can and I am not sure I am going to be able to satisfy you on this.

Yes, I suppose on page 159, very quickly, I did use words like “dishonest” and “irresponsible”. In a way, I sort of regret that now. I think it is fairly rare in the report for me to come out that way. I really try as far as possible to be judicious.

I just found in those couple of instances that my belief that the misinterpretation of the documents was so overwhelming that it committed this lapse, if you like, into this kind of terminology which is not the kind of ter-

minology I am comfortable with.

With respect to the UN Declaration of Human Rights, here I might get myself into really bad trouble. One, when I made that remark about section 29(1), I was not trying to get involved at all into the use of an abstract standard that was known at that time by which these projects could be discussed.

I thought, in fact, if I remember rightly, that the use of the UN – there is a throwaway line in Professor Grant that I was responding to there and it is just in a footnote anyway.

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** I did ask Professor Grant about the same general issue this morning.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** Yes. True.

But my sense of it at the time – and I may be completely wrong here – was that the UN Declaration, while a very, very admirable document, has never been one that countries have subscribed to as their standard. In other words, I understand it is not – and I may be really wrong on this – an international legal document. It is a statement of intent of – that is how I understood anyway, but not a statement of obligation.

Now, this may be something that I am completely wrong on and if I try to interpret your smiles, I have the sense that I should back off from this as fast as possible. In any case, I certainly didn't have the idea in mind that the human declaration could be used in this instance.

I think I had a different idea in mind and maybe I should have. I can see from your questions how important that would be. I should have had a more implicit sense of what was guiding me and I didn't set it out explicitly, but I think what I had in mind as I went through this was something like the following kinds of standards of what one could judge the projects by.

The first was: What was the nature of the problem? Was it well understood? Was the government when it said, "This is a problem," presenting a reasonable defensible case, or was it a trivial one? So, in other words, what I had in mind was: When the government decided on a policy, was this well elaborated? Did they understand the nature of the problem?

Secondly, what was the nature of the resources at the time? I try to get into that as much as possible because I think it is there. I think that is where you have to take account to some degree the relativeness of all of this. What were the resources at the time? Were they overwhelming or were they rather limited? Did they improve over time?

Third, given the nature of the problem at the time and given the resources that were available at the time, was the project commensurate? Was it reasonable? I don't know. It is a very, very slippier word, but I can't think of a better one. Was there a reasonable connection between the nature of the problem, the nature of the resources that were available and the activity that was undertaken?

Fourthly, how well – and I was just jotting this down actually – I have been thinking about this over the last couple of days and I was just jotting this down as you were talking – given the resources at the time, did people carry out the project? Did they do it badly by anybody's standards? If they did it badly, did they compensate for their mistakes? Did they have enough back-up? Those kinds of questions.

Lastly, were the projects a success at least in terms of government standards and, hopefully, the standards of the people who were involved be-

cause, after all, they were supposed to be the beneficiaries of this and it was certainly not – the object wasn't to have a successful government program. The object was to have a successful program that was going to have successful outcomes for people.

So I am sorry, in a sense, that I didn't articulate that. I may be making this up at this point in time. I think I had something like this in mind without actually explicitly saying it to myself and having it typed out. Does that answer at all what –

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** Yes, it does, Professor Grant. I wanted to stress that I invited a fuller elaboration of a matter which I think is important for our work. We will, in my view, need time and reflection with which to assess them, and I thought this was a good opportunity to provide you with an opportunity to assist us by reflecting more fully upon the matter.

I am interested particularly in the part of your response where you say that one of the standards that we ought to look at – and I think this is something that might apply more generally to our work. We ought to look at the standards of the people themselves. Now, that might have some significant relevance for the development of our work in notions of local community justice initiatives, for example.

So I want to thank you for your elaboration.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** Could I say one very quick word in response? It occurred to me as you were saying this.

I think one of the standards has to be: What was the nature of the people who carried this out? Were they decent people? Were they sincere? Do they give a sense of caring? Do they seem to be responsible? Did they put themselves out? That might be added there as well. A little point.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you.

I would like to pick up very briefly on that because I think it is very central to your analysis and also to the work that we have to do.

In fact, I asked the question earlier this week about the tests that we should use to make a judgment call on the project. You said, "Was the project reasonable?"

The question, I think, that goes to the crux of the matter is really an assessment of what was the situation in Inukjuak and the magnitude of this relocation and the risks that were involved. We have discussed that with Bud Neville yesterday, that it was on file that there was a problem of transportation at that time with the ships and on and on.

So with the risks that were involved and the consequences for people – a break with extended families; difficulty to find mates to get married; loss of opportunity for schooling; medical services and other amenities; the darkness; the sheer freedom to circulate that was not offered to them because of the policy to keep those people separate from the base for reasons that were mentioned and were certainly legitimate in the minds of people, but the result was that they were kept separate. They were ordered not to give them food unless it was done through the RCMP, and on and on.

So there were major consequences and some of them cultural consequences. This morning we had Professor Williamson who spoke about the relationship with the land, how important it was for them. So really when you add to this the duty of care and to assess the preparation and the errors that were made, the difficulties that occurred, that could be foreseen because

of the situation in the north at that time.

So the real question, I think, that is before the Commission and the public overall is: Was this out of proportion as a solution to the problem that was there? Let's put to the side the motivations, but looking at the operation, looking at the project itself.

When you conclude on the preparation, for example, I think it is on page 12 of the single-spaced document, when you conclude the preparation aspect, it seems to me that if you take each detail, you could justify many of them on the reasonableness and the conditions. But when you put all of this together and if there is a standard against which to judge them, it might be quite different.

I was struck when I read your report by your conclusion saying, in general, the preparation, given the truncated resources of the Department, the abject poverty of the participants, the parsimonious approach to government spending and the obsession with self-help and individual responsibility of the day were adequate and acceptable.

What seems to be missing is a larger standard against which to judge the whole operation and the project itself, and it seems to me that this was quite different than moving people 50 miles or even within northern Quebec. The magnitude of the move was something that has to be assessed in accordance with the situation in 1953, not nowadays.

But still was it proportionate to the problems that were there? It is in the file and you are stating that in 1952 things were starting to get better. 1953 was a bumper year for foxes, on and on.

So what is your – I suppose it is – I would like this afternoon if you could tell us what is your views on a test like that? What is really proportionate?

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** It is really very, very difficult to give an answer on a larger standard as you have asked for it. In a way, it is sort of a problem. I suppose one could give a global answer, but I think if you do give a global answer, it will be largely one in terms of your gut instincts and your ideology on the whole thing.

I think you either like it or you don't like it in that sense. I think in a certain sense you have to take a problem like this and break it up into minuscule parts, particularly when you try to evaluate it.

As I have said, it seems to me that, first of all, it is a reasonable proposition to make that if the situation in Inukjuak after 1956/57 had problems and there were serious health problems in the early sixties and there were serious schooling problems, if you go beyond 1954 and you look at the reports for 1956, 1957, 1958 and 1959, I think – I am not sure I am completely right on this, but I think the Quebec police took over the patrolling in 1960 and so on. So I wasn't able to find other reports on that.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** In 1963.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** I couldn't find any beyond 1959 anyway.

But if things were a problem in Inukjuak in a general sense, despite the reduced population and there had been a huge drop in population from 500 to 340 and still the problems persisted, then the fact that the people had not gone – so the fact is that it seems people going north made conditions better at Inukjuak. If those people had stayed, my argument would be: It is reasonable to assume that things would have been worse all around for everybody in Inukjuak.



This is speculation. There is no way that one can say for sure, but if the problem of the relationship of population to resources was the most serious one, then clearly reducing population in relation to resources was going to be at least a reasonable policy, whether that required sending people so far north or not was another issue that one might look at.

So I think that is one of the things that you have to look at. A second is, for instance, you said – and I won't go on and on on this because you raised a lot of issues. You raised issues about risks and medical services and schooling and so on.

I had a sense reading the documents – I am no great expert on the north by any manner of means, but I had a sense that risks and risk taking were a major, major problem just living in the north – the risks of TB, the risks of dying young, the risks of the RCMP being too far away to help away, the risks that there was not going to be a nurse, that there was not going to be an aircraft. So this was the truth all over the show.

My sense of it was – again, this is something I have to do in a very careful way – that the RCMP – it looks limited by our standards today, but the RCMP actually put a great deal of their resources into this to make sure to minimize the risks. They had one RCMP officer at Resolute saying, "Four or five miles away, this officer put in an emergency phone a couple of years later so that people could phone the base. That was something that was very unusual. It would not have been the case at Inukjuak." This was an officer who built a community hall, if that is the right word for it, in for people right away – another advantage – and was somebody who tried to take care of things when things went wrong. There were very, very few other Inuit groups in the Arctic that had that degree of care.

Now, maybe they didn't like him. Maybe they didn't like his care. That is a separate issue all together, but it seems to me that the RCMP was trying in that case.

Now, Grise Fiord – I think you have to treat both communities differently. At Grise Fiord, it was different. I thought that was a very tough decision – the decision to send people living 40 miles away and then only join them two years later, which meant that people had to travel a whole day by sled to get to the trading store, to the RCMP. That was a tougher situation.

There was also far less medical services at Grise Fiord. The first nurse came in 1968. There they were lucky in a way. Grise Fiord was described at the healthiest community in the north in the mid-sixties. Why was that? We can speculate a little bit, but my sense of it is, for instance, that at Resolute, to take medical services, they had better medical services – the group that went north. We have to remember that there were two camps that went north.

Camp A lived five miles across a river from Inukjuak, about a couple of hours to get there. Camp B was 50 miles away from Inukjuak. Camp B went to Resolute. Camp B in that sense had available the use of a medic five miles down the road; the availability of even an RCMP officer three or four miles down the road; the use of a dump where you could pick up wood for housing which they didn't have sixty miles outside Inukjuak.

So, again, I think you have to break the problem up. Schooling is the same thing. I have the same sense about schooling.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** I agree that you have to break the problem up, but at the end, it is like my watch. I put all the pieces on the table, but at

the end I have to put that together and see if it makes sense when they are added, each element is added to each other.

Just to –

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** And you have to subtract the minuses, too.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** But to give another example, at the bottom of page 13 of your presentation, the sixth point, maybe the seventh line, you are assessing the situation between Inukjuak and the situation of those who went up in the north, the High Arctic. You say:

"They nevertheless were doing in most ways far better than they have in Inukjuak."

Again, it depends on the standards. It is not just a matter of money and what is in the bank account.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** I agree.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** What has happened of the breaking of the family, the sisters that were left over, the parents, the fact that people were not able to meet their kin for not a year or two but decades, and the relationship with the land? It seems to me – did you find some analysis in the documents that you have perused of thought that would have been given to human aspects like these ones, not just mechanic or financial aspects, but more fundamental aspects? Did you find in any of the files and the documents that you have been over that this had been taken into account, analyzed and weighed in the sense of, "Well, are we going to really do that?"

Did you find something like that? I haven't in all of the documents I have read.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** I must confess that I am very insensitive on the issue you have just raised.

I was listening to Professor Williamson, was it this morning?

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** This morning.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** I seem to have been in this room for a long time.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Nine o'clock.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** This morning.

I was very, very struck by my own insensitivity on this in the report. I don't do well on that. I am not enough of an expert. The issues you have raised of the caring for the land, the feeling for family and so on – I treat this in sort of an abstract – I am sympathetic, but when I was trying to compare myself to Professor Williamson, I thought, "Gee, he has so much of a better feel for this than I have."

So I think that is a real weakness of my report. My sense of it is: Yes, these are reports from a white culture. Wasn't it Professor Williamson who joked about whites going to the north and counting stones because they always have to count something? Well, I suddenly felt myself terribly vulnerable with my report because I have all these numbers that you have to look at one way or the other.

The reports tend to be caring in that kind of bureaucratic way. It is limited. Years people say, "Look, we are concerned about what has happened to such and such a boy. Could you try to arrange letters?" But I suppose that is a sort of a distant caring, isn't it, when compared to these more intimate matters that you have talked about.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** I think we are getting very close to what is central here. It is where those people really – was the project considered having in mind that those people were human beings on a larger sense than just making sure that they would have food? But on a more fundamental sense, who were they? I am not talking about our sensitivity in 1993. I know we have to be very careful.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** Yes, I know.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** But even given the standard of the day, because of the proportion of the project and its magnitude.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** May I make one comment in response to that, Mr. Chairman? One thing that struck me – and maybe I am overstating the importance of it, but one thing that I thought was important was that there were these huge numbers of people wanting to go up there. This wasn't an experiment in Arctic terms that involved a tiny number of people for decades and decades. By Arctic standards, a large number of people, if their documents are to be believed, wanted to go up – quite huge numbers, using the word "huge" again in quotation marks.

Why would they have wanted to go up if it was as devastating as is being made out now? Were people lying to them and saying, "Look, it is great up here," but they didn't mean it when they wrote it down or what was it? Something must have been coming out of the High Arctic saying to people, "Gee, you know, we are doing reasonably well." There must have been some message of that sort.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Again, we enter into a realm of speculation at this point. We have conflicting points of view as to why this happened. But, again, I was trying to really address the standard under which to assess after having looked at each piece, the overall project, as opposed to the situation that it meant to cure.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** Sure.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you. Bertha Wilson, please.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** My question is really related to what you have just been discussing with Mr. Dussault and it is really this: You have a paragraph on volunteers and the issue of whether these people went willingly or were influenced into going by whatever means is obviously a very fundamental one to this whole problem.

To me, you can't be a volunteer unless you know the risk that you are assuming. You can't be a volunteer to do something in the air, so to speak. In order to be a volunteer, you have to know what it is, the risk is and you have to be accepting that risk in order to be a volunteer.

Not only do you have to have a knowledge of the risk, you have to have an ability to assess it and to assess its impact on you. I have a real problem with this concept of a volunteer sort of up in the air and in the abstract. So I have a real difficulty here and that is why I have been asking some of the people who were involved: Were they told that the purpose of sending them up to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay was to see if they could survive in the conditions that obtained there? And the conditions would have to be spelled out to them.

I am wondering: Were they told that that was the purpose if, as some of the government officials have said, it was really an experiment to see

whether, if we sent the Inuit back up to Ellesmere Island, they could survive in the same way as Inuit used to survive there long ago? I am wondering whether it is proper to describe these people as volunteers or say that they went there voluntarily unless they had a pretty comprehensive knowledge of where they were going, what they were going to, what they would face when they got and be able to make a decision on that basis.

I think this is really a fundamental issue in this whole matter and so I would like your views on that.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** Yes. Madam Commissioner, again, I think it is difficult to give a fully satisfactory answer on this. There were a number of facets of your question.

If I can try to break it down a little, if I remember them rightly, one is: Could you be a volunteer without fully comprehending what the terms of the whole thing are? Then I think what you said was: Were the risks fully explained to them so that they in fact could do this?

I guess my sense of that is that that is too high a standard to expect. I don't think any of us ever really take decisions in terms of fully comprehending all of the risks that are involved – sometimes with very, very risky and with having far consequences. So I think that is a very, very, very high – I mean, it is a reasonable standard to establish, but I think it is one that is almost inhuman in some senses to expect.

I think what you can –

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** It is a common standard that is used in a whole lot of areas and it is a legal standard. When a person says that they went to undertake or have an operation, it is explained to them what is involved in it, what the risk is. This has to be done if you are going to say that this was their informed decision and that they voluntarily agreed to have it done.

It just seems to me to be so basic that you can't describe somebody as a volunteer otherwise, and that raises the question of how detailed the information was that they were given. Were they in a position to appreciate the risks and to assess them? I think this is a fundamental question.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** Yes, it is very important.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** It's certainly not an easy one to answer, but –

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** I guess I was balking at the word "complete" and "fully informed". It just seemed to me that that was a great deal. In our society, people used to vote for nuclear plants that would provide electricity without fully understanding nuclear fission or something of that sort.

So I think one can take a decision without fully understanding every aspect of something. That was number one. I just want to sort of lower the standard somewhat about how complete and full and total the information had to be before it could be reasonable.

That is the only reservation I have with what you were saying there.

The second thing was – this one is more tricky. What was the nature of the information given to the Inuit in the documents – I can only talk from the documents – and was that reasonable? That is interesting because when you look at the nature of the information given, then you can say to yourself, "Well, were these officers or whoever they were – did they have a decent

sense of what the fully appropriate information should be and what is it?" It is fairly crude, actually.

What did Larsen think were the most important things that people needed to know? He is thinking of Inuit whom he has worked with and he obviously cares about and he feels very responsible to, but what does he say in his telegram to Port Harrison. He says, "Tell them about the dark period." So he thought that it was very, very important for them to try to understand that. How do people understand it? There is quote somewhere saying that when people were told about it, their response was, 'So be it. What can you do about it anyway?'"

But Marjorie Hinds said she tried to explain it and Gibson says that he tried to explain it. I guess there is a separation between what information do people think people should have and how well it was gotten across to them, which is another issue if we really want to complicate the issue.

But for the moment, I am just looking at what information do they feel people should have. One was the dark period. He thought it was very important for them to know that and it seems to me that some attempt was made to explain it.

Number two, he felt that the trading store was a very important issue because clearly the trading store was going to play a major role in their lives, and he says, "Explain to people that there will be a trading store, but it will only be supplied once a year." So he knows: This isn't the world of the big trading store at Inukjuak.

Thirdly, he says – because he thinks this is the most important thing they need to know. He says, "Tell them that they can come back within a year if they don't like it," and he does this on his own responsibility. He then writes to the Department and he says to them, "By the way, I have told the Inuit that they can come back in a year. I have done this on my own initiative because I have in mind the sad experience of the Cape Dorset people of the thirties move."

So those were the three pieces of information that he thought were essential. Were they sufficient? Should they have been told more? I suppose an argument could certainly be made for that and then, as I say, the next stage is: How well was it done? But that is all I can tell you in terms of the documentation.

May I say one last thing on this? The last thing I wanted to say was: People don't go only on information about where they are going. I think they also go on: What does this offer them? I think you can't dismiss that.

I think it is very, very important to bear in mind that the Inuit – the people who were going might – we don't know because we are looking at documents – well have been thinking, "Look, they have told us that the game is going to be better. It is not great here at the moment or it hasn't been great in the past. They have told us that they are going to give us a boat." That was the case in Grise Fiord. "That is a real plus. They have told us that we will get some duffle and clothes and they will help us prepare for going north, and that is a real plus." They have told us" – and this was the most important from the – this was the important one – "that the RCMP will go with us," and that – in a certain sense, they said – this is a guess, but that, I think, led to them saying, "Oh, I will take those risks because if I" – RCMP was, roughly speaking, associated with protection from risk or protection if something bad happened.

So the fact that the RCMP were going with them would have played a role – quite a decisive one in deciding whether the risk was worth it or not.

We are going on reconstructing, though, you know.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** Yes. The problem with a promise to return them if they weren't happy doesn't seem to have filtered down to the people who were actually – some of them who were speaking to these people about whether they would go or not. In fact, as I understand it, it was denied by the government for quite a long time that such a promise was ever made.

I agree with you that it is one of the most important aspects of what a person needed to know because that promise would have been important in the sense that, "Well, if we find this impossible – the separation from family and the habitat being so different, it really has come as a shock – then I can go back." I agree that that was one of the – but there seems to be an area of ambiguity that surrounds whether that commitment was made or not. But I appreciate your answer.

The other –

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** Madam Commissioner, may I just say one thing on the promises?

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** Yes.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** I think what is very important here – and no one thought about it at the time.

This is my construction. I think if they had thought it through, they should have been aware that people might want to go back for visits, but they didn't think that one through.

What they had in mind when they said people could come back was that they could come back permanently. But once they got up there and they had a look at the bureaucratic niceties of Treasury Board guidelines and had to live within those – and I am not talking about what the RCMP did and so on. But once they started looking at the rules, the fundamental gap between paying for a visit versus paying for a return was, I think, crucial to the misunderstanding that took place here.

I may be building a pyramid on the head of a pin here, but I really think that was important because that is constantly discussed – Visits versus permanence. If you want to go back permanently, they showed that they would do it. If you wanted to have visits, you either had to pay for it yourself or you got a free ride. I think that is crucial in breaking up the offer of a promise of return.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** Having regard to the point that Mr. Dussault was making about the human aspects, would there have been any exceptions made on compassionate ground for a visit – the death of parents or a relative or serious illness – or was this just an absolute return permanently, yes, visits, no?

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** No, I think there were complications. I am sorry I don't recall them at the moment, but I have that correspondence set out here and I don't want to waste our time necessarily with that. If you don't want an immediate reply, I will try to dig it out and give you the pages on that where, in fact, an administrator says, "Look, here are four instances of where I would like to give people return visits," and he says, "I don't think these

are covered by our regulations.” The answer comes back from head office, “Yes, they are and they are these kinds of compassionate grounds.”

So I can give you the exceptions. It wasn’t just permanently to stay. There were exceptions. I will try to dig that up, though.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** Thank you very much.

You have put a very heavy emphasis on the conditions in Inukjuak by way of the explanation for why the people were relocated, and you mentioned a whole variety of problems that existed there.

Now, were all of these problems resolved – the health problems and everything – by the removal of these people to the High Arctic? It would help me to appreciate that as being a reason for the move if the move was followed by intensive services poured into Inukjuak to address what has been described as a misery and so on that existed there. Did that in fact happen?

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** Not until after 1953/54 and there is so little information available in a sense. Some housing projects started. I can really just give you very, very, very fragmented information.

In Inukjuak, as I understood it, the housing program – there was an experimental housing program that was started by a constable in 1958. He experimented with some new different kinds of houses, but these applied all to the settlement.

I do know that in 1960 they started bringing in again housing for settlement Inuit – that is, people who were working for the white establishment had wooden houses anyway at the settlement, but I am talking about settlement Inuit who did not have wooden houses. I am talking about settlement Inuit who did not have wooden houses. I know that they started coming in in 1959/60.

I think things started changing tremendously after 1960 which I think was the year Quebec took over the services. I read a little bit into this, but I had a sense that Quebec was really determined to make a very, very big effort and, in fact, did make a much superior effort to what the federal government had been doing.

In a certain sense – and I am out of my depth here – I think they were going to make this something of a showcase. For instance, the co-ops came in in 1967/68, but by that time Quebec had taken over the services. I think it is 1965/66 that Quebec came in and from the little bit that I have read, I have a sense that they really poured the services in. So we are talking about the late sixties, if I am right on this.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** No, I was thinking of at the time of the relocation of the Inuit and immediately thereafter.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** In Inukjuak.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** In Inukjuak, were these problems that you have been describing addressed by the government? The whole point of this is that it was out of care and concern for the Inuit and their well-being that they were moved, and it would certainly help me to appreciate that if a long with the removal to the High Arctic, there was a pouring in of services to relieve this unhappy situation in Inukjuak.

I just wondered if you knew whether there was or not. I am not looking at the sixties and later. I am really looking at the sort of crisis situation that was

Commissioner Wilson’s question about whether the relocation improved conditions for those who remained at Inukjuak is not often examined as part of the relocation debate literature.

the justification for the move, but you may not have that information.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** I don't think there is very much information and it is very mixed. 1951 to 1953 is one period. 1954 on is a very different period.

I don't have much information on what happened after 1954. It is a new administration, a new world, a new way of planning and doing things. From 1951 to 1953, they would have said or did say, "By taking population out of this area, we are going to make life easier for hunting and so on for the people there."

But in other respects, services declined. Services went up in some ways in Inukjuak. This second nurse arrived in 1958. That makes a big difference. In other respects, the services were much worse.

After Ms Hinds left in 1954, the camp educational system – that is very much in quotes because what I meant was that Ms Hinds would visit a camp for three or four days in the summer, et cetera. That collapsed. There was no education system in the camps.

**COMMISSIONER BERTHA WILSON:** Thank you very much.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Commissioner Sillett, please.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Thank you.

On page 13 of your summary, you say that the Inukjuak Inuit had the option after 1955 of getting a free ride or paying for a flight to Churchill and then paying for a further flight or a boat trip to Inukjuak for a visit, and those options were available until 1961, at least the option of the free ride.

But I was wondering: Do you have any idea of how many people, how many of the people in Grise Fiord or Resolute went back for a visit?

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** The only letters I was able to find on that was the – there is reference that says, "Free rides are not a problem. People have been doing this all the time." It is just a very general statement.

Then there is a letter of 1958 where three people from Resolute are wanting to go back and the administrator says, "Oh, no problem. Just arrange for it informally with the RCMP." Those are the only letters that I came across where there were actually concrete examples that were given.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** You go on to say that they did not permit the Department – I guess Treasury Board regulations didn't permit the Department, I guess, Indian Affairs to pay for the permanent return of people to Inukjuak.

What period –

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** For visits. Permanent was fine.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** For what period are you talking about?

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** My sense of it is that those Treasury Board regulations went on and on into the sixties as well, although I know – I was talking to a Northern Services officer – you see, I am not trying to say that everyone followed the regulations. Certainly when a Deputy Minister answered a letter, he was going to say that he had to follow the regulations. But on the ground, the Northern Service officers did whatever they could and I know even in the late sixties, Northern Service officers were providing visits – not this time through the RCMP, but through the RCAF.

I am not really answering your question, am I? You said, "How long are the –"



**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** No, I guess I was sort of surprised by that because I remember listening yesterday to Mr. Pilot who said that in 1973, when he worked as a senior official with the NWT, he did get a message from the settlement manager that there was a spokesperson from one of the High Arctic communities speaking for the community asking if they could move to Inukjuak, and that was a permanent move and the answer was “no”.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** Yes.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** I guess you heard that as well.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** My first point was that I think no one thought this arrangement was going to last forever, kind of thing, and it might have fallen under that category. But whether that was because the Treasury Board regulations had been changed or not, I don't know. I would have to go back. One could find that fairly easily, actually, if that is something that the Commission wanted to pursue.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** My third question is: I remember reading and being told that a number of the people who were relocated to the High Arctic were excellent carvers, were very skilled carvers.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** Yes.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** So I am wondering: What role did the carvers have to play in the economy of Grise Fiord and Resolute in the fifties and sixties?

The reason I ask that question is that I notice that you say that a study was done in 1966 in one of the High Arctic communities and it was noted that there was an Inuk individual who had \$7,000 in the bank. If I can remember correctly, I believe that person was a carver. So for someone to be an exceptional carver in a period of Canadian history when there was, I guess, a really good market for Inuits arts and crafts, it wouldn't be surprising to hear that someone would have that much money, especially if they were really skilled in that area.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** Sure. My sense of that is that the carving was very important at Grise Fiord, not at Resolute any more. By 1966, people had full-time – mostly people had full-time jobs and certainly by and part-time work was very, very much available, although the report also says that people were perhaps moving away a little bit. But there was full-time employment and once full-time employment, people didn't do carving that much. But we could check Bissett's report because he does give the sources of income.

My sense of it is that it was Grise Fiord really where the carvers remained where the carvers were very good and earned a fair income. I don't think the income was as high as Inukjuak. I did some very rough calculations and they are crude as many of my numbers are.

My sense was that until 1960 that at Grise Fiord they may have been earning about half the capita what they were earning in Inukjuak. In other words, let's say, 1959, my sense was that maybe people were earning \$100 per head a year on carving, whereas in Grise Fiord it would have been about \$50 to \$55 by comparison.

Again, very cautiously on the numbers on that.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Yes, I know.

My final question is: I noticed that you had statistical data describing the general socio-economic conditions of the Inuit in the early fifties. I know that data is very difficult to find for that period in history, but I was wondering if there was any similar information to your knowledge comparing the socio-economic conditions of Inukjuak in the High Arctic communities.

For example, is there anything that would tell us what the infant mortality rates were for Inukjuak as opposed to Grise Fiord, what the TB rate was for the community of Resolute compared to Inukjuak, especially in the years 1953 to 1956?

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** I tried to do this again in a very kind of crude way. The problem is that the statistics are there and hopefully they are reasonable for the Northwest Territories as a whole so you have a baseline.

The trouble is that when I tried to add up how many people were out in the hospitals for TB or so on and then try to take that as a proportion of the community each year, I found that the reporting techniques varied from year to year. For example, sometimes the community would be reported as having 85 people, but that wouldn't count people in hospitals. So you didn't know how many people were in the hospital. Other years, they would say, "Oh, our total population is this and so and so many are in hospital." Other times, people would say, "Oh, we have 12 people in the hospital and two of them were for TB and others for something else."

So once the numbers – they were so dicey, so I made a very, very tentative guess that I thought the death rate – and really tentative. I mean, this has to be taken with an enormous pinch of salt. I thought the death rates in the north were somewhat lower than the general death rates and I offer that very tentatively, and I thought that the TB rates were either relatively or absolutely lower than for the Northwest Territories.

But I wouldn't want to defend those statistics to the death. In fact, I don't think I would defend much to the death at this point. Maybe a good meal.

**COMMISSIONER MARY SILLETT:** Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Georges Erasmus, please.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** I would like to get back to the question of sovereignty and effective occupation.

What, according to your understanding, was the test of effective occupation that had to be met by Canada?

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** In the High North?

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Yes.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** As they were set out – please stop me, Commissioner Erasmus, if I have misunderstood the question.

As I understand it from Dean Macdonald's study of the conditions of sovereignty, effective occupation meant, according to the East Greenlander case – and, again, I am not a lawyer. So I am going to stutter a little bit on this one – it meant that there were sufficient indications of an effective government presence such that the legal personality of the state was clearly being maintained or could be maintained if there should be any threat.

So effective occupation meant having a sufficient number of indicators of a government presence, and not much was expected even in the East Greenlander case. For instance, it was felt that if you had a post office on

some place, that was a good indicator. So immediately the commanders of the weather stations were made postmasters and a year later, St. Laurent said, "Can't we do anything like sending up Customs and Immigration officers?" So immediately the commanders of the weather stations became Customs and Immigration officers as well as postmasters and et cetera.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** All right. What was meant by Canadianization of the north and what relationship did it have to sovereignty?

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** I don't think it was the same thing, although it was related. As I understand it in the documents at the time – the definition that I remember was in the Phillips memorandum of December 29, 1952 where I think he says, "Canadianization means the provision of all Canadian government services in the north."

What he then looks at is a number of ways in which government services can be increased in the north. So, for instance, he says, "Why don't we open up more RCMP posts? Why don't we replace the 20 American civilians who are at the weather stations?" It is unbelievable to me how long it took them to replace those 20 Americans.

The internal discussions on that were enormous, but the trouble is that the government was very, very divided on this issue anyway. Some people thought sovereignty was an important issue and other people thought it was a mystical waste of money, and you get that in the debate.

So he says, "Why not have more RCMP officers? Why not replace these American civilians? Why not take over an American weather station at Padlaping (PH.)" and so on and so forth. So he wants to both expand Canadian government services and take over the American civilian presence in the north.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** But it didn't include adding civilians to the north that were not going to be actually working at either a weather station or an Armed Forces base or an actual officer working for the government.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** Unless I am completely wrong, my sense of it is that it really almost completely meant government employees. That is my reading of it – expansion of government employees in the north.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Delivering services to whom if there is nobody to service?

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** Well, there would have been weather station services that would have been serving, I suppose, the whole of the north, the Department of Transportation services, services like – they were very, very preoccupied about getting control of the seaways. For instance, it really was a tremendous burr under the saddle at that time that the Americans were supplying Resolute and the joint weather stations.

So a huge effort was going to be made, a very expensive one, to replace that with Canadian ships, and that was a big deal – a big issue, rather. Sorry, my language is starting to slip at this stage.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** No, no problem.

What do you think was meant when Ben Sivertz in 1953 said that the Canadian government is anxious to have Canadians occupy as much of the north as possible? It appeared that in many cases the Eskimos were the only people capable of doing this. What do you think that meant?

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** My interpretation in my report was that I thought he was talking about sovereignty. I also noted in a footnote that he disagreed. I had had a call from him on that and he said that he was simply talking about the need to have the resources of the north utilized by Canada.

It is hard to have a certain interpretation and then the person that you talk to says, "No, you have the wrong interpretation," and then the person is in the room at the same time. So that is all I can tell you, that I thought at the time that he was thinking of that.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** So then it is to be believed according to your document that it is not a question of sovereignty to move people to the north, but as you state in your summary on page 3, that actually once they are there, they contribute to sovereignty.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** Yes. Any activity of that sort was going to contribute to sovereignty.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** How is it that there isn't a bridge there? If everyone agrees that once they are there they are actually supporting sovereignty, why is it not that one of the logical reasons could also be – not necessarily the only one, not even in the primary one. It might be the hunter in a long list of ones, but how is it logical that the same people that are involved – it is Sivertz that is saying this on the one hand. How is it possible that you could actually decide you are going to move people up there? You know that once they are there they are going to be contributing to Canadian sovereignty, but you are actually deciding to move them there and you are going to vehemently deny in every which way that the decision doesn't have anything to do with sovereignty.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** Sure.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** It leaves a little bit of doubt in my mind that that could possibly be going on.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** Sure.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Later on, also, when people were considering leaving Grise Fiord and possibly moving to Resolute, there is an argument, "Don't leave. It is going to affect" –

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** Maybe we should keep Grise Fiord going for sovereignty reasons.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Yes.

So once they are there, they are important to sovereignty and it is important to maintain them, but you can actually go that far and say, "Still the decision originally didn't have anything at all to do, not even the smallest shred, with sovereignty." Right?

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** I don't think anybody can say that. I certainly wouldn't go that far. Then, of course, you are going to ask me, "How far can we go?"

Let me hesitate on that for a moment. Let me just say this, though, more seriously on that: One is that it is interesting when people quote that Sivertz line that they never quote what he also said at that meeting. What he says at that meeting is, quite apart from that one line, "The primary reason we are sending Inuit Eskimo to the north is to see whether they can find a better

living there." And no one quotes that. Everybody sort of forgets about that. Everyone sticks to this one line.

For the full minutes of this meeting, see Document 50 in S. Grant (2016)

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** All right.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** The same thing with that 1960 –

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** For this conversation, let's say that it is a given that it is not a primary reason. Let's say that we as Commissioners agree that that was not the primary motivating factor.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** Yes.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** What I am trying to get at – and that is why I am asking – is if there was any element of sovereignty in there, and you continued to say here that it was not the primary and – I can't remember the words, but it wasn't the main or –

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** Material. It was not material as well.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** All right. So could it be a small portion?

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** What I would like to say –

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Could it be a minor consideration?

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** I would like to say "yes" and get us over this hump, but I would rather not and I hope that what I say in response is not going to seem like sliding away from the question, but my sense of it is this: There are a couple – I think there are three of what I would regard as throw-away lines in the documents that refer to sovereignty.[terms]sovereignty!rationale for relocation

So, clearly, there are people – now, Sivertz denies that he said this, but let's just assume for the argument that he did. There are a few throw-away lines in the documents that refer to sovereignty. They do not come from top-level public servants at the time. They come from what I called middle level public servants.

The question that one has to ask oneself as to how much role sovereignty played is this: Do middle level public servants, when they express things, express the totality of a public policy? I don't think they do. They are allowed to indicate what their views are, but the policy of a bureaucratic organization is to be found in the hierarchy and what the hierarchy says and what it says officially.

So if, for instance, the hierarchy, in wanting to articulate its policy, reads a document that says, "And, oh, by the way, sovereignty could be usefully implemented," but they happen not to use that phrase, what that suggests to me is that they looked at it and they said, "Oh, that is interesting. X things that, but that is not our policy."

I think that happened and that is the truth of the matter, that there are endless numbers of documents showing that the policy is to get employment, better hunting and improve the lives of people. Sure, the odd person said something about sovereignty, but that doesn't mean it was the reason or the policy in terms of the hierarchy.

You can tell the policy of a government department when you see the sort of key lines that they use over and over again, the key positions, and that is, I think, absolutely clear in this case in literally countless numbers – I

am starting to exaggerate – literally very large numbers of references in the documents.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** What about this 1956 report that I think Shelagh Grant quotes on sovereignty on Ellesmere Island? Included is a list of Canadian activities since 1950 that imply effective occupation and exertion of jurisdiction amongst the items. Then they talk about the six families, the Eskimo colonists that were landed at Craig Harbour in August 1953 and then they go on about in August 1953, the RCMP detachment was opened on Alexandria Fiord. Seven Inuit families took up residences in August in the same place.

I find that contradictory because I thought that was the place they didn't go to, but certainly at Craig Harbour they did go.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** I think they are counting – maybe it wasn't the special constable who went up there. Maybe it was somebody – I don't know.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** But the point is: They list the actual six and the seven families and if you take them together, they are actually talking about the two shipments, 53 and 55. Together there were 14 families between the two places, Grise Fiord and Resolute.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** Yes.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** So they actually cite those families as being part of effective occupation according to one of the reports.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** Yes, I certainly think that once they went up there, they contributed to effective occupation in that sense, but I don't think they were sent up for that reason. I think everybody has admitted that once people appeared in a sparsely populated area of that sort – pretty much any activity up there contributed –

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** It was coincidence that they landed up there and –

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** Not at all. It wasn't coincidence at all. But as I say, you can do something for one reason and it can have a variety of consequences. In this case, they did something for reason X and it had consequences WYZ, but I don't think it was coincidence at all.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** All right.

You talked to Paul Chartrand about a number of things, but I wonder if you could explain to me in your mind what would actually constitute a human experiment?

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** I assume it would be a medical experiment. It is hard for me to –

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** That is the only kind of experiments there are that human beings can participate in?

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** Or inhuman things like concentration camps. First of all, the word – maybe I am missing your point here – “experiment”, as I have set out in some detail in my report, meant something completely different from what it means today – not completely different, but it meant project. It didn't mean a scientific endeavour.

See Document 76 in S. Grant (2016). The document clearly lists seven Inuit landing at Alexandra Fiord in August 1953, and though this was planned it did not ultimately occur. An RCMP detachment was later opened at Alexandra Fiord but no Inuit settlement was established.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** I realize that. I am not worried about that at this point. I am trying to figure out in your mind: What is a human experiment? There must be some judgment you have that you are basing this one that it doesn't fit. So I want to know what it is that you are using as the test, as the rule, as the line in which once you cross it, you are into a human experiment. So please tell me?

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** I am sorry, maybe I am getting tired. I missing something on the question because you are asking me – I can only think of – at the moment, the only thing I can think of in terms of a human experiment – no, I suppose I can start thinking of a lot of things that would involve human experiments.

There are all the kinds of things that people do perhaps with scientifically structured psychological experiments with human subjects, let's say, or medical experiments or the sorts of things that are covered by experimental codes in universities and so on. I am really sorry, but I am not following you.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** No, that's fine.

What would the test of consent be of the participants?

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** I am out of my depth on this question. I have never been on, let's say, for example, a university ethics committee on the use of human subjects. I think I am out of my depth on this.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** That's fine.

On oral tradition, you started off talking about oral tradition in your presentation and why you thought it could be faulty. One of the criticisms you mentioned was that it was organic and that it tended to change over time.

As soon as you said it, I had the impression that that kind of meant that the written versions of history never changed and just earlier today we were presented by researchers who were telling us that this particular subject, for instance – how difficult it was to write on it because as they continued to uncover new information, virtually every day you could add a new version or an extended view on it.

So I was wondering what you thought of that.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** Oh, absolutely. I shouldn't set up an incredibly shocked dichotomy between the oral and the documentary.

I guess what I had in mind was something like certainly interpretation of documents changes and if you get a new document, then you can interpret – you get B and it helps you interpret A in a different way. I meant more that what is written there on the piece of paper doesn't change that much.

Actually, if you will give me 30 seconds, I had something very different in mind.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Yes.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** It was a personal experience. For a long, long time in our family, I had an uncle who was an anti-Nazi fighter in the 1930s who had also committed the heinous crime of marrying a Jew. The family story was that Uncle Harold had, right when the Nazis came into power, been arrested in put in Dahar, had been very, very brutally treated there, hung upside down and so on, released after six months and then, lucky enough, was able to take his family out of Germany. I remember this story. This was the family story.

Last time, I spent a little time checking that out when I was in Germany and, indeed, my uncle was a stout and courageous anti-Nazi, but he never was in Dahar and he never was hanged upside down.

I guess what I would like to say about the point is that the story had grown in a way. How it got in to me this way – I have believed this for 40 years. You need double checks on these things and I had to go to documents and talk to other people before I found out.

Certainly, there was a story there. He was badly treated, but it wasn't in the way that I was absolutely convinced and that my parents were convinced as well.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** But do you agree that there are different perceptions on history?

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** Very much so.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Surely, that could be whether it was written or otherwise.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** Yes, I think it is an interpretation question. A document by itself is not going to reach out, shake your hands and explain itself and say, "This is the only way you are going to understand me." I agree with that. It is a matter of interpretation.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** I had a minor thing to try to check with you, figures that are a little bit different in relation to the mark-up of goods being sold by the RCMP.

On page 328, you mention a mark-up of 10 per cent for necessities and 25 for luxuries. In other reports that we have, the mark-up for luxuries is 40 per cent. I was wondering if you were absolutely firm on that or if you had some opinion on that.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** Again, I think I am getting a bit tired. I do remember this. I can't remember whether one was the Hudson's Bay Company or the trading post any more. I think that the trading posts went for – oh, it was the co-op. I think the co-op had a mark-up of an average of 18 per cent. That was 25 plus – oh, I do remember now.

The Eskimo Loan Fund had a mark-up of 40 and 10. That is a total of 50 and the co-op had a lower mark-up. That is, 25 and 10 or 35 per cent. I don't know why I am doing these additions. The one went 40 and 10 and the other went, I think, 25 and 10.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** So once the co-ops –

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** Or 35 and 10.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Once the co-ops came into place, then they lowered the mark-ups.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** Yes, they lowered it somewhat.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** So this was to repay the loan that these mark-ups – or else this was the store, the operating costs on the store?

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** The mark-ups the store and the Eskimo Loan Fund were to partly pay back the loan, to cover freight costs, to cover interest on the loan. So they covered interest in principle –



**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** So a percentage of the mark-up actually went to repay the loan.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** Oh, yes. That was the main way the loan was paid off.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Rather than people getting credits from trapping and –

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** They got credits as well. If, let's say, you sold 20 pelts and the fixed tariff at the time was \$15, then \$300 was credited to your personal account.

It was the same thing with the family allowance or with relief or with your wages. They were personal accounts as well as a total loan account.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** In relation to the loan fund and the mark-up in furs, we have been trying to figure out what has actually happened to the surplus, the letter that was sent to headquarters saying that there didn't seem to be a credit coming back to the store or to the individuals.

What is your understanding on that? Was the surplus ever discovered? That was just for one year and in that they were also citing that it seemed like they hadn't received it from the previous year.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** Yes. By the way, I would mention that the Eskimo Loan Fund was, from my perspective, a very bizarre financing instrument. You could understand it in a way, maybe.

Apparently, the background to it was that there were Indian loan funds that had previously existed and that's where they got the idea. You could understand that perhaps in the first two years or three years, or whatever, when it wasn't sure that the project was going to go on that you couldn't go in with a co-op right away.

But everybody hated the Eskimo Loan Fund. The Department did. The RCMP did. The only people who liked the Eskimo Loan Fund was Treasury Board and there are all sorts of memos from Sivertz and Phillips and others saying, "Let's change this thing. It is terrible. It is unfair," and so on and so forth.

But my understanding on the payments for fur was that there was a tariff that was set each year. How that was set, I don't know. It was maybe an average. Maybe it was a rolling average of prices.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** And then the fur was auctioned.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** That's right.

The tariff, in a sense, was a guaranteed income for your fur. So, let's say in a particular year, the market collapsed and the market was only \$6 per fur. You would still get your \$20 if that was the tariff.

In a way, it wasn't such a bad idea. In other words, it was sort of to even out the highs and the lows of that extraordinary volatile fur market. So the idea was: You would get a tariff no matter what you achieved on the market – I am sorry, no matter what those furs obtained on the market You would get your \$20 even if the Eskimo Loan Fund or the Department selling them got \$15.

The Eskimo Loan Fund as a whole was supposed to take the profits and losses on that, and the anger at the time was, "This is crazy. You gave us a

This was part of Cantley's suggestion to stabilize the fur trade industry. By having a base rate that would be paid to Inuit for each fur, then additional money made from government sale in good years could be pooled and used to finance the deficit in poor price years. See Lackenbauer (2020) for an excerpted version of Cantley's Survey.

tariff which gave us \$6,000 and you guys made a profit of – what was it? – \$11,000 and you have taken it back into the loan fund. Now, in a certain sense, the community will get it, but we want to make sure that the individual trappers get that profit.”

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** How would the community get it?

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** They wrote to them on that.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** No, but you said in a certain way the community would get it. How?

Would it go back to the store as a credit?

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** That’s right. That is what the argument at the time was, that the community will always benefit. Once the loans are paid off, all of this comes back to the community.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Did that also mean, then, that if they paid a tariff with \$15, sold the fur for a lower figure, that the –

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** You would have to pay.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** – store actually got the debit?

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** Took the loss. Yes, that’s the way it worked and that’s what made people so upset.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** All right.

In relation to the promises that Larsen said to Port Harrison when the whole thing was being set up, the instructions on what to tell people, as you were describing a bit earlier – you described that the instructions included: One, to tell people about the dark period; to tell people about the trading store and then to tell people about the promise to return.

Who was this sent to? Who was supposed to pass this on?

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** It was sent to Corporal Webster. I think it was sent in the name of Webster.

Oh, no, it would have been sent to the detachment, I think, at Harrison and it was also sent, with the wording somewhat different, to Fort Chimo.

The telegram to Pond Inlet was a little different.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Who was supposed to actually communicate this to the Inuit?

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** The detachment was in each case.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** I am curious about that because when we had Ross Gibson on the phone – you may have been sitting in the audience.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** Yes.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** We asked him about whether or not he knew anything about a promise to return and he said during the whole time that he had never heard anything about this ever.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** I know. I am utterly perplexed because he even, as throw-in line, said, “Webster gave me the telegram.” I thought, “Well, if you saw the telegram, then you must have realized two things. One is that people

could go back in a year and you must have realized, because the telegram is very, very clear –" it is in my report, by the way, the full telegram.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Then later in the same day we were told by Sivertz that the reason that Larsen didn't know about it is because he had no responsibility for that.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** That Larsen didn't?

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Yes, Gibson didn't know about it because he had no responsibility to actually communicate that.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** That, in other words, Webster might simply have said to him, "We have been asked to find people," and that Webster didn't pass on the full terms of the telegram. It is sort of incomprehensible to me. I can't understand it because the telegram is also very, very clear that people are to go to two locations on Ellesmere.

Now, there I can understand where the mistake might have occurred, that someone might have said, "Oh, you are going to be on this one island," or that someone might have thought two hundred miles wasn't that far away. It sounds strange, but it has some plausibility. But I don't understand how Constable Gibson, who comes across as a fine officer – not great on paperwork, I think, but responsible – how that could have escaped him or how he could have forgotten it. But here is emphatic on that.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Then you say that in relation to people wanting to return, your appreciation is that there was no desire for any permanent return, that really what people wanted was just to return to visit.

You are saying that no one wanted to return permanently.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** I only came across – there were a number of returns by Pond Inlet people that are mentioned.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Well, they are close.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** And they are close, exactly.

There is one of a Grise Fiord family that wanted to return in 1961 and arrangements were made, and then the family, according to the documents, changed its mind. Then there is one case where a family in 1960 either was asked to or wanted to leave Resolute and could have gone back to Inukjuak and instead went to Churchill and six months later asked to come back to Resolute and went back to Resolute.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** I was just wondering, just considering possibilities, mathematically whether or not you could send 14 families anywhere in the world regardless of what the situation and under the best circumstances freely wanting to go there – if it would be possible that so few people would want to return, having nothing to do with this.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** Yes.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** I find it hard to believe that so few people would want to return just knowing the intimacy that the Inuit regard the importance of family.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** I can't answer that. I can just tell you what is in the documents.

I should mention that there was one other case in 1963, actually, where a family did go back to Harrison and that was paid for. I am not trying to contradict what you were saying. What the family said was that they were very reluctant to leave Resolute because they liked it very much, but they felt that their relative was now old and they owed a duty and so on. A very strong sense of that comes through.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Did you say at the beginning that you have not had a chance to read the transcripts or listen to the April hearings?

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** I have not been able to sit down and go through them very, very systematically and very carefully and take notes and so on. I have tried to read them, but it has been very, very quick and I haven't really been able to do it very systematically.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** I was curious about that because you make a very major point in your study about the fact that the Inuit have never had an opportunity to really tell their story and that if there is one thing missing –

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** I don't want to sound as though I am criticizing the Commission. I actually thought I might be sent a copy and I never was. So it was just a matter of time really. I just got it very, very recently.

By the way, I am not copping out here at all.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Thank you very much for answering those questions.

**MAGNUS GUNTHER:** Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** I think everybody is quite tired. The plan is the following: We will have a short five-minute break and offered in the agenda researchers to comment on what was said by other researchers during the day for a very short period. So I would like to say that we will resume in five minutes.

Maybe, Mr. Gunther, I could ask you right now: Do you have comments? Would you like to say a few comments on what was said by other researchers? I know Shelagh Grant, for one, would like to use the opportunity that was made in the agenda and the other researchers who are still with us.

So if not, we will start by those researchers who would like to do that. Afterward, we are going to have a very short closing statement about the two weeks of hearings. We plan to resume in five minutes for half an hour and that will be it.

Thank you.

— Short recess at 7:35 p.m.

— Upon resuming at 7:50 p.m.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Could everybody take a seat, please. We are resuming for half an hour. I would like to ask Shelagh Grant to come forward.

**SHELAGH GRANT:** Did you want me to go just to respond and go on or did you want me to go into the sovereignty first and then respond, or is it all lumped into one?

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** You are the one who knows what you want to convey to us. You have fifteen minutes. We have to keep within the schedule.

**SHELAGH GRANT:** Yes.

I want to say that I don't think I have ever appreciated the work of a Commission until I have watched the past two days and I am going to reverse it.

I thought I worked hard. You have so much of my impressed opinion at the moment. I really want to thank you for taking the time.

On the issue of sovereignty, I want to clarify a basic I did not stress at this time because it is so basic to my whole philosophy of where I have perceived sovereignty in the question, partially because it has been the key source of my research for fifteen years. I tend to – in a compounded error, it was assumed by a number of people to be that I thought it was the prime reason. I think we are getting into a play of words.

Unfortunately, at the back of that yellow book that I should have had all tabbed for you, there is an errata sheet on the compounded decision of error. I think there are three typos. The biggest problem is that I had to leave out two paragraphs and one was a prolonged explanation on the sovereignty issue which, in just one sentence, is: Sovereignty, in my feeling – and I think I can prove it left, right and centre. I will send you the paper I mentioned in there on notes on sovereignty to you – was definitely the reason for the location of the sites. I have said – and it got misread – that the primary reason for where – and I said when or how, thinking of the timing and the preparation that it was pressured into it. That is an assumption. I am looking for a reason that everything was squeezed in to that period of time because nothing else made sense.

Then the other qualifier – and I want to just let you think of the logic on this – is that the primary reason for who was sent or selected was an economic benefit. Now, you can measure that in two ways: an economic benefit to the government of reducing welfare payments, but I want to say on any relocation history, from 1920, it has never ever been stated that there isn't an opportunity for the Inuit. Now, whether that is an official statement, a real statement, at least we are Canadian enough not to send somebody who is going to be at a disadvantage. There is always that economic benefit.

I believe the two are interrelated because – and I will just put this argument – if you had no sovereignty reason, there would be no reason to select Ellesmere Island or Resolute. The missions and the RCAF would be profoundly against Resolute and there would now be no police posts on Ellesmere, basically.

So if you had no sovereignty reason, you wouldn't be going there. You would probably be going where the Hudson's Bay Company suggested – North Baffin, Clyde River or the Ottawa Islands which is in the southern section of the NWT report.

Let's say there was only sovereignty and there is absolutely no high population in Quebec, northern Quebec. There is no high welfare payments. The high welfare payments probably are the fact that the communities are becoming well established and people are gathering around there. And if you have a welfare teacher around Port Harrison who really is seeing the problems, they are more likely to get candidates of, yes, these people need help, especially if she is going into the out camps. I think if you read her books, she is

a very sensitive woman in that sense. I can see it creeping up.

There is one sheet in there that compares from 1945 to 1954/55. The Deputy Minister kept a list of the welfare payment comparisons. I believe you have to go under relocation along to 1955.

What is happening is that the welfare assistance is increasing, actually, right across the NWT in total. Now, you could argue most of that maybe in Keewatin, but it is not increasing faster – in fact, it is lowering in that period – in northern Quebec. So whether it is a reason or not —

But they selected them from northern Quebec because it was over-populated. But if you took away that it wasn't a problem, then likely for sovereignty reasons alone they would have tried to seek volunteers from North Baffin and move them over, as Larsen originally expected, to the Arctic Bay area which some actually went from eventually. Some of them might have moved over to Resolute.

So, as I said, the two are totally interdependent. You can't, in my view – and maybe you can find a measurement, but I can't see how you can separate them. You have to see the two together and that's when I asked the question: Is that really the problem?

Now, legally and as a Commission and as far as an Aboriginal Peoples Commission, you may think that is a question. That was just a theoretical, logical question because I thought the problem was with the plan and the way it was implemented.

I am going to go to the slides in a minute very quickly. I want to say something about Alan Marcus' work. He has annunciated an excellent narrative and he is very fluent, and I was sitting there green with envy because I was putting in facts and he told the most wonderful story that I could sit there and back up all the facts. I must admit, I know how hard he has worked on his thesis. I know what it is like to go through that effort and also I have heard, "If I see another new piece of evidence –" and that is the problem with this case.

I have serious reservations with Professor Gunther's paper and I actually started making comments at one point and then I realized that really I could answer them with my own paper. I will be doing a full-length version. I have no question about my own confidence in my researching ability, and I think we have a problem where we have a political scientist looking at something that needs an incredibly complex background of history. I say it is complex because I am still learning. Every once in a while, as of two weeks ago, another piece of missing link came in.

I believe, in that sense, we are looking at a political analysis of something on documents versus looking at something in the whole historical context. I just want to say that that is why I am not making any further comment on that, plus everyone has their own way of writing things.

Sovereignty. That is 1903 when the first problem was uncovered. If you can see Fullerton Harbour near the top of Hudson Bay, that was the first police post. They didn't have two-man detachments. They had 12 and they had company, but they patrolled with smaller boats. It wasn't just the one boat. They patrolled the whole area.

That was a whaling problem of whalers going over, but fortunately women's corsets went out of style just about the same time that the whales disappeared.

The Arctic Island game preserves. On the back of the External Affairs

document, they actually say – yes, Bill Marstephason (PH.) pressed the muskox and the fear of the muskox, but that was also a way to show that you could administer authority if you could tell the Danish Greenlanders and say, “This established an area of sovereignty and pressed it to make sure the Greenlanders don’t kill the muskox and stay off.”

At that time, you have the Postupipbock Peninsula (PH.) and you have the one down at Craig Harbour and Dundas. Dundas and Craig switched back and forth, but it was a means of showing effective occupation.

Why was effective occupation important? Well, J.B. Horkin with the Minister of the Interior in 1920 didn’t know that imperfect title question. W.F. King had found out for a different reason. He discovered the Cape Sabine area which is right across from the Etah Peninsula. It was as far north as the British ever got as of 1860, 1850s.

The Americans in the Hays Expedition on the original Admiralty map had got this stretch right into here until 1875. Finally Nares got the very top. I made a horrible one on Morningside. You can see that with the errata on the compounded error.

The Americans also got on Greenland on that side and that was part of their attempt to purchase Greenland in 1903.

We had public sensitivities over the Alaska Tribunals and if you read some of the cartoons and some of the arguments, we shouldn’t have won that, but the public didn’t think so. So by 1903, the government figured out that Arctic sovereignty was a super-sensitive question that all you did was tell them it was fine and if there was a problem don’t tell the public.

It was safe in 1920. Nobody knew that Rasmussen had said it was no-man’s land. That was safe and then they discovered that they already knew they had a problem up here.

Some maps – the 1904 map that was done for W.F. King had problem. It was inaccurate and in 1920 it was corrected. The situation was worse, not better. The meridians were wider and it was more extensive.

Now, the question is: Then you break it down into who left the cairns, who ratified it and who was – these are all legal interpretations. What happened is that we had the Cape Dorset crew. I mentioned in they recommended moving Inuit to Ellesmere as part of Omedes (PH.). Well, no. In 1903, they wanted to move them up to Baffin and they said, “No, we want to close the post at Dundas. You can move them to Dundas and make sure that you pick some that are from an overpopulated area.”

That is why we had to take some from – where did we go? – Cape Dorset because they were overpopulated according to the system, but the rest went from Pangnirtung to Pond. They also had a promise to return and the person that wrote that up is Stevenson in his own report which is almost better than Diamond Jenness’ version.

This is the first plan that Charles Hubbard put together and the date of that is 1947. He hasn’t got the top of Ellesmere at that point. His Slidra Bay (PH.) is where Eureka is. Oh, I am going up. That is Eureka on Ellesmere. This was supposed to be the central entrepôt, the centre of all the operations.

They have a base on Tuli, but as John Crump can help you because I sent that information to you, you will see in the writing there that nobody was supposed to have – the Americans weren’t supposed to have a base on Tuli. In writing, the airstrip went accidentally in front of a weather station. They even re-wrote in accidentally.

Another intelligence report comes to External – meeting Charles Hubbard. Where? Tuli. They are not supposed to be there and that is one of the concerns that went on behind where the Americans did something first and asked later. There is an intelligence report I can send you on the Greenland situation that the Danish were trying to negotiate out of in that problem.

So there is a lot of sensitivity behind the scenes. That document that is in your folder that I had in the back of the sovereignty or security – John Holmes and I discussed it at length and the question is: John Holmes – he knew about it when it came in. He hadn't seen the document. I had to get the copy from the U.S. archives.

He believes it was leaked on purpose to put pressure to come to the agreement in December 1946 for that joint – because every island they mentioned was Afrikaans and Prince Patrick, Melville Island is over here. There is a question about that. I think the British is safe, but the Americans have a question.

They mention Banks and I couldn't figure that out because all of the British have exploration title. Then I pulled out an old whaling book. There is an issue of the Americans actually having leased and settled for a period of time two whaling refineries on Banks Island. I think they were playing games.

I honestly think – this is sort of part of the American pressure, but what it did do is get Canada's agreement to say "yes" when they couldn't cover with the number of people. They couldn't cover with the number of manpower technology and by 1953, there was a memo in there from Norman Robertson that said, "Right now, our commitment is so high for the four-year plan, we can't afford to do anything. So we won't talk about it." That was literally what he was saying. "We can't discuss anything more. We are in trouble."

In 1953, we have another problem. We have a new president, a different system about letting things out public and they decide to open the post at Craig Harbour and Cape Herschel. That is the decision in 1952. Resolute and Sachs Harbour on Banks Harbour come in. Let's go to the next one.

Things have changed. If you will notice right at the top of Ellesmere, it was called Alert. That was landed and established on Easter Day. Tuli – the agreement was in 1951, the most massive air strip base in that Tuli now is going to be the centre of their operations.

So Resolute is reduced. So that is partially why in 1951 things aren't quite so bad. Let's see 1953.

The map that is referred to in the DIAND report had two arms and I never used the DEW line reference because it is very confusing because that is not where it was supposed to originally go. The DCI stations were originally supposed to be in the vicinity, which I think is the same as in the general area, of Resolute, Craig Harbour, which was Cobourg Island. Cobourg Island is so close off Craig Harbour you could spit at it.

Eureka was the other one. Sometimes Alert was mentioned. Resolute was actually surveyed in 1950 when they surveyed for the extension of the airstrip expansion and for other facilities.

When the question of where they were going to put this Arctic chain came officially to the Cabinet in January, they knew about it in December and that is where the discussion came from. The Arctic chain – they didn't know whether it was really going to go except it was supposed to maybe take the place of the CGI.

This is a reference to Grant's 1988 book *Sovereignty or Security* in which she discusses the history of Arctic sovereignty at length. Her 2010 *Polar Imperative* continues to discuss this history in greater detail.



Those CGI radar stations at Cobourg and at Resolute did not, as stated – they were eliminated in May. They are still on the External Affairs in your calendar projected activities in 1954. They were projected still because they hadn't definitely decided where that radar chain was going. If the radar chain didn't go that far north, it might go in. By that time, we have – plans and technology had a race against each other.

Question. That goes in the vicinity, I think, of Craig Harbour – maybe a little bit further north of Cornwallis and that is just a projected line. Resolute would still be your central mission and the whole issue at that point is that we did not have the manpower either to unload the ships or the technicians and the Americans had a draft system. They could encourage people at all – and it comes through time and time again. Inuit employment – or Eskimo employment, unfortunately, is the reference all the way through. So I have to be politically correct and then correct myself. That is the issue.

It was a fear and in all fairness, if I said, "If you could have one dream, it would probably have been wonderful because they would have been trained to be really a part of defending and participating in their north." This one was just a small tiny experiment that I don't think was given the attention it should have and that has been my argument.

Where the sovereignty comes in – I have to leave it to somebody else because I know where it comes in on the location, but it is importance in human rights – I am not a legal expert. I have no legal expertise in human rights law and I admit it up front, and I want to leave that one to the lawyers.

I think I am out of time and I want to thank you.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you.

It is getting late. We are nearing the end of our hearings on the High Arctic relocation and I would like to review a few matters of process and procedure.

To begin with, we would like to express our thanks for the very considerable co-operation which has made these hearings possible. Both in April and now in June, many people have made a great effort to make themselves available as witnesses and to prepare and present their evidence. Without all of you, each and everyone of you, and the other witnesses who were here, there would have been no hearings. The Commission and the Canadian public would not have heard so clearly the deeply held but divergent views on this relocation.

It is our sense that witnesses, both in April and now in June, have welcomed the opportunity to tell the Commission and the Canadian public their stories. For many, it has been the first opportunity that they have been given to tell their full story in public. This is not only the case for Inuit witnesses. It is the case for many others as well. Ross Gibson, for example, has clearly expressed his appreciation at being able to put his story on the public record.

The issues raised in these hearings have been a matter of public debate for a decade. It was the existence of a problem which led to the Commission's hearings, not the other way around.

The Commission has made it clear that anything the Commission does as a result of these hearings will be consistent with the Commission's mandate to promote reconciliation. The conciliation is not only a result it is a process.

The Commission has been careful to adopt an approach and procedures which are consistent with a process of reconciliation. The focus of the Commission's hearings is the actions of the government and the policies which

apply to relocations.

The Commission is mindful of the need to be accessible to the public. It has endeavoured to accommodate all those who wished to give evidence to the Commission. Special procedures have been adopted to record the evidence of those who could not attend the hearing. The evidence of Ross Gibson and Wilf Doucette has been taken down in this way. Ross Gibson was also connected into the hearing by telephone to respond to Commission's questions.

There was one witness who was scheduled that could not attend the hearings, Mr. Andrew Orkin. He was unable to do so for reasons that he was under no control. So his evidence will be taken Monday, next week, and will form part of the transcript of these hearings.

Various witnesses, such as Mr. Kenney, have indicated a willingness to provide further material to the Commission. Cley Fryer has sent the Commission's counsel a letter. The Inuit Tapirisat of Canada has also sent the Commission a submission. It was received last night.

To permit the Commission to move forward in a timely fashion, the Commission requests that all further material which people may wish to provide be delivered to the Commission no later than August 31, 1993. Any such further materials which are provided to the Commission will be accessible to the public at the Commission's office.

We would like to express our appreciation for the assistance provided by Mary Simon, Roger Tassé, Nick Schultz and the Commission's staff. Finally, I would once again like to thank everyone who has given evidence, brought materials for their important contribution to the Commission's understanding of the relocation as well as to the public's understanding of the relocation.

Je vais remercier également les traducteurs qui ont fait un travail remarquable dans des conditions difficiles ainsi que les gens qui sont responsables de la prise des transcriptions pour la bénéfice de tous.

I would like to thank the translators and the court reporter for their very important work for everybody's benefit.

Merci beaucoup. Thank you.

— Whereupon the Hearing adjourned at 8:16 p.m.

# **Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples Testimony: July 5, 1993**

ROYAL COMMISSION ON ABORIGINAL PEOPLES  
 LOCATION: OTTAWA, ONTARIO  
 DATE: MONDAY, JULY 5, 1993  
 VOLUME: 4

(Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, "Testimony," July 5, 1993, *The High Arctic Relocation Special Hearings*, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada))

Ottawa, Ontario

— Upon resuming on Monday, July 5, 1993 at 2:55 p.m.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** I would like to welcome everybody. This is the last leg of the public hearing on the relocations.

We have with us Professor Orkin. We will ask you to proceed whenever you are ready.

We also have Commissioner Paul Chartrand, who was not able to be with us but he is on the phone. Other Commissioners are on duty somewhere else, so there will be the three of us to hear Professor Orkin.

You may proceed.

**ANDREW ORKIN:** Thank you, Mr. Co-Chair.

As you have mentioned, I am Andy Orkin. At the outset I would like to thank the Commission for this opportunity to be here this afternoon. I am very honoured to be participating in this very important series of hearings.

By way of professional background, I am a member of the Law Society of Upper Canada and a practising lawyer. As you mentioned, I am an Assistant Professor in the Faculty of Medicine at McGill.

On a professional basis, I have advised a number of Aboriginal peoples and Aboriginal organizations in recent years, but I would like to mention that I have no professional relationship with the Inuit and have not been paid by them in any way for my work and my research on this matter.

I have undertaken this analysis and followed the issue as a Canadian citizen who has been profoundly moved and concerned by the events that are the subject matter of today's and the preceding hearings.

I will be addressing selected points from the research that I have done, understanding, as I do, that there has been an enormous amount of testimony on the subject to date, and I will attempt not to cover ground that may already have been covered by other witnesses.

Before starting on my substantive presentation, I would like to emphasize three points – or maybe two; I will see when I get to the end of them.

First, I am not a so-called Arctic expert or an expert on the Inuit. I have relied completely on the testimony of the Inuit themselves, on the archival research of historians, geographers, political scientists and the other anthropologists and researchers who have done the firsthand work on this issue. What I have done is applied the available facts to the available law, and vice versa. I don't claim in any way to have been the only person to have done this; there are others who have done so, but I, being an individual, have done this from a particular perspective.

The second point I would like to make is that I am essentially unaware of most of the content of the Royal Commission hearings to date, with the exception of the very sparse press coverage. That goes for both the Inuit session two months ago and the sessions that were held last week. So my research is essentially based on the factual record as it stood prior to this round of hearings, but augmented a little by what coverage I have managed to glean.

Andrew Orkin was lawyer and Assistant Professor at McGill University, specializing in medicine, ethics, and law

I will be working my way partially – and I hope I haven't intimidated the Commission with this large sheaf of notes. I will be going through selected points from this paper. The paper itself is culled from a much longer paper which I have been working on over the last couple of years. I am going to jump around a little, and I hope the Commissioners will bear with me. My paragraphs and pages are numbered, and I will locate you as we go along.

By way of overview, I am going to spend just a few moments on background which is probably the most superfluous part of my presentation, but it will assist me in locating myself factually. I am then going to make an observation about the basis on which law can be applied in this context and questions about the intertemporal application of law.

I am going to be looking at the question of statutory authority for relocations in general and this relocation in particular in Canada. I am going to be looking briefly at the fiduciary responsibility owed by governments to relocated Aboriginal peoples, the Inuit in this case. I am going to be looking at the question of consent in the context of vulnerability and fiduciary obligations. I am then going to be examining human rights instruments and law in a brief way. Finally, I am going to be examining the issue of this relocation as an experimental undertaking and drawing a few conclusions.

I don't think I need go over the core factual background to this event and the relocation in 1953 and 1957 of 17 Inuit families by the Canadian government to the High Arctic from northern Quebec. The motives for this relocation, though, are hotly disputed.

The government, on the one hand, denies it was undertaken to assert Canadian sovereignty in the north. The Inuit, on the other hand, say that this was a primary motive.

The question of whether Canadian sovereignty was a primary motive, or a motive at all, for the relocation is very important. The Inuit care deeply as to why they were resettled and that their role in asserting Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic be properly acknowledged.

Also disputed is whether they were discouraged or barred from returning south to their ancestral lands and whether they were at any time so hungry as to have to scavenge scraps from RCAF or RCMP dumps.

In addition, the Inuit have alleged that some who were relocated suffered from illnesses. They allege that they were coerced by RCMP officers to exchange sex in return for food and assistance, and that they were never paid for labour and goods that they provided to the crown.

Finally and, from my perspective centrally, also disputed is whether the Inuit were volunteers.

The Government of Canada has repeatedly asserted that the Inuit relocated to the High Arctic were freely consenting volunteers. Minister Tom Siddon has stated in a number of letters to newspapers and speeches in the House that the move was entirely voluntary.

It is, however, all but established that the Inuit suffered hardship at least for some months or years after the relocation, that they were ill-equipped and isolated at the time of the relocation, that they were promised that they would be returned south after one, two or three years if they were not satisfied with the High Arctic, that they were ill-informed or under-informed prior to the relocation about conditions in the High Arctic.

During the 1970s a number of Inuit families returned to northern Quebec at their own expense and during the late 1980s at the expense of the Govern-

1953 and 1955 are the primary relocation dates, though additional, smaller relocations occurred of family members in later years.

ment of Canada.

I am turning now to paragraph 13 on page 5, in which I will briefly examine the laws and norms applicable to this relocation.

The government has urged that its experiment in relocation be examined through the lens of the time in which it occurred. I quote the member of Parliament, Assistant to Minister Tom Siddon, who said in the House in 1990:

The world has changed since 1953. Actions that were taken then that were considered reasonable, benign and in the interests of the people who they were dealing with at the time would not perhaps be considered in the same light today. We must remember that we are dealing with the context of 1953.

It goes without saying, on the basis of that quote, that the intertemporal application of today's laws and norms to events of yesteryear is indeed inappropriate. However, while the actual relocation of the Inuit to the High Arctic, while it occurred in the early 1950s, the direct consequences of that relocation have continued for the relocatees and their offspring until the present day.

The completion of the actual relocations from Quebec to the High Arctic during the 1950s – that is, the actual physical move – cannot be said to have had the effect of hermetically isolating the undertaking in that decade. The great majority of the relocatees remained in the High Arctic until the 1980s, and many are still there today.

Any violations, therefore, of the relocatees' rights entailed in the relocation were ongoing for the duration of their presence in the High Arctic, at a minimum until they were able to return in the late 1980s.

The federal government, by way of a quick analysis of jurisdiction, has jurisdiction over Indians by virtue of section 91(24) of the Constitution Act, and the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that, within the meaning of that Act, the Inuit were Indians.

Let's briefly now examine the issue of statutory authority for this relocation.

It is ancient law that state actions infringing the liberty of a subject require specific legal authority. Dussault/ Borgeat confirm:

The basis of any public servant's activity is grounded in statute or regulation.

Contrary to the civil law in which capacity is the rule, the public law assumes incapacity of the officers it governs: a public officer can only do what the law authorizes him to do.

It was legally unthinkable, even in the pre-Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms 1950, that a citizen of Canada could be internally exiled, quarantined or even deprived of a liquor licence – and there I am referring to the famous 1959 case of *Roncarelli v. Duplessis* – without specific law authorizing such action and without a compelling and valid reason in fact to do so.

The requirement for statutory or other legal authority is particularly the case where the liberty of a subject is being infringed. The notion of liberty in this regard is very broad and cannot be infringed in the absence of valid legal authority.

See Dorothy Dobbie's remarks in "House of Commons Debates: November 20, 1990" in this volume.

This seems to be a reference to Dussault and Borgeat (1985)

Beyond doubtful claims that the Inuit subjects in this experiment were volunteers – and I will be analyzing that in greater depth in a moment – the Government of Canada has neither invoked nor enacted specific justification in law for the administrative relocation of these Canadian citizens to the High Arctic and the resulting infringements of their liberties.

To conclude this brief analysis, the Government of Canada relocated and thereby infringed the liberty of the Inuit without any statutory or other legal authorization. This breach of the rule of law by the Government of Canada effectively spans the entire period affected by the relocation, namely from 1952 to the late 1980s and possibly to the present day.

I will now briefly analyze the question of fiduciary responsibility and the duty of care which the governments owed the High Arctic exiles or relocatees.

The Government of Canada, being in a relationship of proximity as a government with the Inuit, owed them a duty of care in the ordinary course. In addition, the Government of Canada was at the time of the relocation of the Inuit in 1952, and at all times since, in a historic fiduciary relationship with the Inuit as members of an Aboriginal people, arising in common and constitutional law.

It bears emphasizing that the requirements of such a fiduciary relationship imposed, and imposes, the highest standard of loyalty and care on the Government of Canada with respect to the Inuit.

In addition, however, the government assumed a superadded fiduciary obligation toward the Inuit by initiating, undertaking and perpetuating an experimental relocation of vulnerable people to an inhospitable and foreign environment. The standard of care owed to the Inuit by the Government of Canada throughout the duration of the relocation and the decades that followed was thus the highest possible, and it comprised:

- an ordinary standard based on the responsibility of public authorities to citizens;
- the historic fiduciary obligation of the crown to Aboriginal peoples, including the Inuit; and
- the fiduciary obligation owed by the government as a result of its having initiated this relocation experiment itself.

The Supreme Court ruled in *Sparrow* that:<sup>24</sup>

– the honour of the Crown is at stake in dealings with aboriginal peoples. The special trust relationship and the responsibility of the government vis-à-vis aboriginals must be the first consideration in determining whether the legislation or action –

And I emphasize “or action.”

– in question can be justified.

With respect to the government’s fiduciary obligation, as concluded by Professor Soberman in his report for the Canadian Human Rights Commission, the government failed to meet its fiduciary obligations to the Inuit relocatees. I would like to draw the attention of the Commission once again, in paragraph 28, to the hierarchy of three sources of fiduciary obligation – three cascading or superadded sources of that fiduciary obligation leading, in my analysis, to a fiduciary duty of the highest order.

24. *R. v. Sparrow*, 1990

As I will discuss in a moment, the Government of Canada failed to meet even an ordinary standard of care in its relocation of the Inuit. In particular:

- It failed to act on the basis of any statutory authority – and I have analyzed that, I believe, in adequate depth.
- There is one point I would like to emphasize on the question of statutory authority. I think it is worth noting – and this is at footnote 16 on page 7 – that even in apartheid South Africa successive governments, in undertaking large-scale population relocations, ensured that relocations were undertaken pursuant to a number of overlapping statutory provisions.
- Second – and I am at the bottom of page 10, paragraph 31 – the Government of Canada failed to plan properly for or to properly execute the relocation.
- It failed to undertake any prior assessment of the risks involved in the relocation or of the suitability of the destinations.
- It selected relocatees without adequate care.
- It failed to inform the Inuit of a number of critical material aspects of the relocation.
- It failed to immediately correct or adequately ameliorate conditions under which the Inuit found themselves.
- It failed to provide even the minimum services, such as had been available to the Inuit in Inukjuak.
- Finally – and this is not an exhaustive list – it failed to promptly return the Inuit to Quebec as soon as they requested.

I will ask you to turn now to page 21, paragraph 58 – and thank you for bearing with me in this jumping around.

I am going to look now briefly at the question of consent in the context of vulnerability and the fiduciary obligations that I have just discussed.

The Supreme Court of Canada recently analyzed legal considerations surrounding the issue of consent, including in the context of fiduciary relationships in *Norberg v. Wynrib*. Basing its judgment in that case on an amalgamation of principles drawn from tort, contract and criminal law, the Supreme Court held that the concept of consent

– is based on a presumption of individual autonomy and free will... A position of relative weakness can, in some circumstances, interfere with the freedom of a person's will. Our notion of consent must, therefore, be modified to appreciate the power relationship between the parties.

Sopinka J. ruled in the same case that:

certain relationships, especially those in which there is a significant imbalance in power or those involving a high degree of trust and confidence may require the trier of fact to be particularly careful in assessing the reality of consent... The beneficiary of a fiduciary relationship can still consent to a transaction with the fiduciary but –

And I emphasize this.

– the court will subject such a consent to special scrutiny.

Circumstances requiring an assessment of consent were held by the Supreme Court in *Norberg* to arise in a number of ways:

Orkin's list is a detailed outline of the alleged failures of the government. This list is an effective outline of the types of questions the RCAP has clearly asked of Inuit and other witnesses, providing a useful summary against which to examine the evidence presented earlier in this volume.



A person may be ... situationally weaker because of temporary circumstances. Alternatively, the weakness may arise out of a special relationship in which trust and confidence has been reposed in the other party.

I believe what the Supreme Court was referring to there was a fiduciary relationship, a relationship of trust and confidence which are the two core elements of a fiduciary relationship.

The relevant impact of such circumstances, namely vulnerability and relationship of trust and confidence, were held by the court to be that:

- in circumstances, consent will be considered ineffective if it can be shown that there was such a disparity in the relative positions of the parties that the weaker party was not in a position to choose freely.

I will ask you to turn now, please, to page 27, paragraph 75. I am going to briefly analyze now, having identified a characterization of this relocation event not as an isolated or discrete event that took place in the 1950s, but as an event that spans four decades and which, therefore, comprehends a full range of human rights instruments by virtue of the fact that the direct consequences of the relocation of the Inuit to the High Arctic have continued over those following decades.

As I mentioned earlier, the High Arctic relocation had ongoing direct consequences that lasted until the late 1980s and perhaps to the present day. The ongoing nature of the direct consequences of the relocation serves to bring the undertaking within the reach of the international and national human rights laws and norms that emerged after 1953.

In respect of international instruments to which Canada is a state party, Chief Justice Dickson stated in *Slaight Communications*:

- the fact that a value has the status of an international human right, either in customary international law or under a treaty to which Canada is a state party, should generally be indicative of a high degree of importance attached to that objective.

A number of general and specific human rights instruments – and I am at paragraph 79 – are relevant to a consideration of the rights of the Inuit relocatees during the four decades or so of this relocation event, this ongoing event.

These include the Royal Proclamation of 1763; the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948; the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention of 1957; the Canadian Bill of Rights of 1960; the International Covenant on Social Economic and Cultural Rights of 1976, which was ratified by Canada and which is binding on Canada; the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights entered into force in 1976 and likewise binding on Canada; the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms of 1982; the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention of 1989; and the Draft Universal Declaration on Indigenous Rights of 1992.

I would just like to check whether Commissioner Paul Chartrand is picking this up on the phone. Are we coming through loud and clear?

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** Yes, you are, thank you.

I would like to take this opportunity to welcome you. I regret that we don't have one of those television screens to be able to see everybody. I want to say hello to you and to the other people who are present as well; I am not sure who is there.

These documents are also included in the annexes to the Makivik written submission to the SCAA in March 1990. See "Appendix 'ABOR-6': Annexes to the SCAA, March 19, 1990" in this volume.

Yes, I can hear very well.

**ANDREW ORKIN:** My apologies for waiting this long in giving you a chance to make this a two-way communication.

I have briefly listed a selection of some of the rights that, in my view, are relevant and have drawn on this important group of international human rights instruments.

They include:

- From the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the right to liberty and security of the person, freedom from cruel and degrading treatment, freedom of movement and residence, the assurance of the right to an adequate standard of living, the assurance of participation in cultural life – and I have not listed here, but it needs to be added – the right to marry and have a family.
- From the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Conventions, the right not to be subjected to force or coercion, the right to respect of your customary laws, the right to occupation and use of traditional lands, the right to be free from relocation or for it to occur with your full and informed consent, and the right to an adequate standard of health.
- Importantly, from the Canadian Bill of Rights of 1960, binding on the federal government, the right to security of the person and the right to be free of cruel and unusual treatment.
- From the International Covenant on Social Economic and Cultural Rights, the right not to be deprived under any circumstances – and this is one of the few absolutes in international instruments, the right not to be deprived under any circumstances of your means of subsistence, the right to marry and raise a family, the right to an adequate standard of living, the right to physical and mental health, and the right to pursuit of the cultural life.
- From the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, again the absolute right not to be deprived under any circumstances of your means of subsistence, again cruel and inhuman treatment, the right to security of the person, to freedom of movement and residence, to family and culture.
- From the 1982 the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, binding on all levels of government in Canada, the right to security of the person, freedom from cruel and unusual treatment, the assurance that these rights do not derogate from aboriginal rights and non-derogation from any other rights or freedoms contained in the Charter.

I won't go over again the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention of 1989, except to mention that, again, this Convention mentions the right not to be relocated with your full, free and informed consent and, in addition, the right to have your culture and spirituality protected, your relationship with the land and your subsistence economy to be protected.

- Finally, the Draft Universal Declaration on Indigenous Rights of 1992 guarantees a range of relevant rights.

I am now going to briefly discuss a selected group of rights without, as we lawyers say, limiting the generality of what I have covered before: three selected rights, namely respecting relocations, the right to liberty and the right to security of the person. I will cover those briefly.

The Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989 is a forerunner to the Universal Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007). Canada did not ratify the convention and only endorsed the Declaration in 2016.

With respect to relocations in particular – and I am at paragraph 81 – such schemes have been stated to “always involve a high likelihood of abuse” and should be “always scrutinized closely for violations of the human rights.”

I note that there are minimum international standards pertaining to indigenous peoples and consent to relocations that have existed since 1957.

They provide that indigenous peoples shall not be removed without their free (and informed) consent. I have bracketed the words “and informed” because that was an addition in the later instrument on indigenous peoples’ rights.

The High Arctic relocation, as I have mentioned, must not be viewed as an isolated occurrence. Official records disclose that relocation was, and remains, an ongoing part of Canadian policy and practice with respect to aboriginal peoples in Canada. I know that a number of the examples I am going to cite are ones that have been brought to the attention of the Royal Commission in the course of its work across the country.

These relocations include, for example, those that occurred as early as the 1870s to clear pathways across Canada for the railways; those involving the Inuit of Devon Island in 1934; the Cree of Shamattawa in Manitoba in the 1940s – and that involved two successive relocations of the same people; likewise, the Inuit of Davis Inlet in 1948 and 1967; the Sayisi Dene of Churchill, Manitoba, in 1956 and 1966 – again, two successive relocations; the Inuit of Ennadai Lake, Ontario, in 1957, which relocation resulted in some fatalities by starvation; and the Cree of Fort George in James Bay and Quebec in 1975; and, most recently, to illustrate the ongoing nature of this policy and practice, the sudden evacuation of the Inuit of Killiniq, otherwise known as Port Burwell, in Quebec in 1978.

I will briefly discuss now the right to liberty enshrined in these instruments, international instruments as well as national instruments, including the Bill of Rights and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

The relocation of the Inuit to the High Arctic in 1953 constituted, as I have mentioned, an ongoing infringement of their right to liberty. In *Morgentaler*,<sup>25</sup> the Supreme Court of Canada stated:

The Charter and the right to individual liberty guaranteed under it are inextricably tied to the concept of human dignity...

Individuals are afforded the right to choose with whom they will associate... the right to choose where they will live and what occupation they will pursue.

These are all examples of the basic theory underlying the Charter, namely that the state will respect choices made by individuals and, to the greatest extent possible, will avoid subordinating these choices...

Liberty, as was noted in *Singh*, is a phrase capable of a broad range of meaning. In my view, this right, properly construed, grants the individual a degree of autonomy in making decisions of fundamental personal importance.

The liberty of the Inuit was most profoundly infringed in their removal from their ancestral lands without their consent to the High Arctic and their subsequent confinement, in effect, in the High Arctic for many years. In addition, it was infringed through ongoing deprivation of many of life’s choices.

The right to security is what I am going to look at briefly now.

Madam Justice Wilson stated in *Singh*: “Like ‘liberty’, the phrase ‘security of the person’ is capable of a broad range of meaning.”

Relocation was largely abandoned by the 1960s and was never a formalized part of Northern policy. Orkin’s examples are nonetheless illustrative of the many relocation projects undertaken by government in the twentieth century.

25. *R. v. Morgentaler* (1988)

This right is entrenched in a number of binding instruments in effect throughout this relocation experiment, including the Canadian Charter and Bill of Rights.

The High Arctic relocation of the Inuit had, and continues to have, a profound impact on the physical and mental integrity of the Inuit involved and on the people that they constitute. The individual and collective security of the Inuit have been violated on an ongoing basis for more than 40 years.

The arbitrary and illegal actions of the government – and I have discussed the extent to which statutory authorization was absent, and that is the basis for my conclusion and use of the words “arbitrary” and “illegal.” The arbitrary and illegal actions of the Government of Canada that infringed the Inuit relocatees’ right to security include: the splitting of their family and societal groups; the failure (if “temporarily” over months or years) to provide necessities of life, including housing, medical care, the means of maintaining an adequate subsistence way of life; and, finally, indentured labour without payment.

All of these are profound violations of the right to security of the Inuit individuals and collectivity involved in this relocation over the entire duration of the event to this present day.

Finally, and briefly, on the right to mobility, the Aboriginal right to mobility over traditional territory is guaranteed in section 35 of the Constitution Act. In addition, the right to mobility is confirmed in the International Covenants and in the Charter.

The Inuit relocatees’ right to mobility, it must be concluded, was profoundly infringed when they were relocated without their consent to the High Arctic and effectively confined there for some years, until the 1970s and the late 1980s.

I ask you, please, to turn to paragraph 9 now on page 3. – and thank you again for hopscotching around with me.

I am going to look now at characterizing this event and the question of its being an experimental undertaking involving human beings.

Before I do this, I would just like to sum up what I have done, which is to look at the question of the so-called intertemporal application of law and to conclude, rather, that this event is one which spanned many decades and, therefore, comes within the reach of a wide range of domestic and international binding human rights instruments.

Second, I examined the question of statutory authority, which was absolutely absent.

Third, I have examined the cascading superadded levels of fiduciary responsibility to which the federal government was held in this event, which can only lead to the conclusion that it owed the Inuit relocatees, at the time of the physical relocation and subsequently over the decades that followed, the highest standards of loyalty, fidelity and care.

Finally, I have looked at the question of consent in the context of vulnerability and fiduciary obligations, using the analysis from Norberg of the Supreme Court of Canada.

Independent archival research – and I am at paragraph 9 – establishes that the 1950s relocation of Inuit families from Inukjuak to the High Arctic was conceived and executed as an experimental undertaking by the Government of Canada. Numerous official documents from 1953 onward consistently and unselfconsciously characterize the 1953 relocation as an experiment.

To define the concept of “experiment” – and I am relying here on one authoritative document, although there are dozens like it. The definition I have adopted is the one of the National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects, which was the famous Belmont Report in the United States:

An experiment may be defined as a test or a trial undertaken to generate generalizable knowledge.

There are two quotations I would like to read briefly, from official archival documents:

The experiment we are making this year is to transfer a few families ... to find out how Eskimos from overpopulated southern areas can adapt themselves to conditions in the High Arctic where there is at present no Eskimo population.

The words I would like to emphasize there are “transfer a few families to find out how.”

The second quotation reads:

If the results this year warrant it, other natives can be moved to these pioneer points and to other points selected later. For the present, however, this migration is being considered as an experiment to determine

–

And I emphasize the words “experiment to determine.”

– if Eskimos can be induced to live on the northern islands.

It can be concluded from these quotes that the relocation was, both in name and in reality – and bearing in mind the definition of “a test or trial undertaken to generate generalizable knowledge” – an experimental undertaking.

Official documents have indicated, as I have shown, that it was hoped to learn whether the Inuit would move and how southern Inuit would cope in the High Arctic, and then to take that knowledge and generalize it, if successful, to further groups of Inuit.

Going to paragraph 13 on page 5, I am going to look now at laws and norms in addition to the human rights instruments that I have already analyzed, which apply in incrementally increasing number through the duration of this relocation experiment. I am going to look at particular laws that would apply to the initiation and undertaking of the relocation itself.

Government urges that its experiment be examined through the lens of the times in which it occurred – and I believe I have already looked at this. I am going to refer you to paragraph 32 on page 11. I am going to look now at experimental undertakings involving human beings and a body of law known as the Nuremberg Code which applies to experimental undertakings involving human beings.

Concern about the consequences of human experimentation and about the protection of human subjects exploded after the watershed event of the Nazi experiment during World War II. Those responsible for these experiments were tried in 1946 at Nuremberg in the most highly publicized trials in human history.

The judgment of this tribunal was made in *United States v. Karl Brandt* in 1948. The Commission stated that the resulting code on experimentation was derived from – and this is quoted in footnote 24:

– the principles of the law of nations as they result from the usages established among civilised peoples, from the laws of humanity, and from the dictates of public conscience.

The tribunal set down 10 principles now known as the Nuremberg Code. The Nuremberg Code was not new law. The tribunal ruled that the principles it articulated were part of international and national law in all civilized nations and had been in existence at the time of the Nazi experiments. Since then, numerous other codes have incorporated and enshrined this same law in Canada, in many other countries, and in the international fora.

In the discussion that follows – and I would like to make the strongest emphasis of any that I have made in the course of my presentation, and I am at paragraph 36 – numerous references will be made to the Nuremberg Code. I am making no comparison or analogy between the Nazi experiments and the High Arctic experiments. Any such comparison would be an injustice to those involved in both events. Likewise, I am not accusing Canadian officials of Nazi or neo-Nazi motivations or behaviour.

The wording of the Nuremberg Code is used below, however, because it clearly embodies the language and understanding of the 1940s and 1950s and the requirements of the law of the time and since regarding experimental undertakings involving human beings.

I would like to add parenthetically to this emphasis that it is with some reluctance that I invoke the Nuremberg Code, simply because the name “Nuremberg” invokes emotional responses. My only response in this situation is to observe, as a lawyer, that some of our best law, be it the rulings of Canada’s courts or the rulings of international tribunals, is born out of the most egregious of abuses. So my use and invocation of this Nuremberg Code is done measuredly – and, again, I would like to emphasize that I am not making any comparisons or analogies whatsoever.

There is a clear consensus that the ethical and legal principles in medical experiments involving human subjects are applicable, as the situation might require, to social, psychological or anthropological experiments. There are obvious and necessary differences between the application of ethical and legal principles to medical, on the one hand, and to social experimentation on the other. But all those who undertake experimental undertakings involving humans should be held, and are held, to the same high standards.

It would be absurd, I argue, if the law and norms on which the Nuremberg Code was based do not apply to an experiment involving human beings, in which those undertaking the experimental undertaking were not physicians but was one in which the risk of harm to the subjects’ bodies and psychological state was grave, although indirect.

In quoting at paragraph 40 the first three provisions of the Nuremberg Code that we come to, the Nuremberg Code provides that:

- (4) The experiment should be so conducted as to avoid all unnecessary physical and mental suffering and injury.
- (5) No experiment should be conducted where there is an a priori reason to believe that death or disabling injury will occur...
- (6) The degree of risk to be taken should never exceed that determined by the humanitarian importance of the problem to be solved.

In short, there are some actions and experiments which should never be undertaken, some actions and experiments for which consent should simply not be sought.

The risk of physical or psychological harm to some or all of those involved in this experiment were significant and were, as Dan Soberman has concluded in his report to the Canadian Human Rights Commission, were foreseen or foreseeable in 1952 by its planner. These risks include:

- the Inuit ranged in age from babies to an octogenarian and included a paraplegic person and a pregnant woman;
- the Inuit would, and were, exposed to extreme cold, isolation and seasonal perpetual darkness;
- the uncertainty about whether or not there would be adequate wildlife;
- the shortage that emerged of mates for Inuit reaching a marriageable age; and
- the impacts of long-term separation of the subjects in this experiment from their relatives in the group and in the people who were left behind.

All of these items, in my view, add up to a breach of those provisions that we have just looked at of the Nuremberg Code.

In paragraph 42, the Nuremberg Code further provides:

The experiment should be such as to yield fruitful results for the good of society, unprocurable by other methods or means of study, and not random or unnecessary in nature.

The experimenters could have been hoping to learn whether the islands to which the Inuit were being moved had sufficient wildlife to support a settlement and whether the Inuit had the necessary skills and attributes to survive a severe dislocation. A wildlife survey could have disclosed the former. A look back at an almost identical High Arctic relocation in the 1930s, which ended in failure, may have revealed that this experiment would not be worth repeating – and I am referring to the relocation in 1934 of 52 Inuit to Devon Island.

It is debatable that the High Arctic experiment would provide fruitful results for the benefit of society. In any case, any fruitful results it could have provided could, I argue, have been obtained by other means closer at hand.

The documented decision to subject the Inuit to the known or foreseeable risks of this relocation should never have been undertaken. The humanitarian importance of a solution to the Inuit problem does not appear to be proportional to the risks to which the Inuit were subjected.

On the basis of the information foreseen or foreseeable – and I emphasize again that this was the conclusion of Dan Soberman – in 1953 by the planners of this experiment, the risks of harm to the Inuit subjects should have led to a decision not to proceed prior to the undertaking of this relocation. Irrespective of whether or not any or all of the Inuit consented to the experiment or were believed to have consented, this relocation should, in my view, never have been undertaken.

The decision to do so was a wrong to the Inuit by the government, according to the laws and values of the time as confirmed in the Nuremberg principles, as were some of the severe harms which materialized that the Commission has heard about from the Inuit witnesses themselves.

I will now look at the question of consent, having examined the question which I believe is a prior question, which is whether certain experimental undertakings should be initiated at all by virtue of the risks, foreseen or foreseeable, that they pose. We then come to the second question, leaving the

results of the first question aside for the time being, which is: Were the Inuit, given that the experiment was initiated, freely consenting volunteers?

The provision on this in the Nuremberg Code is a long one, and I ask you to bear with me while I go through it in its entirety. The reason I would like to do that is that all academic writing on the subject of the Nuremberg Code and, in fact, on the question of consent itself regards this as the primary statement on the question of consent in provisions of international law. It is so much the case that this provision has virtually been adopted word for word in all national codes on the question of consent in experimental undertakings involving human subjects, including that of the Medical Research Council of Canada and all other applicable codes.

The voluntary consent of the human subject is absolutely essential. This means that the person involved should have legal capacity to give consent; should be so situated as to be able to exercise free power of choice, without the intervention of any element of force, fraud, deceit, duress, over-reaching, or other ulterior form of constraint or coercion; and should have sufficient knowledge and comprehension of the elements of the subject matter involved as to enable him to make an understanding and enlightened decision. This latter element requires that before the acceptance of an affirmative decision by the experimental subject there should be made known to him the nature, duration, and purpose of the experiment; the method and means by which it is to be conducted; all inconveniences and hazards reasonably to be expected; and the effects upon his health or person which may possibly come from his participation in the experiment.

The duty and responsibility for ascertaining the quality of the consent rests upon each individual who initiates, directs or engages in the experiment. It is a personal duty and responsibility which may not be delegated to another with impunity.

This article of the Nuremberg Code is archetypal, as I have mentioned, of many legal provisions of its kind. It identifies a number of elements which I would like to briefly identify:

- capacity and competence to consent;
- information regarding the nature, duration and purpose of the experiment, and comprehension of that information; and
- voluntariness of consent. Finally, it talks – and I don't have this in paragraph 48, but this is extremely important.
- It places a burden of proof for the question of consent on he who undertakes the experimental event. This is not unusual, and a number of Supreme Court rulings in Canada, which have looked at the question of consent in a number of contexts, have come up with such a burden as well.

I will look briefly at the elements I have just identified.

With respect to voluntariness, the law requires that the seeking of consent be free of apprehended threat, usually a fear of loss of other benefit if consent is withheld. The Inuit of Port Harrison, or Inukjuak, were dependent on government officials for welfare and benefits. Were they assured that a refusal to participate in this relocation would not affect those benefits?



Could they have reasonably believed that refusal would have affected those benefits?

Second, the Inuit feel that their consent was obtained by virtue of fear and overt or circumstantial duress or pressure and was, thus, mere meek assent. They state – and a number of witnesses have stated this to the Royal Commission in recent days – that they feared the white man and especially the RCMP, and that the RCMP had to return a number of times before they agreed to go. I quote one witness before the House of Commons:

– the RCMP...came back...two or three times... and they were very, very persistent. In the end my parents finally agreed –

Another witness stated to the House of Commons Committee on Aboriginal Affairs:

You must understand that in 1953 the white man was viewed as almost a god by our people. They were feared. We were afraid of them. We were afraid to say no to anything they wanted.

To analyze the relationship of the RCMP with the Inuit, they were, in my view, in an unequal, authority relationship with the Inuit. The Inuit have testified regarding the concept of *"ilira"* or fear and awe of the white man. The allegation that consent was obtained under de facto or overt duress is, in my view, plausible.

The government had a duty of care in law to ensure, as I have stated, that consent was freely and voluntarily given and free of any fraud, apprehended threat or duress. In my view, it did not fulfill that duty.

Going to paragraph 54, on the question of information, the Inuit alleged that they were not informed about a number of important material issues, misinformed about others, and simply unable to comprehend much of what was about to happen to them.

You will remember that the provision in Article 1 of the Code talks not just about provision of adequate information, but about capacity to comprehend the information you are given.

The Inuit state, for example, that they were told they would be kept together or, at least, not told that they would be separated, when it was known that they would be. They were told that there would be plentiful wildlife for them in the High Arctic, when this was not known or actually doubted, according to some official records, and that they were not told about the seasonal perpetual darkness situation, even though official records disclose prior concern in this regard. These are just three examples of difficulties on the level of information.

Fraudulent or misrepresentational acts such as these would vitiate consent for the reason that it was not properly informed. Fraudulent inducements may also be regarded as a form of coercion and, hence, affect voluntariness.

In my view, it is likely that the subjects would not have boarded the boat – and I believe that Inuit witnesses to the Royal Commission have stated this – had they been informed or understood, for instance, that they would be separated into groups or that they might not see relatives in Inukjuak for many years, or that there were three months of perpetual darkness each winter.

The Inuit were not informed, or were misinformed, about these and other material aspects of the experiment and had limited comprehension of some

of these aspects. This serves in the law of the time, in my view, to invalidate any consent that they may be held to have given.

Finally, with respect to capacity, which you will remember was the third central element that the Code identified – and I would like briefly to make a point at this time about the aspect of this provision of the Nuremberg Code.

The law which the Nuremberg Code invokes in this provision is very much the content of the common law, not just with respect to experiments involving human subjects but with consent in contract and consent in other daily undertakings. So it is very much an articulation of longstanding existing law in both the civil and common law with respect to contract and other forms of human dealings.

Official records disclose that the RCMP obtained consent from heads of families or leaders of groups of Inuit. It can be questioned, in my view, whether such consent was adequate and whether the consenting individuals had the capacity to so consent for the group, especially given the gravity of the decision and the intensity of the risks involved. In addition, there is a burden on the government, in my view and in the view of the law that I have cited, to demonstrate that all of the adults involved so consented. In my view, it has not met that burden.

That concludes my analysis, and I won't take your time in summing up the points that I have covered. I would like to draw your attention briefly to some conclusions that I have, after dealing briefly with the question of the government response in paragraph 89 on page 32.

The government and a number of its consultants and agents – and this is the government response in recent years – have systematically minimized or denied the Inuit testimony regarding the facts and consequences of this event. It has been stated in a number of fora, including the House of Commons, that the written recollections of officials provide a preferable basis for assessment of the relocation rather than the limited writings, fallible memories and oral history of the relocatees.

Inuit society – and the Inuit have testified to this themselves – records its history orally. In failing to accord equivalent weight to the oral history and testimony of the Inuit or, in the case of the Hickling and to some extent the Gunther studies, in simply failing to solicit such testimony while arriving at some very public conclusions, the Ministers, departments and agents of the crown have discriminated, in my view, wrongfully against the Inuit relocatees.

In addition, the Government of Canada has adopted a consistent and aggressively adversarial stance toward the Inuit relocatees. The Supreme Court ruled in *Sparrow* that:

The relationship between the government and aboriginals is trust-like, rather than adversarial.

The ongoing adversarial stance of the government and its agents to the Inuit in this situation has the effect of compounding both the breach of fiduciary responsibility and the wrong done to the Inuit by the relocation. In my view, the adversarial stance so prominently adopted by the government is in direct contradiction of its fiduciary obligations of the highest order that it has to the Inuit, and has had for the entire period of this relocation.

Messrs Co-Chair, I think at this point I will spare you my conclusions because they have been covered item by item in the paper as a whole. I thank you for your patience in this rather lengthy and technical presentation, and I

would be very pleased to entertain any questions. I can't promise that I can answer them, but I will at least give it a try.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you very much, Professor Orkin.

One of the main items that is covered in your paper is of great concern to us and was discussed last week with many presenters. It has to do with the standards of assessment and evaluation. It is not, by far, the first time that the issue of by what standards you judge events which occurred many decades ago has been raised.

You stress in your presentation that in this particular case emphasis should be given to the fact that it covers many decades and that various instruments should be used to assess this event.

I would like you to expand on that. It is quite obvious that these relocations took place in a very specific time frame. We have heard a lot about the 1940s and the early 1950s last week, and we understand that this issue is still an open one in the minds of many, certainly of the Inuit.

Could you tell us why and how you would reach to the 1990s standards and apply them to events that occurred 40 years ago, even if the situation is that people are still living. Could you give us other examples where this had been done, because it is a critical issue.

**ANDREW ORKIN:** Mr. Chairman, I think this is an extremely important question.

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** Pardon my interruption, but I would like to make two points, if I may, Mr. Chairman.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Go ahead.

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** The first has to do with the timing of this meeting. I had set aside two hours and, if we went beyond another 15 minutes or so, it would be a bit difficult. That is the first point.

The second point is that I wonder whether, in conducting this, it would be all right for Professor Orkin to restate the question to which he is responding because I am not able to hear. I did not hear what was being said.

Thank you very much.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** On the first point, Paul, do I understand that you are available for a few minutes?

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** I am wondering how long you are planning to carry on.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** It is difficult to say at this point.

I have put a question on the standards of evaluation, and you might want to complement that and go ahead with your questions first.

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** I really have very little by way of questions. If you are asking me now to ask questions –

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Yes, because I don't know how long we will be.

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** My part is going to be very brief, thank you.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Why don't you go ahead.

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** If I may just take a brief moment to recapitulate in my own words what Professor Orkin has said, to make sure that I understand his submission, it appears to me we have before us the question, respecting this particular relocation, of whether there was a wrong of a kind to which the government ought to respond. Maybe that is not correct but, if that is so, then it seems to me that in assessing whether there was a wrong we need to conduct the kind of examination that has been provided to us today.

I was very interested in the various points that were made. I am having some difficulty understanding one point, but I don't know that it is something that I should consider now, in light of the fact that I have not yet seen the written materials. I assume they will be given to me.

The question has to do with consent, and it is whether it is being argued here that it would be irrelevant if, one, upon examination of the facts and the applicable law, came to the conclusion that the action was illegal or not done according to the law. Is that the conclusion that is being urged, that the consent would not be relevant in a particular case where the action itself is illegal – that is, where there is no capacity to give any legal impact affecting the relocatees?

That is the one point that I had difficulty with; otherwise, I thought it was a very clear presentation

**ANDREW ORKIN:** The two questions are very closely related, Chairman Dussault's and Commissioner Chartrand's. What I will try to do in the time that you are still with us is to cover some of the points that I think both questions ask.

I think Commissioner Chartrand has identified correctly the cascading, if you like, nature of my analysis. In the first case, I have analyzed first principles, and that is that we go back to the question that this was an act initiated and undertaken by government, by the state, in a manner infringing the civil liberty of those who were being relocated. The question to ask – and I believe this is a fundamental question in the rule of law – is: Was this action undertaken, as is required as a fundamental principle in our legal system, with authorization of law?

This was not a new concept at the time that this relocation was undertaken. The case of *Entick v. Carrington*, which is an ancient case, stands as authority to that. Likewise, the case of *Roncarelli v. Duplessis*, which took some years to make its way through to the Supreme Court by 1959, established that point as well.

That specific statutory authority is required for officials acting in the name of the state to in any way infringe the civil liberty of a subject of the crown would be my first step in this cascading analysis.

I believe that the only answer to this question, having searched for statutory authority in the statute law of the time and not having found any and having looked for an invocation of statutory authority if such authority existed for relocations of individuals or populations in Canada, no such invocation has ever been put forward by the government, and I don't believe exists.

This leads me to the conclusion, as a first principle, that in terms of well-standing law and norms of the 1950s – in fact, of the 1850s and 1750s, all the way back to some of our core instruments in civil and common law – this undertaking was an arbitrary and illegal action on the simple technical basis

of an absence of statutory authority.

The next step that I would like to look at – and I hope I don't appear to be avoiding your question, Chairman Dussault, of the intertemporal application of law, the application of the laws of the 1990s to events of the 1950s. What I am doing, for the time being, is confining myself to the 1950s.

The next step would be to analyze the relationship, assuming that we put aside for the moment the question of legal authority and go to the question of the relationship between the Inuit relocatees and the relocating, initiating government. That is well-established in the early 1950s, going in fact back to a case in the 19-teens which established the relationship between the crown and Aboriginal peoples in Canada and, in fact, going back to the ancient common law of the 1600s and 1700s. One can cite in some circumstances, not necessarily in this circumstance, the crystallization in the Royal Proclamation of a fiduciary obligation and a fiduciary relationship.

That fiduciary relationship, which was well-established at the time of this relocation, held the fiduciary to the highest standard of fidelity, trust and care. I think the facts of this event – and I have skipped over some of them. The failure to bring the Inuit south, who were requesting to be brought south occurred later than the relocation itself. That was an ongoing and very profound failure, and that was a breach of the fiduciary obligation which was by the 1950s in Canadian common law, Canadian constitutional law and Canadian statute law, well-established.

There was a breach not just of an ordinary standard of care – and I can't see the government in this context, either in initiating the relocation as it did and undertaking the actual move in the 1950s, planning for it. Its preparations are acknowledged to have been very poor, and the hardship at the immediate time was a breach in the law and norms of the 1950s just with respect to fiduciary care a breach, and this has been acknowledged and stated by Professor Soberman.

The next step that I would go to is the question of what law was there, leaving aside, as you stated, the question of illegality and the question of fiduciary relationship. You then move on to the question of whether these relocatees were free and consenting volunteers. In fact, I believe it is correct that you don't have to go to that step at all to arrive at a conclusion that this undertaking of this relocation was a profound wrong. It was a profound wrong just in terms of the rule of law and the absence of statutory authority to do it – the patent absence.

If we allow ourselves to be pulled into a debate – and this was my entry point on this whole situation – with the statement reprinted in the *Montreal Gazette* of Minister Tom Siddon that the Inuit relocatees were "free and consenting volunteers," that phrase struck a chord in me that invoked my knowledge of the law and norms of the times, namely the 1950s, on the question of what a free and consenting volunteer in an invasive and restrictive undertaking of this kind.

I think I have flogged that particular discussion sufficiently, about the various requirements of capacity of full information, of full comprehension, and – the third element escapes me – the elements of consent and how none of those elements was met.

We can then proceed in terms of what I am confident is applicable and good law and norms of the 1950s. The Nuremberg Code invoked common law that we are very familiar with, from contract law and from other law

with respect to consent. As the Tribunal stated, this was not new law; it was national and international law and the law of all civilized nations, and they merely rearticulated it in a particular context. I found it convenient to reapply that law as an illustration of the extent to which it was known and promulgated and foreseeable in the times in which this was undertaken.

Finally, if one puts aside the question – and I believe the analysis of whether or not the Inuit were free and consenting volunteers has to fail on the assertion of the fact that they were volunteers. I cannot see one arriving, once one analyzes the various elements required, at a justifiable conclusion that the Inuit were free and consenting volunteers.

Leaving that aside, I think one then proceeds to the question which is the one that Chairman Dussault asked me, and that is the application of the values and laws and norms of subsequent years to an event that took place in the 1950s.

I don't believe it is necessary to make that application to arrive at the conclusion that this was an unjustifiable wrong, for the reasons that I have just discussed. But if we proceed to that, just taking the question of the fact that within a year the Inuit have stated, and some archival records confirm, that requests were made to be returned which were ignored or rebuffed, that in itself was an event which can then be subjected to the human rights laws and norms that emerged as that rebuffing and rejection of the request to be returned continued over the years that it is alleged to have done so.

I hope the answer that I have just given clarifies that I do not think it is necessary to undertake, and it would be wrong to undertake, an intertemporal application of today's laws to an event that occurred in the 1950s. I think, if we examine all of the instruments that I have cited in the footnotes in my text, we will find that the origins of the requirements for statutory authority, the origin of the basis of fiduciary relationships between Aboriginal peoples and the crown, and the consequences of that fiduciary relationship, namely one of the highest standard of duty and care and trust, are in fact ancient when viewed from the vantage point of the early 1950s. They had already been in existence for decades, if not centuries.

I think I will leave it there. I hope that goes some of the way to answering these two questions.

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** Yes, it does. Thank you very much.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Paul, at this point do you have other questions?

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** No, I have no further questions.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Then I would like to go back to the question of the standards. You have told us that you didn't think one had to go that far because of the standard of care, but it is the main thrust of your paper that the present-day standards and sensitivities should be applied to the events as they occurred in 1953, 1995 or 1957.

If I understood you correctly, you said that the main reason that it is intertemporal is that requests were made to return which were rebuffed or were not abided by. Could you expand on that.

What you are saying, if I understand you properly, is that because requests were made – and we know there are conflicting points of view as to what actually happened and when those requests were made, but I think it is

quite clear that in 1973 there was a flight that was chartered by the Government of Northwest Territories – and this point is not in issue.

You are saying that, because through those decades requests were made and some of them were accepted, such as this one in 1973 when the Northwest Territories government chartered a flight, this gives room to the ongoing situation over decades.

Am I correct in saying that this was the main point in your answer to my question?

**ANDREW ORKIN:** No, Mr. Chairman, it was just an example, one that came to mind on an ongoing breach of the rights of the Inuit. There is a particular provision which I skipped over, but it is in my text, which requires that participants in an experimental undertaking have the ongoing opportunity to withdraw at any time. This was just one example.

I could perhaps select a better one, namely the impact on the right to liberty and security of the Inuit. In my view, from the moment that the Inuit were relocated without statutory authority from northern Quebec and, in my view, without full and informed consent, which was not a new value at the time, that impact on their liberty and security was initiated at that time but continued uninterrupted by virtue of the severance of their relationship with their traditional lands, the severance of family and group ties, and the severance of their connection with northern Quebec from where they had come and to which at least some of them wished to return.

With respect, I don't think I have argued for the intertemporal application of law. I have argued that the violations that are of importance in this case are of law and of human rights. The absence of statutory authority continued throughout the event, and laws and norms came into existence as those impacts continued through the decades.

I don't argue for the retroactive application of today's laws and norms back into the 1950s.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** What worries me is this. Your reasoning is based on assumptions, and it all depends on whether they are wrong or right. We know that there are conflicting views as to whether this was voluntary or not, and to what extent. Also, it is based on the assumption that there had to be a statutory duty because liberty was encroached upon. It is all built on assumptions.

Short of that, if we put our minds back to 1953, when there were no civil servants as such in the north, what about the legal basis of ministerial discretion through a general empowerment to deal with the north? Then the question is more whether it was a proper exercise of discretion, or not.

That would change the whole legal reasoning, and that is why I tend to avoid following you into the legal reasoning. A lot depends on the interpretation of the facts.

I would ask you on a more general basis, even putting aside this dossier, what is your reasoning to apply generally – and I am talking about not only legal but more general standards of what is acceptable or not acceptable. What is the reasoning to apply the standards of the 1990s to the 1950s, with all the dangers involved in a situation like that, quite apart from the legal reasoning?

You said there was a promise that was broken. Everybody agrees that there was a promise, at least up to three years.

At the end, the Commission will have to ask that very question, and there are pitfalls, as you know. Could you shed some light for us on this crucial issue. Apart from all the technicalities, we thought you might be able to help us in this area.

**ANDREW ORKIN:** Mr. Chairman, I thank you for your question. It's a challenging one, in which you are inviting me to shed a legal and technical mantle, and I will give it a try.

Just before I do, the authority that I had for the requirement of a grounding in statute or regulation I believe is a work that you are familiar with, as a co-author of the work. If I could just read that very brief three-line quotation again, it states:

Contrary to the civil law in which capacity is the rule, the public law assumes incapacity of the officers it governs: a public officer can only do what the law authorizes him to do.

I think, whether or not there was a named bureaucracy or named officials in the context of this relocation, it is undeniable that those undertaking the relocation did so as officers of the crown, both as members of the RCMP, as members of Cabinet committees, and as officers the Department of Northern Affairs. They did so in the cloak of offices and agents of the crown.

Again looking at the line I have just read, the capacity to the individual is the rule that I may go where I wish and do as I will as a subject of the crown unless otherwise forbidden by specific statute, but that officers of the crown may only do such that they are specifically authorized.

I think it is an awfully important point, and I hope I don't seem to be harping on it. The absence of this statutory authority and legal authority to be relocating Aboriginal peoples and removing ourselves from the context of this event I think is a fundamental first-principle question that needs to be asked.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** You're getting back –

**ANDREW ORKIN:** Stepping away from that – and thank you for getting me back on the track that you want me to go.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** I don't want you to go. I am asking you if you are comfortable with going on this other track. This is a legal issue, and I don't want to argue it. It all depends on the interpretation.

**ANDREW ORKIN:** With respect to the question of conflicting views on consent, I think all we can do – if you have two parties, whether you are doing an ethical analysis or a legal analysis or a common sense analysis, where I say you were a volunteer and you say you were not a volunteer – is attempt to draw on the tools that our society uses to analyze the validity of that claim or that refutation.

The tools that I have found so clearly articulated in the 1940s are acknowledged, most recently in a book on ethics and law published at Oxford University Press in 1992 on the Nuremberg Code, to be the premier restatement of analyzing this question in ethics and common sense and law, of whether or not, when I say I was not a volunteer and I am told I was a volunteer. There are certain tools that our societies have evolved for analyzing that claim.

What I have attempted to do is to break the claim down. Some of the analysts – one example is the Hickling Report, and it is not the only one –



analyzed the question of whether or not the Inuit were consenting volunteers simply on the basis of whether or not they were interested in participating. The chapter in the Hickling Report that deals with the question of consent says: They were told of the relocation, they appeared to be interested in participating and, therefore, they were volunteers, and we have no reason to believe otherwise.

I think that analysis is inadequate, given the sophistication of the tools that were, and remain, available to us to analyze whether or not there was capacity to consent, whether or not the information was adequate and comprehended and understood, and whether or not there was an absence of coercion, apprehended duress or real duress, or fear, or such. I think those provide us with a common sense basis for a more sophisticated analysis than simply concluding that, because they appeared interested in participating in something, they didn't know what, they were free and consenting volunteers or, alternatively, because they walked up the ramp on to the *C.D. Howe* without a requirement of physical force, they were free and consenting volunteers.

That analysis, if it was invoked, would be equally shallow. At best, in common sense, they would be meekly assenting if they didn't know what they were going to.

I hope what I am doing now is providing more on-the-ground analysis than a technical one. It is just one example of these conflicting views that you so clearly and correctly pointed out. We have two groups here saying, "You were/you were not volunteers."

I think, just to allow the debate to stay in what amounts to – it's like my two children: You were; you weren't; you were; you weren't. You intervene and you apply slightly more sophisticated tools based in common sense and based in reasoning as to analyze the validity of a claim of whether or not people were volunteers.

I think this is a critical example you have raised, but there are others, such as the question of promises, or not, to be returned. I think again we have tools which can, in common sense alone, allow us to analyze the various claims on a slightly more sophisticated basis.

Many of those tools are in law, and that is inevitable because of the adjudicative role that our legal systems play. I think I am not just being a legal enthusiast in retreating into that arena. I think it is unfortunately inevitable that some of the tests that we are going to have to apply are going to be legal tests, and we are going to find tests that had already in the 1950s stood the test of time.

I would like to emphasize, just on that point, that I haven't at any point argued that the laws and norms of the 1990s should be reached back into the 1950s because the tools we had, already decades and centuries old in the 1950s, to analyze what took place in the 1950s are more than adequate to the task.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** That is what Dan Soberman told us last week, from two aspects. The split on the boat was obviously not voluntary and the planning and operational side. What he told us in his report is that by the standard of 1953, this failed to meet the human rights standards.

My question was: As you advocate the intertemporal character of the standard here, that is why I have been pressing you to say if you had something else to give us.

**ANDREW ORKIN:** If I could clarify my invocation of the instruments that emerged, let's take, for example, the Bill of Rights in 1960. My invocation of that Bill of Rights is not a 1960 law to a 1953 event. It's a 1960 law to a state of affairs that continued to exist in 1960 and beyond that was a direct consequence of the 1953 relocation and 1956 relocation.

The breach of liberty and security of the person was somewhat less in that some services and some relief had been provided to the circumstances that were much worse in 1953. But the group severance and the severance of family relationships, the breach of security of the person and liberty inherent in a shortage, as it emerged, of marriageable spouses, was in effect and continued at the point that the Bill of Rights came into existence.

So I am not arguing for 1960 to be intertemporally applied. I am saying that a state of affairs that was a direct consequence of this ongoing violation of rights can be examined in 1960 terms; likewise, for the binding instruments which emerged subsequently in 1967, the International Covenants, although they were only ratified by Canada in 1976, an argument can be made in law that Canada was bound at the point that the covenants came into force internationally.

I will leave that aside as a technical point. I am happy with their becoming binding in 1976 because, in my view, there were Inuit in 1976, as evidenced by the late 1980s return, who still wished to return.

The documentary evidence of the 1970s that I have seen demonstrates that there was correspondence, and so on, in that regard.

So at that point those instruments kick in, but not to reach back to 1953, but merely to continue to apply in terms of the guarantees that they make – liberty and security of the person, the right to mobility. The mobility right of the Inuit was definitely restricted still in 1976, at which Canada became bound by those international instruments, and again in 1982 when the Charter of Rights and Freedoms came into effect.

I hope that is of assistance and use.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** It is clearer.

I would like to turn now to another aspect, the “experiment” aspect, and what you are saying about the Nuremberg Code. Of course, there is the caveat which you make in your paper that it should not be an analogy, and so on.

It was expressed to us quite clearly that the word “experiment” was used in terms of an interim project and it did involve Inuit people. You are really on the fringe here, and I would like you to clarify that.

Rightly or wrongly – and I didn't go through the Nuremberg Code – the human experiments talked about were more attuned to the experiments by medical doctors on human beings and might have had a larger reach.

I want to be sure I understand what you are saying.

**ANDREW ORKIN:** I am, again, very pleased that you have raised this question because it is one that I didn't have time, in the course of my presentation, to explore, and it is a question I am very comfortable with.

Obviously, as Magnus Gunther points out in one of his chapters, there are experiments and experiments. He quotes a number of examples of experiments involving an experiment to determine whether or not a particular kind of garment is suitable for Arctic use or an experiment to determine whether or not some other innocuous piece of equipment is the best one. It is

absolutely correct that those two are experiments.

What we are identifying here is a continuum or a spectrum. The experiments involving human subjects at the one end of the spectrum are those with little or no risk of physical or psychological harm and little direct or indirect impact on the body or the spirit of a person. At the other extreme end of experimentation involving human subjects are experiments which involve the direct violation – and these are referred to in the jargon of medical experimentation as somatic experiments, experiments in which scientists or physicians undertake experiments to determine the efficacy of a particular course of treatment or a particular procedure.

I would like to emphasize at this point that there is nothing inherently morally wrong with experiments involving human subjects. The progress of medical science would be impossible if surgical procedures, if new treatments, if new therapies in the form of drugs were not in the end, once other trials had been undertaken, theoretical trials and animal trials, if it were not possible in the end to have tests involving human subjects. There is nothing inherently wrong with experimentation involving human subjects.

This now brings us to the question that I think you are asking. How is it that an experiment involving human subjects, which the Inuit clearly were, can be brought into the ambit or aegis of the Nuremberg Code?

The consensus of academic analysis on the subject and the work that comes to mind – and it is one of many, but it is the core work in its area – is a book by Katz on human experimentation, a very large, 2000-page textbook, which I believe I have a citation to in my text. It runs through centuries of human experimentation right to the present day. It doesn't confine itself in some of the most egregious examples of the breach of the laws and ethical values to so-called somatic or bodily experiments by scientists. It includes in its range of ethical and legal errors, if you want to call them that, anthropological experiments, social experiments, cultural experiments, which involved absolutely no physical contact or risk of physical harm, but did involve a risk to reputation, a risk of psychological harm, a breach of confidentiality.

What we are identifying here is what in effect determines the triggering of these laws and norms – and I don't want to spend too long on the academic consensus in this regard. It is not the actual nature of the experiment – was it a bodily or non-bodily experiment – but the nature of risks and harms to the human participant.

I think, if we analyze this particular experimental undertaking and just look at some of its features, as Professor Soberman did in his analysis, in the lens of the 1950s, what was known when it was conceived that the Inuit would be sent to the High Arctic about whether and how they would feed themselves? There is some evidence that says that some officials had considerable doubt about whether they would be able to.

There was other evidence which showed that certain officials were extremely worried about the effects of perpetual darkness. There was further evidence that it was foreseen or foreseeable that there would be impacts to splitting the group up, psychological and social impacts.

There was profound cold and isolation. The Inuit were very ill-equipped, as has been acknowledged, and that, thank goodness, didn't have the consequences in bodily damage that it could have, but we have to view it from the perspective of what the risks were.

The risks to the bodily well-being and the psychological well-being of the

Inuit were, in my view, on a common sense analysis, every bit as potentially risky as some direct somatic experiments. There was a risk to life and a profound risk to psychological well-being.

That, in my view, quite clearly brings it under the aegis of laws and norms governing experiments involving human subjects.

The particular code that I have applied – and, if you will forgive the technical term, it has to be applied *mutatis mutandis*. It was articulated using general principles of law to apply to a particular set of experiments, namely the somatic experiments by Nazi physicians. The principles it contains and articulates are, however, applied, and continue to be applied, across the board to social experiments, to anthropological experiments, to cultural experiments, to psychological experiments. I could expound on that at great length, but I think I will save you my going on on that.

I hope that goes some way to explaining my application of these principles.

It is for convenience alone that I invoke the Nuremberg Code, *per se*. If one goes through the pages of this and the many hundreds of articles that have been written on the Nuremberg Code and the few judgments that have applied the Nuremberg Code, predominantly in the United States – and that is no accident because the Nuremberg Tribunal was a United States Panel – the principles that are contained in the Nuremberg Code, as stated by the Tribunal, are universal. They were articulated in terms of physicians and scientists simply because that was the particular event that engendered them, but I hope I have spoken to the fact that they are universal principles, as the tribunal itself stated in 1948.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** At this point, I would like to check whether Commissioner Chartrand is still with us.

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** Yes, I am.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Would you like to ask a question before I turn the microphone over to Georges Erasmus?

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** No, I have no questions, thank you.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** You may have just finished dealing with this, but I was interested in dealing with the human experiment section of your presentation.

One of the questions I wanted to ask was whether you had read Gunther's document – and I have a copy of his Chapter 8. Of course, he writes this referring to Shelagh Grant in relation to the experiment issue; he doesn't mention you.

Have you had a chance to read the Gunther document, and is your opinion still the same having read his document?

**ANDREW ORKIN:** Yes, I have had a chance to read this document. Actually, the chapter which you refer to does refer to me in footnote 4. The Quirks and Quarks program that dealt with my analysis is referred to as a fully-researched program, if it was researched at all.

I have read this chapter, and I actually referred to it a moment ago in an answer to Chairman Dussault. On page 155, and I think this is the critical part of his analysis, he comes up with examples of an experiment to create a small fishery plant at Port Burwell, which is an Inuit community, or an

For further reading on the Gunther Report, see Lackenbauer (2020).

experiment to utilize synthetic nylon clothing in the Arctic because of the declining availability of caribou skins.

He is quite correct that these are experiments involving human subjects, involving human participants, which are at the absolutely benign end of the risk of physical and psychological harm end of the scale, and simply don't trigger the invocation of the ethical and legal principles that I am arguing do apply.

With respect to Professor Gunther, I think this analysis is very shallow. He lists two and a half pages of examples of such experiments and then attempts to imply that an experiment involving the relocation of 17 ill-equipped families to the High Arctic just prior to winter, with a foreseen and foreseeable great risk of bodily and psychological harm, some of which materialized, somehow is excused by these examples of experiments that are at the other end of the scale.

With all due respect to Professor Gunther, who concludes the relocations were neither human experimentation of the sort medical research engages in nor of the kind that gave rise to the Nuremberg Code in the first place, he is simply incorrect. This kind of experiment, had it been tried, may well have given rise, in my view, to the application of the body of law that was articulated in the Nuremberg Code. It would not have given rise to the specific provisions that are the Nuremberg Code because that was a different case.

Many cases – 2,000 pages in Katz' book, involving experiments in every major western capital, including Montreal, Tuskegee, Detroit, New York – are specific experiments of which I am aware, some of which were social, some of which were psychological and some of which were physical, many of which occurred in the 1970s and 1980s and have all involved the appropriate invocation by virtue of their profound risks of physical, social or psychological harm.

So I simply think Professor Gunther misses the boat and is, with all due respect, away off the mark, and there is a considerable body of literature that would establish that.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** If you will bear with me, I will persist for a while.

In the same quote you are talking about, at the bottom of page 154, where he cites the CBC program, *Quirks and Quarks*, he is actually quoting someone else, S.M. Weddems in the *Faculty of Law Review*. In that they say that the principles laid down at the Nuremberg trials do not refer to, nor are they applicable to, all public policies.

Presumably, that is something you wouldn't necessarily adhere to. They refer to controlled medical experiments, and then in fact Gunther goes on to talk, at the top of page 155, about controlled experiment. Part of his argument seems to be that, when you have a genuine human experiment – and that is another thing he cites: Yes, they use the word "experiment," but they did not mean human experiment. It was not a controlled human experiment, and then he cites someone else.

Could you respond to those suggestions of his that this is not a controlled human experiment and also to the concept that the principles of the Nuremberg trials cannot apply to all public policies.

**ANDREW ORKIN:** First, "Orkin and the CBC have decided this was compa-

rable to a medical experiment.”

At no point have I done that. This was a social experiment. Nothing I have said or written has asserted that this was in any comparable either to a medical experiment or to a Nazi medical experiment.

He says somewhere else – and I would have to look for it: “Orkin and Ingram link the relocations to Nazi concentration camp medical experiments.” I simply haven’t done that. I have never done that, and I have never said that. On the Quirks and Quarks show, if he had listened to it – and I believe he must have – he would have heard me actually reading the very caveat that I read to you earlier on.

So this is an indication of the extent to which Professor Gunther is off the mark.

The question of whether or not the Nuremberg Code is applicable to – and I don’t want to use the words “Nuremberg Code” – whether the universal principles articulated by the Nuremberg Code are applicable to experiments other than medical experiments is beyond question. There is a huge body of academic and judicial reasoning that does just that, simply because experimentation involving humans is not confined to medical experimentation. There is social experimentation; there is anthropological experimentation. Impact assessments these days involving Aboriginal peoples are subject to the same ethical principles involving consent.

There are risks there to the subjects in an impact assessment because the social, psychological and other aspects of their individual and collective beings are impacted by an impact assessment, by the studies that the anthropologists and the sociologists and the armies of studiers and researchers that come into Aboriginal communities. Consent has become a major issue in that context.

There we have a prime example of the application of the same body of ethical principles to the conducting of studies, and that is just one example of the extent to which Professor Gunther is simply away of the mark.

The universal principles articulated in the Nuremberg Code are applicable wherever trials or research or experimentation occur involving human beings which carry a reasonable risk, a substantial risk, of physical or psychological harm.

I think it is unquestionable that this relocation was such an experiment.

I have dealt with the two quotations which identify a current consensus as to what an experiment is, and it would have been no different at the time; it is just a convenient source. That is: It is a test or trial undertaken to generate generalizable knowledge.

The official documents of the time, which refer to “this year we are going to transfer a few families to find out how Eskimos will cope and then next year, if the results warrant it, other natives can be moved” – that is a trial, by definition.

Were there conditions under which this trial was run? It is very clear that there were. The RCMP and the RCAF were put under very strict instructions about what they could and could not do to assist these people, not over minutes but over months and years. That was a controlled experiment.

As Professor Gunther asserted, if it was simply a matter of documents using the word “experiment”, but that wasn’t what we meant, the use of the word “experiment” alone would not make an experiment. Calling a rock a rose doesn’t make it a rose. But if it has all the features of a rose, it is a rose.

All the features in the nature – not just the terminology of the officials undertaking this undertaking used, but all of the facts and the very nature of what was done, the undisputed facts – the controlled conditions under the Inuit were placed in the High Arctic – point to an experiment that carried a profound risk and a foreseen risk of psychological and physical harm, some of which materialized. We can thank the Creator that more of it didn't, and some very well-meaning officials who ignored the conditions that were imposed on them, some RCMP, RCAF and Northern Affairs officials who, in conscience, decided to break the research trial protocol that had been imposed upon them and to assist the Inuit in their survival – and they were reproached for that according to the documents I have read.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** On page 157 Gunther says that these were tentative pilot projects, that these were not calculated scientific manipulations of human beings.

Is it possible to have a tentative pilot project involving human subjects that does not fall into the definition of a human experiment?

**ANDREW ORKIN:** I sit, and have sat, on a number of research ethics committees which have reviewed research protocols. There is no difference between a pilot and a trial or a test.

If you are undertaking a pilot, what you are hoping to do is to generate generalizable knowledge that will be applicable under wider circumstances, if your pilot is a success.

The fundamental question to be asked is: What substantial risk of physical or psychological harm is there that might trigger the requirements for full and informed consent about those risks? It is splitting terminological hairs which has no end result, to say, "No, no, this wasn't an experiment; it was a tentative pilot project."

It looks to me like a pretty substantial – and I am perfectly happy to call it a tentative pilot project. It doesn't change my analysis in the slightest. If people are uncomfortable with the word "experiment," I am happy with "tentative pilot project." I have seen tentative pilot projects going through ethical review, because they carried a substantial risk of psychological harm to the participants.

So if we prefer that terminology, let's leave "experiment" aside and review the foreseeable and foreseen potential impacts and risks and harms that this potential pilot relocation project could have had in 1953 on the humans involved in it – and they were great.

I am uncomfortable picking Professor Gunther's work too detailedly apart and would be happy to do that, and hope to have the opportunity to do that, in print. This is not to say that I don't appreciate your questions, but there are too many examples here.

Again, another is: It is unfortunate that the loose terminology used by Grant has allowed this to be built into a plane that "human experimentations took place with overtones linking them to Nazi death camps."

To have gone into print in this report with that level of inaccuracy, in those two chapters alone in which it occurs, in my view, discredits the work because it is so fundamentally inaccurate.

It is clear to me from these two chapters that Professor Gunther did not read the draft of my larger paper that was available at the time he was doing his work.

He didn't contact me and ask me for it. Many dozens of other researchers and academics did and were furnished with it, with great pleasure, and I had some very good telephone conversations and attended a couple of seminars in which all of these issues were discussed. I didn't have that opportunity with Professor Gunther before he did this. I might have saved him those few embarrassing lines if he had.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Those are my questions. Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you. Commissioner Chartrand, do you have other questions?

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** No, I have no questions. I have been listening, thank you.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** We will break for half an hour – that will be all with you, Professor Orkin.

Paul, we are going to hear an Inuit person, Mary Carpenter, and that will be the closing of our public hearings. I thought it would be done in half an hour, but it might be done right away.

Could you stay with us for another 15 minutes or half an hour?

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** I will not be able to do that. I am expecting a telephone call, among other things, so I will have to get off the line.

I was able to make arrangements with respect to other matters, but I won't be able to stay on the line. I am expecting a long distance call in a few minutes.

If you don't mind, would you be able to hear her in my absence?

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Yes.

**COMMISSIONER PAUL CHARTRAND:** I trust that I will be provided with a copy of the transcript when it becomes available, and I thank you in advance for that.

If Professor Orkin is still there, I would like to thank him for attending and making his presentation to us. I hope sometime to have the opportunity to meet him personally.

Thank you very much.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** The brief submitted to us, of course, is in the public domain and will be circulated to everybody. Thank you.

We will break for two minutes, and we will resume with the presentation of Mary Carpenter.

— Short Recess at 5:02 p.m.

— Upon resuming at 5:10 p.m.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Please proceed when you are ready, Mary.

**MARY CARPENTER:** I would like to thank the Commission for giving me a hearing at such short notice.

My name is Mary Carpenter. I am a member of the Inuvialuit tribe of the Canadian Western Arctic. I am here to represent the voice of the Inuit who have been silenced by our Inuit leaders.

Mary Carpenter, Inuvialuit from the Western Arctic



I have attended both the April hearings and the present hearings. I want you to know that I spent the weekend camping in Parc du Montfort d'Orford, Quebec, and the spirits of the lake, the spirits of the wind and the spirits of the hills have invoked me to speak to you.

It was at the second hearings that I learned that my father, Fred Carpenter, was a recipient of the Eskimo Loan Fund, which he must have volunteered for as he became, and was, a successful businessman.

My father had two qualities which can ensure success in any society: an unshakeable belief in God and a courageous intelligence. These are the primary qualities which allowed him to survive and to become a first-class leader amongst the Inuvialuit.

I would like the Commission to know that my father was like the Inuit of northern Quebec, going into a very harsh country. My father migrated from the Mackenzie Delta to Banks Island, which is one of the High Arctic islands.

I have been informed by Rosemarie Kuptana, the current President of Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, that it was my father and my aunt, Suzie Sidney, who saved her family from starvation. President Kuptana's family are originally from Holman on Victoria Island. It is, if one is healthy and able, a five-day trip by dog team.

Famine is in our Inuit history. I remember the first six years of my life as a nomadic with my family. My short life was changed forever when my mother contracted tuberculosis, and I spent the next 10 years in church-run residential schools. I experienced both the Roman Catholic and the Anglican Church of England.

Mr. Gordon Robertson appealed by my conscience as a Canadian woman when he stated the no Inuit leader had distanced themselves from Inuit opinions at these hearings. He made me think. Where are these voices? I am one little voice.

Mr. Robertson, I know, is an honourable person. Mr. St. Laurent was a Prime Minister who cared about all Canadians. He expressed concern about the Arctic. Mr. St. Laurent was correct about Canadianizing the north. When I went to Sir John Franklin High School in Yellowknife, it was in Grade 10 that I first learned that I lived in a country called Canada.

When I completed Grade 12, I eventually found my way to Ottawa, and Mr. Bent Sivertz became my first boss. He was a kind person who saw that I needed a cultural guide to city living, and it was he who instructed the white secretaries to help me.

I had a front-row seat in the planning phase of relocating the Government of the Northwest Territories from Ottawa to Yellowknife. White bureaucrats have had to relocate, too.

In the past six years I have had an opportunity to be a house guest of the Sivertz family, with my brother, Noah Carpenter, who is Canada's first and only Inuvialuit thoracic surgeon.

I would like to state for the record that the three non-Inuit elders – Mr. Gordon Robertson, Mr. Bent Sivertz and Mr. Graham Rowley – are, and were, men of the highest honour and calibre that Canada had to offer.

I believe Mr. Robertson when he says that Inuit were not human flag poles. I believe these three men to have the highest motives, and I believe that I speak for many Inuit when I say this.

The facts that Prime Minister St. Laurent, that there was no Arctic policy on the urgent need to Canadianize the north. In my personal and profes-

Mary's father, Fred Carpenter, was a successful hunter and trapper in the 1950s, who led a group of Inuit to winter on Banks Island. Carpenter's success on Banks Island in 1951/1952 led to the inclusion of a planned ELF project that would loan him \$10,000 to support a return to Banks Island.

sional relationship with Mr. Sivertz and Mr. Graham Rowley and my father, Fred Carpenter, Inuit were not human flag poles.

I believe these three non-Inuit elders were motivated solely in keeping Inuit alive.

In 1985 I was part of a delegation to Ethiopia under the direction of the Honourable David MacDonald for African Famine Relief, because the Inuit of Canada donated \$1,000 per capita, which amounted to \$25 million. It was there in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, that the father of Nunavut, John Amagoalik, stated that, when he saw the pictures of the starving Ethiopians, he felt it in his guts, as famine is part of our Inuit history.

Traditional Inuit leaders would not approve of the current tactics employed by the so-called Inuit leaders of discrediting the record of honourable non-Inuit elders. I want to thank Mr. Robertson, Mr. Sivertz and Mr. Rowley for their excellent fiduciary duty and care in ensuring that my father, Ali-galiarg, Fred Carpenter, lived and did not die of starvation. I thank you that I also am alive and well-fed today. I thank you that all Inuit of Canada today are well-fed and taking their place in Canada.

It saddens me greatly to report to you that the current Inuit political leaders do not have the gratitude expressed privately by their Elders for their survival. The current Inuit leaders are not initiating these controversies. They are being written and researched by white professional academics and lawyers.

It is important for this Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples to know that human liberties for Inuit are being denied at the community level. Our current political leaders are instruments of oppression. The apathy that is rampant in Inuit communities and the fear of our Inuit leaders is very real at the community level, and the general indifference of non-Inuit is killing our liberties as Canadian citizens.

My life has been threatened by Roger Gruben, President of Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, in front of two people, Vince Teddy of Tuktoyaktuk and Sheila Lumsden of Ottawa. I quote: If I did anything to block the political development of Inuit.

Nellie Cournoyea, Government Leader of the Northwest Territories, has misused her power to ensure that I never get a job anywhere in the north or south as an elementary school teacher or journalist. I went to the Affirmative Action in Yellowknife, and they told me they could not help me as Nellie's power was too strong.

When I went to Rosemarie Kuptana for a summer job, she informed me openly that she promised Nellie Cournoyea that she would not help me.

I observed at last week's hearing the wife of John Amagoalik whack Mr. Graham Rowley on his left arm, all the while telling him, as he finished his speech, that he is a stupid old white man and that he has no right to talk as he doesn't know anything. I had to explain to Evie that Canada is a democracy and that everyone has a right to be heard.

I want it recorded here that the Inuit political leaders of today are perfect examples of moral bankruptcy and they do not have the respect or consensus of all Inuit at the community level. I maintain that Inuit at the community level are afraid of their leaders and what the land claims process has shown is that Inuit are as greedy for money and political power and have the capacity for intimidation as non-Inuit. I hope you consider the implications of what I have informed you.

I stand before you. I am humble and proud to tell you that I am grateful that Fred Carpenter is my father and that he passed on his qualities of having an unshakeable belief in God and, I hope, courageous intelligence that have allowed me to survive this very painful political banishment of me by the current Inuit politicians.

Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR RENÉ DUSSAULT:** Thank you. So that I understand, you attended both the April and June hearings?

**MARY CARPENTER:** Yes.

**CO-CHAIR RENE DUSSAULT:** And you made up your mind over the weekend to come here and give this presentation.

**MARY CARPENTER:** Yes, I did.

**CO-CHAIR RENE DUSSAULT:** Could you be a bit more specific. You said that you heard in June that your father benefited from the Eskimo Loan Fund. I just want to understand. Your father moved from northern Quebec to the Western Arctic?

**MARY CARPENTER:** No, my father moved from the Mackenzie Delta, from Tuktoyaktuk, Horton River area, which is on the coastline of the Beaufort Sea.

**CO-CHAIR RENE DUSSAULT:** And he moved from there to ...?

**MARY CARPENTER:** Banks Island.

**CO-CHAIR RENE DUSSAULT:** And there was an Eskimo Loan Fund applied.

**MARY CARPENTER:** Yes. My father was a recipient of the Eskimo Loan Fund, and it is my perception that my father used that money to charter an airplane to drop his family and extended family and his outfit to Banks Island.

**CO-CHAIR RENE DUSSAULT:** As far as the political leadership, as you know, we have been touring the communities for more than 15 months now, since April 1992. Obviously, we heard a lot of concerns about Aboriginal governments. Women, in particular, have raised their concerns, so this is not the first time that the issue of the political leadership and the way they are seen in their actions has been brought forward.

**MARY CARPENTER:** They are very undemocratic.

**CO-CHAIR RENE DUSSAULT:** I am talking generally, because we have been all over the place – on reserves and in northern communities and Métis areas.

What I am saying is that it is certainly a general concern for the Commission to make sure that our recommendations concerning self-government, whatever they will be, will take into account those concerns. A lot of people talk about accountability mechanisms and checks and balances.

We have heard that there are no political parties, and others have raised the fact that there are no unions for employees of bands, and the relationship is not always easy.

We take what you have said into this larger context. Of course, we are not going to debate specific situations.

The broad range of concerns heard by the RCAP across the 178 days of hearings, including those by Indigenous women's groups, are summarized in the final report of the Commission in 1996.

What I would like to say, as we have said to all those whom we contacted in preparation for the June hearings is that we were happy, and wanted, to hear from all sides. Of course, those hearings are voluntary.

We realize, as I said in the closing statement last Wednesday, that we have to come to an end of the public phase of our hearings, and we have set a date by which to receive documents in order to be able to move forward as a Commission on this particular dossier.

We are certainly happy to have your testimony this afternoon. It is really at the end of the process. As you said, you made up your mind over the weekend. As we had Professor Orkin scheduled for today, it was convenient to hear you. That is the context in which you are presenting these views.

We are aware that, as in the larger Canadian society, there are differences in points of view. We only hope that people express themselves, and that is the reason we have been visiting the communities. We didn't want to hear and see the world only through the national or provincial organizations. We wanted to be sure that we would speak to as many people as possible in the country.

I wanted to share that with you. It is in this context that we have received your statement.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Could ask one or two questions, just so I can get the context of what you are saying.

We heard from a number of Inuit in early April. Are you making a reference or an observation in relation to what they have told us. Are you making some kind of judgment as to whether they were influenced or whether they were speaking freely? You didn't say that, and I am just trying to get an idea of what you are saying.

**MARY CARPENTER:** At the April hearings I was privy to something that I observed after the hearings, where one of the Inuit who made a presentation said that he was so glad the hearings were over because he had to practise what he said to people. He was afraid of what he said.

I didn't question. All I know is that I saw the relief that it was over. From what he said, I felt that he had been coached.

And it must have been obvious to you, too, that some of the presentations that were given were very academic and were written by non-Inuit.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** You say that the people have been silenced. Are you saying that in some kind of general way or are you talking about specific people?

**MARY CARPENTER:** I know I have been silenced as an individual, and I know other Inuit in northern Quebec – I have spoken to them, and they said they don't believe what the Inuit say. There are different community opinions about this issue.

I just know that the three men I spoke about are honourable men, and it was very painful for me to seem them and their reputations being discredited.

I just want it on record that these three men are honourable and had the highest of motives in regard to Inuit, that Inuit should not starve.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** You were told yourself specifically not to present to us?

**MARY CARPENTER:** I was told, yes.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** On this issue?

**MARY CARPENTER:** On any issue.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** On this issue?

**MARY CARPENTER:** Yes.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** On this one?

**MARY CARPENTER:** Yes.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR RENE DUSSAULT:** I would like to go back to this.

What you have said is that you were told not to do anything that would undermine the Inuit cause, or whatever. Maybe I don't have the right words, but that was the sense that I understood your presentation.

Mr. Erasmus' question was more specific. I just want to be sure of what you said.

You say you were told not to appear before us?

**MARY CARPENTER:** No, I was told that, if I did anything to block the political development of Inuit, they had the ways and means to have me murdered.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** That is what you are taking to mean that they told you not to do it.

**MARY CARPENTER:** Yes.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** When would that have been?

**MARY CARPENTER:** In October of 1992.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** This was in anticipation of hearings here?

**MARY CARPENTER:** No, this was just in general.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** I don't think we had even made up our minds that we were going to hold hearings yet, if I remember correctly. The Commission hadn't even decided we were going to hold hearings on the relocation issue at that point.

**MARY CARPENTER:** No, I was told on any issue.

**CO-CHAIR RENE DUSSAULT:** I understand it was not directly linked to this particular issue.

**MARY CARPENTER:** No, it was not.

**CO-CHAIR RENE DUSSAULT:** Of course, the government position was tabled on November 20 in the House of Commons, so it was something more general.

**CO-CHAIR RENE DUSSAULT:** Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR GEORGES ERASMUS:** Thank you.

**CO-CHAIR RENE DUSSAULT:** Again, I would like to remind you very briefly of the process.

We will have an open file here, and everything that is sent to us until August 31 will be on the public file. We realize that other documents may come in after that date, but what we are saying is that the Commission at one point will have to work and move forward on this file. That date is for that purpose, but we realize that a subject like that will probably be with us longer than that. The purpose of this date, as I said on Wednesday, is to enable us to work with the bulk of the information that we have.

These documents will be available here for anybody who wants to consult them or to have a photocopy. We don't know how many we will receive, but we understand that some of the witnesses have mentioned that they might forward additional information to us.

Of course, the academic people could publish articles in journals and scholarly pieces, and that will not stop with our deadline. Again, I wanted to stress that it was for the purpose of the Commission moving forward and coming up with its own assessment of the hearings that we had and the documentation that was given to us prior to the hearings and during the hearings and until August 31.

I would like to thank you for coming.

The Commission will keep in touch with all those involved in the sense that this public file will be available. You are always welcome to see what is in the file; it is in the public domain.

Thank you.

— Whereupon the Hearing concluded at 5:38 p.m.

This was the last day of public hearings regarding the High Arctic Relocations. Makivik had committed to accepting RCAP's word as final and so this was the final avenue of formal advocacy pursued using instruments of the state. The Compensation Agreement (1996) addressed many of the financial compensation claims, though the request for apology was denied until 2010, following alternative advocacy projects of the NTI.



# Appendices



## *Appendix A: Timeline of Initial Relocation*

| Date           | Event                                                                                 |
|----------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 5/16/1952      | Idea of relocation first discussed at First EAC Meeting                               |
| 10/16/1952     | Relocation discussed in-depth at Second EAC Meeting                                   |
| 3/16/1953      | Memorandum for Eskimo Loan Fund circulated, including funding for Relocation projects |
| 4/14/1953      | Telegrams sent to RCMP to request a list of potential relocatees                      |
| 5/26/1953      | Selection of Inuit by RCMP completed; information sent to Ottawa                      |
| 7/[late]/1953* | Departure from Inukjuak                                                               |
| 8/10/1953      | Federal Election                                                                      |
| 8/[late]/1953* | Arrival at Craig Harbour                                                              |
| 9/7/1953       | Arrival at Resolute Bay                                                               |
| 12/16/1953     | DNANR formed; R. Gordon Robertson becomes Deputy Minister                             |

## Appendix B: Inuit Relocates to the High Arctic

This list of relocatees to the High Arctic has been recreated on the basis of the ITC and Makivik documents submitted to the SCAA in March 1990 and on the Supporting Information included in the RCAP Special Hearing Final Report. (René Dussault and Georges Erasmus, *The High Arctic Relocation: Summary of Supporting Information*, Vols. 1-2 [Ottawa, ON: Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1994])

| Inuit Relocates to the High Arctic |            |            |             |             |            |
|------------------------------------|------------|------------|-------------|-------------|------------|
| Surname                            | Given Name | Origin     | Destination | Reloc. Date | Reloc. Age |
| Aqiatusuk                          | Paddy      | Inukjuak   | Grise Fiord | 1953        |            |
| Aqiatusuk                          | Mary       | Inukjuak   | Grise Fiord | 1953        |            |
| Killiktee                          | Minnie     | Inukjuak   | Grise Fiord | 1953        | 13         |
| Audlaluk                           | Larry      | Inukjuak   | Grise Fiord | 1953        | 3          |
| Eliasialuk                         | Samwillie  | Inukjuak   | Grise Fiord | 1953        | 17         |
| Nungaq                             | Anna       | Inukjuak   | Grise Fiord | 1953        | 26         |
| Nutaraq                            | Elijah     | Inukjuak   | Grise Fiord | 1953        | 21         |
| Aqiatusuk                          | Joadamie   | Inukjuak   | Grise Fiord | 1953        |            |
|                                    | Ekoomak    | Inukjuak   | Grise Fiord | 1953        |            |
|                                    | Lizzie     | Inukjuak   | Grise Fiord | 1953        |            |
| Novaligna                          | Philipusie | Inukjuak   | Grise Fiord | 1953        |            |
|                                    | Annie      | Inukjuak   | Grise Fiord | 1953        |            |
|                                    | Pauloosie  | Inukjuak   | Grise Fiord | 1953        |            |
| Nutaraq                            | Elisabee   | Inukjuak   | Grise Fiord | 1953        | 10         |
| Amagoalik                          | Thomasie   | Inukjuak   | Grise Fiord | 1953        |            |
|                                    | Mary       | Inukjuak   | Grise Fiord | 1953        |            |
|                                    | Alex       | Inukjuak   | Grise Fiord | 1953        |            |
|                                    | Salluviniq | Inukjuak   | Grise Fiord | 1953        |            |
|                                    | Charlie    | Inukjuak   | Grise Fiord | 1953        |            |
| Akpaliapik                         | Simon      | Pond Inlet | Grise Fiord | 1953        | 32         |
|                                    | Tatigak    | Pond Inlet | Grise Fiord | 1953        |            |
|                                    | Ruthie     | Pond Inlet | Grise Fiord | 1953        |            |
|                                    | Inutsiak   | Pond Inlet | Grise Fiord | 1953        |            |
|                                    | Muckpa     | Pond Inlet | Grise Fiord | 1953        |            |
| Arnakallak                         | Samuel     | Pond Inlet | Grise Fiord | 1953        | 28         |
|                                    | Qaumayuk   | Pond Inlet | Grise Fiord | 1953        |            |
|                                    | Tamarisee  | Pond Inlet | Grise Fiord | 1953        |            |
|                                    | Rhoda      | Pond Inlet | Grise Fiord | 1953        |            |

|              |            |            |              |      |         |
|--------------|------------|------------|--------------|------|---------|
|              | Phoebe     | Pond Inlet | Grise Fiord  | 1953 |         |
|              | Jonathan   | Pond Inlet | Grise Fiord  | 1953 |         |
|              | Mukpanuk   | Pond Inlet | Grise Fiord  | 1953 |         |
| Amaraulik    | Jaypettie  | Pond Inlet | Resolute Bay | 1953 | 18      |
|              | Kanoinoo   | Pond Inlet | Resolute Bay | 1953 |         |
|              | Muckooloo  | Pond Inlet | Resolute Bay | 1953 |         |
|              | Ekaksak    | Pond Inlet | Resolute Bay | 1953 |         |
|              | Sippora    | Pond Inlet | Resolute Bay | 1953 |         |
|              | Merrari    | Pond Inlet | Resolute Bay | 1953 |         |
| Amagoalik    | Simeonie   | Inukjuak   | Resolute Bay | 1953 | 20      |
|              | Sarah      | Inukjuak   | Resolute Bay | 1953 | 16      |
|              | Paul       | Inukjuak   | Resolute Bay | 1953 | B. 1953 |
|              | Jaybeddie  | Inukjuak   | Resolute Bay | 1953 | 38      |
|              | Nellie     | Inukjuak   | Resolute Bay | 1953 |         |
| Patsauq      | Alex       | Inukjuak   | Resolute Bay | 1953 |         |
|              | Edith      | Inukjuak   | Resolute Bay | 1953 |         |
|              | Markoosie  | Inukjuak   | Resolute Bay | 1953 | 12      |
|              | Lizzie     | Inukjuak   | Resolute Bay | 1953 |         |
| Amagoalik    | John       | Inukjuak   | Resolute Bay | 1953 | 8       |
|              | Jimmy      | Inukjuak   | Resolute Bay | 1953 |         |
| Salluviniq   | Daniel     | Inukjuak   | Resolute Bay | 1953 |         |
|              | Sarah      | Inukjuak   | Resolute Bay | 1953 |         |
| Salluviniq   | Allie      | Inukjuak   | Resolute Bay | 1953 | 4       |
|              | Louisa     | Inukjuak   | Resolute Bay | 1953 |         |
|              | Jeannie    | Inukjuak   | Resolute Bay | 1953 |         |
| Nungak       | Levi       | Inukjuak   | Resolute Bay | 1955 |         |
|              | Alici      | Inukjuak   | Resolute Bay | 1955 |         |
|              | Annie      | Inukjuak   | Resolute Bay | 1955 | 7       |
| Nungaq       | Minnie     | Inukjuak   | Resolute Bay | 1955 | 5       |
|              | Philipusie | Inukjuak   | Resolute Bay | 1955 | 3       |
|              | Anna       | Inukjuak   | Resolute Bay | 1955 | 6 mo.   |
| Echalook     | Johnnie    | Inukjuak   | Resolute Bay | 1955 |         |
| Allakarallak | Minnie     | Inukjuak   | Resolute Bay | 1955 | 39      |
|              | Sara       | Inukjuak   | Resolute Bay | 1955 | 20      |
| Amagoalik    | Lizzie     | Inukjuak   | Resolute Bay | 1955 | 16      |
|              | Rynee      | Inukjuak   | Resolute Bay | 1955 | 14      |
| Pudluk       | Dora       | Inukjuak   | Resolute Bay | 1955 | 13      |
| Eckalook     | George     | Inukjuak   | Resolute Bay | 1955 | 9       |
|              | May        | Inukjuak   | Resolute Bay | 1955 | 4       |
|              | Lizzie     | Inukjuak   | Resolute Bay | 1955 | 1       |
| Attagutaluk  | Mary       | Inukjuak   | Resolute Bay | 1955 | 5       |
|              | Leah       | Inukjuak   | Resolute Bay | 1955 |         |
| Iqaluk       | Andrew     | Inukjuak   | Resolute Bay | 1955 | 26      |
|              | (Mother?)  | Inukjuak   | Resolute Bay | 1955 |         |
|              | (Sister?)  | Inukjuak   | Resolute Bay | 1955 |         |
| Iqaluk       | Jackoosie  | Inukjuak   | Resolute Bay | 1955 | 22      |
|              | Mawa       | Inukjuak   | Resolute Bay | 1955 |         |

|          |          |          |              |      |    |
|----------|----------|----------|--------------|------|----|
|          | Martha   | Inukjuak | Resolute Bay | 1955 |    |
|          | Emily    | Inukjuak | Resolute Bay | 1955 |    |
|          | Mary     | Inukjuak | Resolute Bay | 1955 |    |
| Flaherty | Josephie | Inukjuak | Grise Fiord  | 1955 |    |
|          | Rynee    | Inukjuak | Grise Fiord  | 1955 | 27 |
|          | Peter    | Inukjuak | Grise Fiord  | 1955 |    |
|          | Martha   | Inukjuak | Grise Fiord  | 1955 | 5  |

## *Appendix C: RCAP Hearings Agendas*

The following agendas have been reconstructed and reflect the themes spoken about during each session, as well as the speakers who participated.

| The RCAP Hearings Part 1: Inuit Perspectives |                                                                                                                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|----------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Date                                         | Themes                                                                                                                     | Speakers                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| April 5, 1993                                | Introduction to the High Arctic Relocations; Experiences in Inukjuak (to 1953); Process of Relocation from Inukjuak (1953) | Zebedee Nungak (Makivik), Susan Aglukark (ITC), Minnie Allakariallak, Samwillie Elijasialuk, Simeonie Amagoalik, Lazarusie Epoo, Anna Nungaq, Elijah Nutaraq, Larry Audlaluk, Jaybeddie Amagoalik, Sarah Amagoalik, Martha Flaherty                                                                                                                                        |
| April 6, 1993                                | Experience of Relocation from Pond Inlet (1953); Experience of Relocation from Inukjuak (1953); Arrival in the High Arctic | Samuel Arnakallak, Jaypettie Amarualik, Simon Akpaliapik, Samwillie Elijasialuk, Simeonie Amagoalik, Jaybeddie Amagoalik, John Amagoalik, Larry Audlaluk, Anna Nungaq, Sarah Amagoalik, Minnie Kiliktee, Elijah Nutaraq, Lazarusie Epoo, Andrew Iqaluk, Markoosie Patsauq                                                                                                  |
| April 7, 1993                                | Health and Well-being; Separation of Children and Families; 1955 Relocation Experiences; Wage Employment and Unpaid Labour | Markoosie Patsauq, Simeonie Amagoalik, Jaybeddie Amagoalik, Martha Flaherty, Samwillie Elijasialuk, Jackoosie Iqaluk, Dora Pudluk, Rynie Flaherty, Mary Attugutaluk, Minnie Allakariallak, Sarah Amagoalik, Larry Audlaluk, Lizzie Amagoalik, Andrew Iqaluk, Maina Arragutainaq, Leah Idlout Paulson                                                                       |
| April 8, 1993                                | Lasting Effects of Relocation; Return to Inukjuak; In-camera Session; Letters & Communication; Survivor Stories            | Lazarusie Epoo, Lizzie Amagoalik, Jaybeddie Amagoalik, Elisapee Nutaraq, Jaypettie Amarualik, Johnny Epoo, Samwillie Elijasialuk, Simeonie Amagoalik, Markoosie Patsauq, Allie Salluviniq, Minnie Nungaq, Elizabeth Allakariallak, Bobby Patsauq, Martha Flaherty, Larry Audlaluk, Paul Amagoalik, Minnie Allakariallak, Susan Salluviniq, George Eckalook, Zebedee Nungak |

| <b>The RCAP Hearings Part 2: Government and Researcher Perspectives</b> |                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Date</b>                                                             | <b>Themes</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                               | <b>Speakers</b>                                                                                     |
| June 17, 1993                                                           | RCMP Perspective: Inukjuak and Resolute Bay                                                                                                                                                                                 | Ross Gibson                                                                                         |
| June 25, 1993                                                           | Journalist Perspective: Eastern Arctic Patrol; Travelling to the High Arctic (1953)                                                                                                                                         | Wilfred Doucette                                                                                    |
| June 28, 1993                                                           | Life in the Arctic; Conditions at Inukjuak: the HBC, and Relief Payments; Conditions of Inuit on Arrival: Role of the RCAF at Resolute; Sovereignty and the Rationale for Relocation                                        | Doug Wilkinson, Reuben Ploughman, Armand Brousseau, Pierre Desnoyers, Gordon Robertson, Ross Gibson |
| June 28, 1993                                                           | The Sovereignty Panel                                                                                                                                                                                                       | Gordon Smith, Donat Pharand, Marc Denhez                                                            |
| June 30, 1993                                                           | History of the Arctic; Sovereignty and Canadianization; Government and Administrative Processes; Volunteerism vs. Coercion; Documentary vs. Oral Evidence; Broken Promises; Standards upon which to Judge Government Action | Robert Williamson, Shelagh Grant, Alan Marcus, Magnus Gunther                                       |
| July 5, 1993                                                            | Experimentation and Human Rights Law; Alternative Inuit Perspective                                                                                                                                                         | Andrew Orkin, Mary Carpenter                                                                        |

# Further Reading

For further reading on the High Arctic Relocations, see:

## *Primary Documents*

1. P. Whitney Lackenbauer, ed., *Human Flagpoles or Humanitarian Action?: Discerning Government Motives behind the Inuit Relocations to the High Arctic, 1953-1960*, Documents on Canadian Arctic Sovereignty and Security (DCASS) 16 (Calgary, AB: University of Calgary, 2020)
2. Shelagh Grant, ed., *"Errors Exposed": Inuit Relocations to the High Arctic, 1953-1960*, Documents on Canadian Arctic Sovereignty and Security (DCASS) 8 (Calgary, AB: University of Calgary, 2016)

## *Books and Articles*

1. John Amagoalik, *Changing the Face of Canada: The Life Story of John Amagoalik*, ed. Louis McComber, Life Stories of Northern Leaders: Vol. 2 (Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College, 2007)
2. Larry Audlaluk, *What I Remember, What I Know: The Life of a High Arctic Exile* (Toronto, ON: Inhabit Media Inc., 2020)
3. Sarah Bonesteel, *Canada's Relationship with Inuit: A History of Policy and Program Development* (Ottawa, ON: Indian / Northern Affairs Canada, 2006)
4. Janice Cavell, "'Consolidation and Control of All Eskimo Income': The Motive for the 1953 High Arctic Relocation," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 55, no. 1 (2021): 118–151
5. David Damas, *Arctic Migrants, Arctic Villagers: The Transformation of Inuit Settlement in the Central Arctic* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002)
6. David Damas, "Shifting Relations in the Administration of Inuit: The Hudson's Bay Company and the Canadian Government," *Études/Inuit/Studies* 17, no. 2 (1993): 5–28
7. Lyle Dick, *Muskox Land: Ellesmere Island in the Age of Contact* (Calgary, AB: University of Calgary Press, 2001)
8. Daniel Dumas, "Place Them on a Stamp: Inuit, Banal Colonialism, and the 'Pioneer Experiment' of the High Arctic Relocations," *Political Geography* 105 (2023): 102919
9. Allyson Domanski, "Arctic Displacement (compensation Agreement Regarding the Relocation of Inuit Families from Inukjuak, Quebec to Resolute Bay, Nwt by the Federal Government in 1953)," *New City Magazine, Winnipeg* 17, no. 1 (1996): 39–41
10. Amy Fung, "Redressing the Redress of the High Arctic Exiles: The Limits of Recognition in a White Settler State," *Memory Studies* 18, no. 6 (2025)
11. Shelagh D Grant, "A Case of Compounded Error: The Inuit Resettlement Project, 1953, and the Government Response, 1990," *Northern Perspectives* 19, no. 1 (1991): 3–29
12. Sam Hossack, "A Broken History: Examining the Events, Experiences, and Narratives of the High Arctic Relocations, 1950-2010" (PhD, University of Waterloo, 2025)



13. Matt James, "Wrestling with the Past: Apologies, Quasi-Apologies, and Non-Apologies in Canada," in *The Age of Apology: Facing Up to the Past*, ed. Mark Gibney et al. (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008)
14. Gerard I. Kenney, *Arctic Smoke and Mirrors* (Prescott, Ont: Voyageur Publishing, 1994)
15. Keith Lowther, "An Exercise in Sovereignty: The Government of Canada and the Inuit Relocation of 1953" (M.A., University of Calgary Press, 1989)
16. Alan Marcus, *Relocating Eden: The Image and Politics of Inuit Exile in the Canadian Arctic* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1995)
17. Alan Marcus, "Out in the Cold: Canada's Experimental Inuit Relocation to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay," *Polar Record* 27, no. 163 (1991): 285–296
18. Melanie McGrath, *The Long Exile: A Tale of Inuit Betrayal and Survival in the High Arctic* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 2006)
19. Amy Prouty, "How Art Brought About an Apology for High Arctic Relocations," *Inuit Art Quarterly*, 2016,
20. Frank James Tester and Krista Ulujuk Zawadski, *Inuit Relocations: Colonial Policies and Practices, Inuit Resilience and Resistance, Righting Canada's Wrongs* (Toronto, ON: James Lorimer / Company Ltd, 2023)
21. Frank James Tester and Peter Kulchyski, *Tammarniit (Mistakes): Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic 1939-63* (Vancouver, B.C.: UBC Press, 1994)
22. Frank James Tester, "Serializing Inuit Culture: The Administration of "Relief" in the Eastern Arctic, 1940-1953," *Canadian Social Work Review* 10, no. 1 (1993): 109–123
23. Pauline Wakeham, "At the Intersection of Apology and Sovereignty: The Arctic Exile Monument Project," *Cultural Critique* 87 (2014): 84–115

#### *Film and Media*

1. *Iqqaumavara Memory Project* (2011), [www.iqqaumavara.com](http://www.iqqaumavara.com)
2. Zacharias Kunuk, *Exile*, [Documentary], 2009
3. Marquise Lepage, *Martha of the North*, [Documentary], 2008
4. Patricia Tassinari, *Broken Promises: The High Arctic Relocation*, [Documentary], 1995

# Biographies

*Aglukark, Susan* Susan Aglukark worked for the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs as a Core Communications Coordinator in the Inuit division and as an executive assistant with the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada before becoming a Juno Award winning artist.

*Akpaliapik, Simon* Simon Akpaliapik was born in Pond Inlet and relocated to Grise Fiord in 1953 at age 32.

*Allakariallak, Elizabeth* Elizabeth Allakariallak was born in Resolute Bay in 1957.

*Allakariallak, Minnie* Minnie Allakariallak was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1955 at age 39.

*Amagoalik, Jaybeddie* Jaybeddie Amagoalik was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1953 at age 18.

*Amagoalik, John* John Amagoalik was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1953 at age 5. He is known as the “Father of Nunavut” for his advocacy work as President of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC). John Amagoalik’s experiences of relocation are further detailed in *Changing the Face of Canada: The Life Story of John Amagoalik*.

*Amagoalik, Lizzie* Lizzie Amagoalik was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1955 at age 17.

*Amagoalik, Paul* Paul Amagoalik was born aboard the *C.D. Howe* in 1953 and was settled in Resolute Bay as an infant.

*Amagoalik, Sarah* Sarah Amagoalik was born in Inukjuak and Relocated to Resolute Bay in 1955 while pregnant at age 16.

*Amagoalik, Simeonie* Simeonie Amagoalik was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1953 at age 20.

*Amarualik, Jaypettie* Jaypettie Amarualik was born in Pond Inlet and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1953 at age 38.

*Anawak, Jack* Jack Iyerak Anawak was Member of Parliament for Nunatsiag from 1988-1997. He was a member of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs (later Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development) and was vice-chair of the Committee from 1991-1993. He was the Liberal Party’s critic on Indian Affairs and Northern Development from 1989 to 1993 and the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development from 1993 to 1996. Jack Anawak has also served at the municipal (Rankin Inlet, 1985-1988) and territorial (Nunavut, 1999-2001) levels.

*Aqiatasuk, Paddy* Paddy Aqiatasuk, sometimes referred to as “Fatty” in government records, was born near Inukjuak and relocated to Grise Fiord in 1953. A skilled soapstone carver and father to Larry Audlaluk, Paddy expressed a desire to return to Inukjuak almost immediately upon landing in Grise Fiord. He is noted to have suffered from isolation-induced depression and died within eight months of the relocation. His story is detailed in Audlaluk’s autobiography *What I Remember, What I Know*.

*Arnakallak, Samuel* Samuel Arnakallak was born in Pond Inlet and relocated to Grise Fiord in 1953 at age 28.

*Arragutainaq, Maina* Maina Arragutainaq was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Grise Fiord via Arctic Bay in 1955 at age 11.

*Attugutaluk, Mary* Mary Attugutaluk was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1955 at age 5.

*Audlaluk, Larry* Larry Audlaluk was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Grise Fiord in 1953 at age 3. Audlaluk’s autobiography *What I Remember, What I Know* further details his experiences growing up in Grise Fiord and his struggle with both the 1953 relocation and the “secondary” relocations back to Inukjuak in the 1980s and 1990s.

*Blondin, Ethel* Ethel Blondin was Member of Parliament for the Western Arctic from 1988 to 2006. She sat on the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs from 1989 to 1993, and was the assistant critic for the Liberal Party on Indian Affairs and Northern Development. She was later Minister of State for Northern Development within Indian and Northern Development (2004-2006).

*Bourbeau, André* André Bourbeau was a Member of the National Assembly of Québec from 1981 to 2003 and was Minister of Municipal Affairs, Responsible for Housing from 1985 to 1989.

*Brousseau, Armand* Armand Brousseau was a radio operator for the Royal Canadian Air Force, temporarily stationed at Resolute Bay from July-October 1953 and again from December 1953-March 1954.

*Cadieux, Pierre* Pierre Cadieux was Member of Parliament for Vaudreuil (Québec) from 1984-1993 and Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development from 1989 to 1990.

*Cantley, James* James Cantley was a former administrator for the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) and worked as an Arctic Administrator for the Department of Resources and Development/Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources from 1950 to 1956. Cantley authored the 1951 "Survey of Economic Conditions Among the Eskimo of the Canadian Arctic" which was influential in determining the Department's approach to Inuit welfare in the 1950s. Cantley was also Secretary to the Eskimo Affairs Committee, which discussed the development of the Department's Inuit policy.

*Carpenter, Mary* Mary Carpenter, Inuvialuit from the Western Arctic.

*Chartrand, Paul* Commissioner Paul Chartrand is a Métis lawyer and professor of law at the University of Manitoba, where he specialised in Native law.

*Christianson, Niels Otto* Niels Otto Christianson joined the Greenland Office in the Danish State Department in 1947 and visited Inuit settlements throughout Arctic Canada in the early 1950s. He served as head of office in the Ministry for Greenland and became Governor General for Greenland in 1962.

*Crombie, David* David Crombie was Member of Parliament for Rosedale (Toronto) from 1978 to 1988. He was Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development from 1984 to 1988.

*DeBlois, Charles* Charles DeBlois was Member of Parliament for Beauport-Montmorency-Orléans (Québec) from 1988 to 1993 and was Assistant Deputy Chair of Committees of the Whole from 1990 to 1993, a role in which he could be the Acting Speaker in the absence of the Speaker and Deputy Speaker.

*Denhez, Marc* Marc Denhez was senior counsel to Inuit Tapirisat of Canada from 1979 to 1982, working on issues related to sovereignty in the far North.

*Desnoyers, Pierre* Pierre Desnoyers was stationed at the Royal Canadian Air Force station at Lachine, Québec in 1953 and was temporarily stationed at Resolute Bay from June to October 1953 to aid the annual resupply, and specifically the first fuel resupply that summer.

*Dobbie, Dorothy* Dorothy Dobbie was Member of Parliament for Winnipeg South from 1988 to 1993 and was Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development from 1989 to 1991.

*Doucette, Wilfred* Wilfred Doucette, a photographer and videographer with the National Film Board (NFB) and the Canadian Broadcast Corporation (CBC), travelled with the Eastern Arctic Patrol on the *d'Iberville* in 1953 and visited Resolute Bay in 1954.

*Dussault, René* Co-chair and Commissioner René Dussault is a former justice of the Québec Court of Appeal and deputy minister of Justice in Québec.

*Eckalook, George* George Eckalook was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1955 at age 9.

*Elijasialuk, Samwillie* Samwillie Elijasialuk was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Grise Fiord in 1953 at age 17.

*Epoo, Jobie* Jobie Epoo was mayor of Inukjuak and representative on the Kativik Regional Government.

*Epoo, Johnny* Johnny Epoo was born in Inukjuak and remained there following the relocations. He is considered one of the "left behind".

*Epoo, Lazarusie* Lazarusie Epoo was born in Inukjuak and remained there following the relocations. He is considered one of the “left behind”.

*Erasmus, Georges* Co-chair and Commissioner Georges Erasmus was President of the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories from 1976 to 1983 and National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations from 1985 to 1991.

*Flaherty, Josephie* Son of American filmmaker Robert Flaherty, Josephie Flaherty was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Grise Fiord in 1955.

*Flaherty, Martha* Martha Flaherty was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Grise Fiord in 1955 at age 5. She also starts in the National Film Board (NFB) documentary *Martha of the North*.

*Flaherty, Rynie* Rynie Flaherty was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Grise Fiord in 1955 at age 27.

*Fryer, A. Cley* Constable Cley Fryer served at the Grise Fiord Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) detachment in 1953 and 1954.

*Gagné, Gilles* Gilles Gagné served as counsel for Inuit witnesses for the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC) and Makivik Corporation during the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples Special Hearings on the High Arctic Relocations. He began work with Makivik Corporation in 1979.

*Gibson, Ross* Ross Gibson was a member of the RCMP “G” Division, stationed at Inukjuak beginning July 1, 1952. The following summer he was transferred, alongside Inuit, to Resolute Bay where he served until 1958 when he was posted to Nova Scotia. Gibson helped identify Inuit to move from Inukjuak to the High Arctic during the Spring of 1953.

*Grant, Shelagh* Shelagh Grant was a noted Arctic historian and taught at Trent University. Her 1991 article for CARC, “A Case of Compounded Error” became the focal point of the sovereignty-as-motivation narrative in the early 1990s and persists to the present day.

*Gunther, Magnus* Magnus Gunther was a political scientist who taught at Trent University and was hired by the DIAND in August 1991 to review the documentary evidence related to government motivations for the relocation. Gunther’s analysis concluded that the government had acted reasonably. The release of Gunther’s report prompted significant backlash, both among Inuit who brought their case to the CHRC and later to the RCAP, as well as among academic commentators.

*Hinds, Margery* Margery Hinds was a well-respected school teacher who worked throughout the Arctic, and was the local teacher in Inukjuak in the early 1950s.

*Hodgson, Stuart* Stuart Hodgson was a member of the Northwest Territories Legislative Council from 1964-1967 and was Deputy Commissioner under Ben Sivertz from 1965-1967. In 1967 he became the first Northwest Territories Commissioner to reside in the Territories.

*Horner, Robert* Robert Horner was Member of Parliament for Mississauga West from 1988-1993 (and Mississauga North from 1984-1988). He also served as an officer of the RCMP in Ottawa from 1951-1957.

*Hughes, Ken* Ken Hughes was Member of Parliament for Macleod from 1988-1993 and served as Chair of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs from April 1989 to May 1991.

*Idlout Paulson, Leah* Leah Idlout Paulson was born in Pond Inlet and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1955 at age 15.

*Inuksuk, Rhoda* Rhoda Innuksuk was the first female president of the ITC from 1985 to 1988.

*Iqaluk, Andrew* Andrew Iqaluk was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1955 at age 26.

*Iqaluk, Jackoosie* Jackoosie Iqaluk was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1955 at age 22.

*Karygiannis, Jim* Jim Karygiannis was Member of Parliament for Scarborough-Agincourt from 1988 to 2014.

*Kenney, Gerard* Gerard Kenney was a telecommunications specialist and researcher with an interest in Arctic history. His 1994 book *Arctic Smoke and Mirrors* examined the High Arctic Relocations.

*Killiktee, Minnie* Minnie Killiktee was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Grise Fiord in 1953 at age 13.

*Koury, Allan* Allan Koury was Member of Parliament for Hochelaga-Maisonneuve from 1988-1993 and was vice-chair of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs from April 1989 to May 1991.

*Larsen, Gordon* Gordon Larsen was son of Superintendent Henry Larsen, and presented on his behalf during the RCAP hearings.

*Larsen, Henry* Henry Larsen was RCMP Commanding Officer of "G" Division (Northwest Territories and Yukon) from 1949 to 1961, stationed in Ottawa. Larsen also commanded the RCMP vessel *St. Roch* from 1928 to 1939.

*Lesage, Jean* Jean Lesage was Member of Parliament for Montmagny-l'Islet from 1945 to 1958 and Minister of Resources and Development/Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources from 1953 to 1957. Lesage would later enter provincial politics and become Premier of Québec.

*Littlechild, Wilton* Wilton Littlechild was Member of Parliament for Wetaskiwin from 1988 to 1993 and a member of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs from April 1989 to May 1991.

*MacDonald, Vincent* Vincent C. MacDonald was a constitutional legal scholar, Dean of the Faculty of Law at Dalhousie University from 1934-1950 and Supreme Court Justice of Nova Scotia from 1950-1964.

*Marcus, Alan* Alan Marcus is a cultural historian who completed his master's and doctoral research on the High Arctic relocations. His 1990 Master's Thesis, *Out in the Cold*, focused specifically on the High Arctic Relocations.

*Martin, Shirley* Shirley Martin was Member of Parliament for Lincoln from 1984 to 1993. She was also Minister of State (Indian Affairs and Northern Development) from February 1990 to April 1991.

*McKnight, Bill* William (Bill) McKnight was Member of Parliament for Kindersley-Lloydminster from 1979 to 1993 and Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development from June 1986 to January 1989.

*McMillan, Tom* Thomas (Tom) McMillan was Member of Parliament for Hillsborough from 1979 to 1988 and Minister of the Environment from August 1985 to December 1988.

*Molloy, Tom* Tom Molloy was Chief Negotiator for the Government of Canada during negotiations with Inuit in the Nunavut Land Claim Agreement, which led to the creation of Nunavut in 1999.

*Moody, Doug* Doug Moody was RCMP Constable at Pond Inlet in 1952 and transferred to Resolute Bay in 1958.

*Munro, John* John Munro was Member of Parliament for Hamilton East from 1962 to 1984 and Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development from March 1980 to April 1984.

*Nault, Robert* Robert Nault was Member of Parliament for Kenora-Rainy River from 1988 to 2004 and a member of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs from April 1989 to May 1991. He was also Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development from 1999 to 2003.

*Nerysoo, Richard* Richard Nerysoo was elected to the Northwest Territories Legislature in 1979 and became government leader (Premier) of the territory in 1984.

*Neville, Bud* F.J. "Bud" Neville was an Arctic Administrator within the Northern Administration Branch and in 1962 became Chief of the Welfare Division within Northern Affairs. He went on to become a consultant with the Hickling Corporation, contributing extensively to the "Hickling Report".

*Nungak, Levi* Levi Nungak was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1955 along with his wife and four children.

*Nungak, Zebedee* Zebedee Nungak was a strong political advocate of Inuit rights, beginning in the 1970s and was involved in negotiating the JBNQA. As vice-president of Makivvik Corporation from 1988-1995, he championed the issue of High Arctic Relocation compensation.

*Nunagaq, Anna* Anna Nunagaq was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Grise Fiord in 1953 at age 26.

*Nunagaq, Minnie* Minnie Nunagaq was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1955 at age 5.

*Nutaraq, Elijah* Elijah Nutaraq was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Grise Fiord in 1953 at age 10.

*Nutaraq, Elisapee* Elisapee Nutaraq was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Grise Fiord in 1953 at age 10.

*Okpik, Abe* Abe Okpik was an appointed member of the Northwest Territories Legislative Council from 1965-1966, the first Inuk to sit on the Council. Okpik also led "Project Surname" in the early 1970s to replace Inuit disc numbers with surnames.

*Orkin, Andrew* Andrew Orkin was lawyer and Assistant Professor at McGill University, specializing in medicine, ethics, and law.

*Padlo, Annie* Annie Padlo was born in Pond Inlet and worked throughout the north as an interpreter and CBC broadcaster.

*Palliser, Tommy* Tommy Palliser was an interpreter with the Hudson's Bay Company.

*Patsauq, Bobby* Bobby Patsauq was born in Resolute Bay in 1960.

*Patsauq, Markoosie* Markoosie Patsauq was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1953 at age 12.

*Pharand, Donat* Donat Pharand was a Professor at the University of Ottawa and legal scholar, specializing in sovereignty and the international law of the sea pertaining to the Arctic regions.

*Pilot, Bob* Bob Pilot was RCMP Constable stationed throughout the Arctic, including Craig Harbour (1955-1960). In 1965 he joined the Department of Northern Affairs as an administrator, and in 1969 joined the Government of the Northwest Territories, becoming Deputy Minister of Federal-Provincial Relations for the Government of the Northwest Territories in 1986.

*Ploughman, Reuben* Reuben "Rheub" Ploughman worked for the HBC for forty years from 1939 to 1979, and was post manager at Inukjuak between 1951 and 1954.

*Pudluk, Dora* Dora Pudluk was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1955 at age 12.

*Robertson, Gordon* R. Gordon Robertson was Deputy Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources and Commissioner of the Northwest Territories (November 1953 to July 1963). Prior to his appointment to these combined roles, Robertson worked in the Prime Minister's Office (1945-1948) and the Privy Council Office (1948-1953).

*Robinson, Viola* Commissioner Viola Robinson, a Mi'kmaq woman from Nova Scotia, was founder and President of the Native Council of Nova Scotia and was elected President of the Native Council of Canada (now Congress of Aboriginal People) in 1990.

*Rowley, Graham* Graham Rowley co-founded the Arctic Circle Club in Ottawa in 1947 and joined the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources as Secretary of the ACND in August 1953, becoming a Scientific Advisor and helping to establish the Eastern Arctic Scientific Resource Centre.

*Salluviniq, Allie* Allie Salluviniq was born in Inukjuak and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1953 at age 4.

*Salluviniq, Susan* Susan Salluviniq was born in Pond Inlet and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1955 at age 2.

*Sargent, Glen* Glen Sargent was posted to "G" Division in September 1951, serving at Spence Bay, Craig Harbour, Grise Fiord and Coppermine during the following eight years.

*Schaeffer, Otto* Dr. Otto Schaeffer practiced medicine at the Charles Camsell Hospital (the referral hospital for the Western Arctic) and throughout the Arctic from 1951 to 1964, when he became the first director of the Northern Medical Research Unit.

*Schultz, Nick* Nick Schultz was a member of the RCAP staff during the Special Hearing on High Arctic Relocations.

*Siddon, Thomas* Thomas (Tom) Siddon was Member of Parliament for Richmond (formerly Richmond-South Delta and Burnaby-Richmond-Delta) from 1978 to 1993. He was also Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development from February 1990 to June 1993.

*Sillett, Mary* Commissioner Mary Sillett was a founding member of Pauktuutit (Inuit Women's Association of Canada), serving as President for two terms and served as vice-president of ITC.

*Silverstone, Sam* Sam Silverstone was legal counsel for Makivik Corporation throughout the 1990s and 2000s.

*Simon, Mary* Mary Simon, a respected Inuit leader from Northern Québec who held numerous positions with both Makivik Corporation and ITC in the 1970s and 1980s, co-wrote the Simon-Tassé Report that reviewed evidence related to the High Arctic Relocations and determined that Inuit had not been given an opportunity to share their story. She also facilitated Inuit testimony during the April 1993 Special Hearings on the High Arctic Relocations.

*Skelly, Ray* Ray Skelly was Member of Parliament for North Island-Powell River (formerly Comox-Powell River) from 1979-1993. He was not appointed to the SCAA, but was present in place of his brother, Robert Skelly (Member of Parliament for Comox-Alberni), on March 19, 1990.

*Skelly, Robert* Robert Skelly was Member of Parliament for Comox-Alberni from 1988-1993. He was a member of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs from April 1989 to September 1993 and was the New Democratic Party's critic on Indian Affairs and Northern Development from 1989 to 1993.

*Smith, Gordon* Gordon Smith was a historian specializing in Canadian Arctic sovereignty.

*Soberman, Daniel* Daniel Soberman was professor and former Dean of Law at Queen's University. He was appointed by the CHRC in 1991 to investigate the High Arctic Relocations.

*Stevenson, Alex* Alexander Stevenson was a clerk for the HBC before joining the DRD (later the DNANR in 1945. He remained with the department serving in various administrative capacities until 1975 when he joined the ITC to become Inuit Language Coordinator.

*Tassé, Roger* Roger Tassé represented the Canadian government during both the Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accords and led the team that developed the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. He co-wrote the Simon-Tassé Report that reviewed evidence related to the High Arctic Relocations and determined that Inuit had not been given an opportunity to share their story.

*Watt, Charlie* Charlie Watt was a Northern Services Officer with the DIAND between 1969-1979 and President of Makivik Corporation from 1978-1982 and 1988-1994. In 1984 he was appointed to the Senate of Canada, where he founded the Special Committee on Aboriginal Peoples, which would become the Senate Standing Committee on Aboriginal Peoples.

*Wenzel, George* George Wenzel is an anthropologist and geographer, specializing in Canadian Inuit culture and society, and public policy.

*Whitbread, Donald* Reverend Donald Whitbread was an Anglican Missionary in the Arctic between 1955 and 1970, stationed primarily at Spence Bay (1957-1965) and Apex Hill (Iqaluit) (1965-1970).

*Wilbee, Stan* Stan Wilbee was Member of Parliament for Delta from 1988 to 1993 and was a member of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs from April 1989 to May 1991.

*Wilkinson, Doug* Doug Wilkinson was a filmmaker for the NFB in the 1940s and 1950s, and in 1955 joined the DNANR as a Northern Services Officer.

*Williamson, Robert* Robert Williamson was an Arctic anthropologist who worked for the DNANR, establishing the Eskimology section and founding *Inuktitut* magazine. He also served as welfare superintendent for the Keewatin district and was the elected representative for the Keewatin district to the Northwest Territories Council in 1967.

*Wilson, Bertha* Commissioner and Justice Bertha Wilson was the first woman appointed to the Supreme Court of Canada in 1982. She retired from the Court in 1991.

*Young, Hugh Andrew* Major-General Hugh Andrew Young served as Deputy Minister of the Department of Resources and Development (DRD) and Commissioner of the Northwest Territories from November 1950 to November 1953.

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# REMEMBERING RELOCATION

## *Perspectives of the High Arctic Relocations, 1990-1993*

**Edited by Sam Hossack**

In 1953, the Government of Canada relocated seven families from Inukjuak (Pond Inlet) and three from Mittimatalik (Pond Inlet) to the High Arctic communities of Resolute Bay on Cornwallis Island and Grise Fiord on Ellesmere Island. Two years later, three additional families were relocated. Most scholarship and writing focuses on the Government's motivations for the High Arctic Relocations, overlooking the human experiences. This volume contextualizes and makes available the transcripts of the hearings conducted as part of the investigation into the High Arctic Relocations in the early 1990s, illuminating the long-lasting effects of the Government's broken promises and the hardships endured by Inuit who were relocated, those left behind, and their descendants.

**Monument to Inuit relocated to the High Arctic community of Grise Fiord in 1953 and 1955.**

*Photo by P. Whitney Lackenbauer*



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