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**Inuit Circumpolar Conference**

**Evaluation Study Report**

**July 1984**

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**Inuit Circumpolar Conference  
Evaluation Study Report**

**July 1984**

**Prepared by  
Nordicity Group Ltd.**

**and**

**Peters, Coolican and Associates**

**for**

**Evaluation Branch, Corporate Policy  
Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development**

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## Executive Summary

The Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC) is an international organization established in 1977 to promote the interests of some 100,000 Inuit in Alaska, Canada and Greenland.

The ICC hosts a General Assembly every three years. The last assembly was held in Frobisher Bay in 1983. The Canadian Government provided \$386,000 in funds and services to help defray the costs of the Frobisher Bay Assembly. In releasing this money, the Treasury Board requested that an evaluation of the ICC be carried out to determine the effectiveness of the contribution of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) relative to the Department's objectives. As well, this evaluation was undertaken to assist government in determining if and how it should fund the activities of the ICC in future.

A three pronged approach has been used to evaluate the ICC:

- 1) Evaluation by analogy with other similar bodies supported by the federal government such as the World Council for Indigenous Peoples;
- 2) Evaluation by constituency support, that is by the interest shown by the Inuit themselves; and by,
- 3) Evaluation by contribution to government policy objectives.

The evaluation was conducted through interviews and through the review of the relatively limited documentation available. The information was gathered to address the nine specific issues listed in the terms of reference for the study (Appendix 1).

The first task was the preparation of a profile of the ICC (Section 2). This profile was based on the identification of the activities, outputs, impacts/effects, objectives and mandate of the ICC. The development of the profile flowed from a number of activities which fall under four broad categories:

- Co-ordination Functions
- Policy Development and Advancement
- Inuit Information Exchange
- Public Awareness

Although the ICC was only established in 1977 and only three assemblies have been held, activities to date have led to an impressive number of outputs (see Section 2.6). These activities and their outputs have for example led to increased awareness of the similarities and differences among Inuit in Alaska, Canada and Greenland as well as to the improved articulation of views on particular issues such as the Arctic Pilot Project and the need for an Arctic Policy.

The ICC is supported within the Canadian Inuit community and within the federal government. For the Inuit the ICC provides an international forum for the exchange of views with Inuit of other countries as well as furthering contacts with Inuit from the various regions of Canada.

From a federal government perspective, support for the ICC is in keeping with the mandates of a number of departments (see Table 2-2). In particular, one responsibility of DIAND's Northern Affairs Program "to assist the native residents to preserve and develop their culture" is met through support of the ICC.

The 1983 Frobisher Bay Assembly was viewed as having been successful. Moreover, it was carried out within budget. However, the financial support of the Government of Canada was critical to holding the Assembly. Otherwise the Assembly could not have been held.

As to the ICC itself we concluded that it is the most appropriate structure for addressing international Inuit concerns. No other Canadian organization, be it a government body or a national Inuit association could undertake all the functions of the ICC. The recently established ICC Canadian Regional Office therefore fulfills a special role in Inuit affairs in Canada.

Given the record of the ICC to date and the fact that it is within the mandate of the federal government to support such an organization, we believe that;

**Recommendation 1: The ICC deserves some measure of government financial support.**

Not to fund the ICC would imply that the federal government is distancing itself from an organization in which it has a clearly identified interest.

However we have also concluded that;

**Recommendation 2: The Government of Canada should only fund part of the budget of the ICC.**

The Inuit should obtain part of the funding from other sources.

We have presented three possible models for funding;

- core funding
- tied-funding
- Land Claims Formula

Because of the tendency of organizations to become dependent on government funding when the core funding approach is used we believe that;

**Recommendation 3: The ICC should not be core funded.**

As to the other two funding formula;

**Recommendation 4: The Government should decide which of the two funding formulae best reflects the degree of its interest in the ICC.**



Tied-funding is the approach chosen by government to facilitate some activity with government funds on the basis of the amount the recipient group raises from other sources. In playing a facilitator role, government is showing no more interest in the activity than the recipient group, which in this case would be the Canadian Inuit. The government commits itself to support the ICC based strictly on the level of support evidenced by the Inuit according to some matching principle.

In the Lands Claim Formula, one part of the money is always derived directly from government while the other part is derived from the interested party, in this case Inuit funds obtained as land claims are settled. This formula recognizes that there is a national interest, apart from that of the Inuit, for the government to provide some on-going funding to the ICC.

On reviewing the ICC activities that the Canadian government should fund we have concluded that;

**Recommendation 5: The Government should not restrict its funding to the next Assembly of the ICC in Canada only.**

Since the next Assembly in Canada is in 1992, the Inuit would likely have difficulty participating in the ICC activities in the interim period if such a restriction was applied.

To ensure on-going Inuit participation in ICC activities on an equal basis with the Inuit in other countries;

**Recommendation 6: Any Canadian government contribution should go directly to the Canadian Regional Office of the ICC. However, we believe that no restriction should be placed as to where geographically these funds might be spent. Such a restriction would be impractical, would decrease the independence of the ICC and would limit the ability of the ICC Canadian Regional Office to use its resources in its best interests.**

To give the ICC Canadian Regional Office maximum flexibility in its operations;

**Recommendation 7:** A restriction on the funds to core activities is not necessary. However, the amount of funds required to maintain minimum activities of the ICC Canadian Regional Office could be a useful benchmark when examining funding levels.

**Recommendation 8:** The funding for the ICC should not be directed or restricted in any way except to satisfy normal accounting procedures and ensure that the funds are spent on activities approved by the ICC Canadian Regional Office.

After reviewing the funding levels needed for differing levels of participation in ICC activities we believe that;

**Recommendation 9:** The minimum total level of funding which would be required from Inuit and government sources is approximately \$100,000.

Moreover

**Recommendation 10:** The Government of Canada should provide to the ICC Canadian Regional Office seed funding for two years or until a level of funding and a formula is negotiated. Seed money should be given in the following amounts:

Year 1      \$100,000

Year 2      \$ 50,000

We have concluded that;

**Recommendation 11:** DIAND is the department best suited to deliver the funding because of the knowledge of the ICC and its activities in the department, as well as the familiarity of Inuit with the department. Moreover, this activity falls clearly within DIAND's stated mandate.

We also believe that the ICC must have a legal status to accept funding;

**Recommendation 12:** The decision to grant money to the ICC should be accompanied by the incorporation of the ICC Regional Office. This is the required procedure for any Canadian native organization seeking funding from government, for instance. Incorporation will ensure the existence of a board of directors, a known legal status, a structure of decision making and accountability, and a requirement to hold annual meetings of the members (if it is a not-for-profit corporation) or the shareholders.

We believe that if these recommendations are implemented, the ICC Canadian Regional Office will be able to participate effectively in the activities of the ICC.

### Preface

Nordicity Group Ltd. and Peters Coolican and Associates have been retained by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) to undertake an evaluation of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC).

## **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

The Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC) is an international organization established in 1977 to promote the interests of some 100,000 Inuit in Alaska, Canada, and Greenland. Of these, approximately 25,500 live in Canada.

The ICC hosts a General Assembly once every three years and has on-going activities through committees and permanent staff between General Assemblies. The first General Assembly was held in Barrow, Alaska in 1977, the second took place in 1980 in Nuuk, Greenland, and the third was held in Frobisher Bay, NWT in July, 1983. The 1983 Assembly, hosted by the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC) was attended by some 250 delegates from Canada, Alaska and Greenland.

The Canadian Government provided funds and services equivalent to \$386,000 to help defray the costs of the Frobisher Bay Assembly. In releasing this money, the Treasury Board (Minute 790412) requested that an evaluation of the ICC be carried out to determine the effectiveness of the contribution of DIAND relative to the Department's objectives. As well, the evaluation was undertaken to establish future funding levels (if at all) and potential funding mechanisms. The terms of reference for the evaluation can be found in Appendix 1.

This evaluation reviews the activities of ICC and Canadian participation in this international organization. Funding options are presented to assist the federal government, through the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development which is the lead agency in this case, in deciding on how best to deal with the ICC in future.

Because of the nature of this study and of the issues that had to be addressed, there is some degree of repetition in this report.

## **2.0 A PROFILE OF THE ICC**

### **2.1 The ICC Mandate**

At the second General Assembly in 1980, the ICC adopted a Charter which outlines the mandate of the organization.

According to the Charter, the purposes of the ICC are:

- (a) to strengthen unity among the Inuit of the circumpolar region;
- (b) to promote Inuit rights and interests on the international level;
- (c) to ensure adequate Inuit participation in political, economic and social institutions which we, the Inuit, deem relevant;
- (d) to promote greater self-sufficiency of Inuit in the circumpolar region;
- (e) to ensure the endurance and the growth of Inuit culture and societies for both present and future generations;
- (f) to promote long-term management and protection of arctic and sub-arctic wildlife, environment and biological productivity;
- (g) to promote wise management and use of non-renewable resources in the circumpolar region and incorporate such resources in the present and future development of Inuit economies, taking into account other Inuit interests.

The purposes and mandate of the ICC have also been described in speeches and presentations by the ICC President and Executive Members. In a presentation to a Congressional sub-committee in Washington, D.C.

Hans-Pavia Rosing, ICC President said:

"The preservation of Inuit culture and heritage is a primary objective of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference. Being intimately dependent on wildlife and environment for our survival as a people, we have a very special interest in Arctic research and policy."

This statement underlines the main concern of the ICC for Inuit culture but also provides the link between this objective and the organization's interest in policy decisions in other areas.

Mark R. Gordon, Canadian Vice-President of the ICC in a brief to the Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada expanded upon this primary objective to underline the limit to the ICC's mandate. Mr. Gordon said:

"...the Inuit circumpolar world is marked by considerable variety in terms of economic and political traditions and experience. We believe that this variety provides a useful learning situation. None of our peoples is looking to merging our variety in a new Arctic state, and that point must be made clearly. Rather, we are using our common language and heritage as a basis for cooperation and for renewing our social and cultural values."

## **2.2 Objectives**

Tied to the overall purpose or mandate of the ICC mentioned in Section 2.1 are a number of operational objectives or functions. These are also mentioned in the Charter. They can be grouped under four broad headings:

- Ensuring co-ordination of Inuit activities in the circumpolar region; through
  - the General Assembly,
  - Executive Council,
  - Committees/Commissions,
  - Permanent Secretariat,
  - Regional Offices;
- Advancement of Inuit interests at governmental levels; through
  - the establishment of policies, principles and positions in matters affecting Inuit and the circumpolar region, in accordance with resolutions duly passed for such purposes,
  - supporting action for political, economic and social justice for Inuit,
  - participating in, or making representations to, international organizations concerned with matters affecting Inuit interests,
  - undertaking action, where necessary, in accordance with resolutions duly passed for such purposes,
  - recommending measures to be taken to further Inuit common interests;



- Broadening of general public awareness; through
  - dissemination of information to the international community,
  - presentations to national and international organizations.
- Exchange of information among Inuit and increasing Inuit awareness; through
  - support of cultural, educational and other exchanges,
  - undertaking and assisting research in areas of interest to Inuit,
  - furthering the exchange of information among member parties.

The ICC attempts to meet these objectives in the following general areas:

- International Arctic Policy Development
 

The ICC promotes greater coordination of Arctic policy among the circumpolar nations and Inuit participation by member parties in the formulation of policy in their country.
- Environmental Protection
 

The ICC interests are in the protection of the environment and sound management of renewable resources for use by Inuit. The emphasis is on the marine environment and the coordination of policy among circumpolar nations.
- Language, Education and Culture
 

The ICC promotes the maintenance of Inuit language and culture and encourages communication and exchange among the member parties.

- Economic Development

The ICC is interested in the exchange of information on the development of renewable and non-renewable resources and promotes closer economic ties among the member parties and circumpolar nations.

These areas of Inuit interest link to the federal government's policy of balanced northern development which respects the desires of northerners while pursuing economic development of the North at an acceptable pace. This policy has been expressed continually by Ministers of Indian Affairs and Northern Development over the years. The specific interests of the federal government are reviewed in Section 2.8.

### **2.3 Organizational Structure**

The Charter sets down the principal organizations of the ICC as the General Assembly, the Executive Council and a Secretariat. At the 1983 General Assembly a resolution was passed creating the ICC Elder's Conference within the ICC. This structure is shown in Figure 2-1.

#### **2.3.1 The General Assembly**

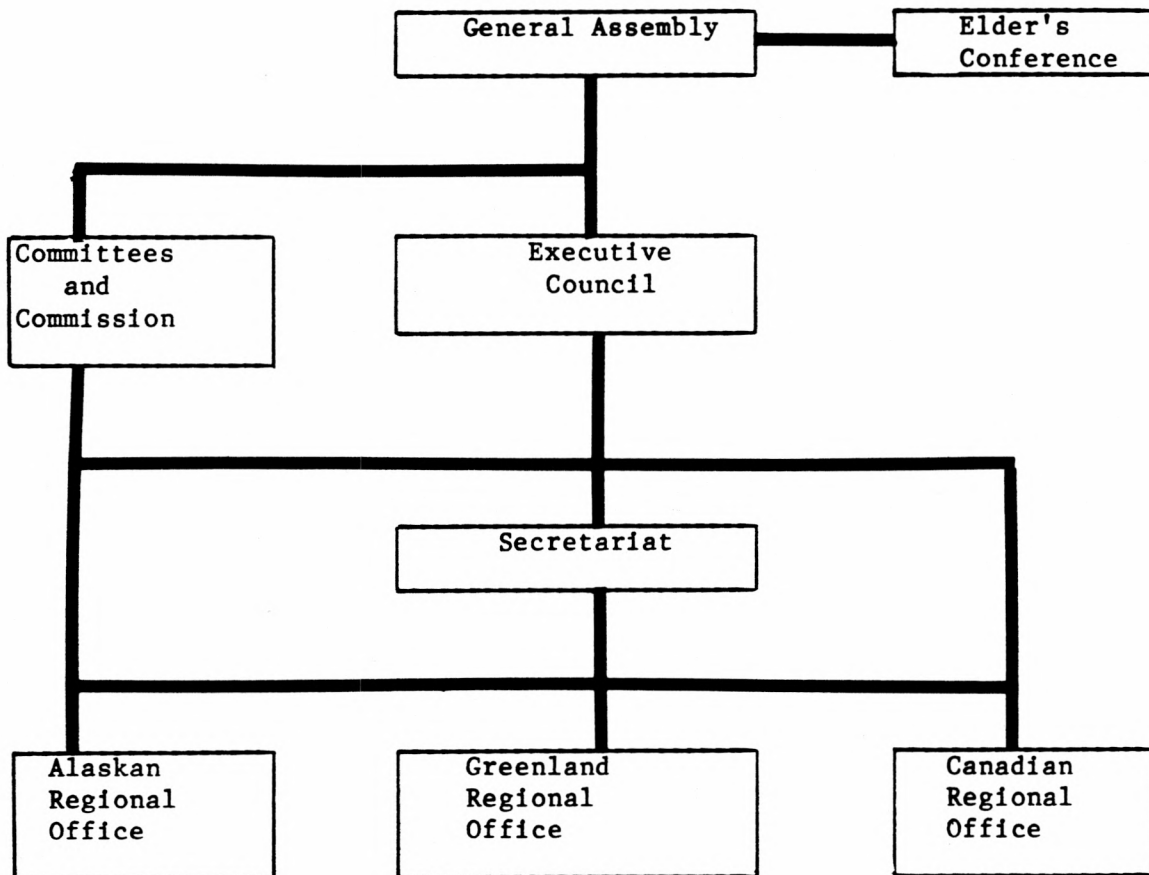
The Assembly consists of 18 delegates from each country. Each country selects its delegates according to its traditions. In Greenland delegates are chosen by a number of organizations: the Home Rule Government, the four political parties, the K.N.A.P.K. (the Greenland Hunters and Fisherman's Association), the S.I.K. (the umbrella labour union in Greenland), the Women's Association, the Students' Association, the Municipalities' Association and the Sheep Farmers' Association. In Canada, three delegates are selected by each of the six regional Inuit groups: Labrador, Quebec, Baffin, Keewatin, Kitikmeot (Central Arctic) and COPE. There is no formal provision for representation from ITC. The Canadian delegates are never fixed; substitutions and changes are made even during the Assembly.

The General Assembly meets every three years. The frequency of the meetings has been limited by financial and human resources. However, there is no current pressure to change the frequency of Assemblies.

The Assembly location rotates from one country to the next and the order has been Alaska, Greenland and Canada. The next Assembly in 1986 will be held in Alaska. The next Canadian Assembly will be held in 1992.

The host country is responsible for the organization of each Assembly. In Canada, the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC), which officially represents Canadian Inuit was responsible for the organization of the 1983 Assembly, since there was no Canadian ICC regional office established at that time. The ITC Board of Directors selected Frobisher Bay, which is ITC's northern headquarters, as the site. A strong but unsuccessful attempt was made by Makivik Corporation to host the 1983 Assembly in Chimo.

Figure 2-1  
Organizational Structure of the ICC



N.B. In theory, regional offices report to ICC President and the Secretariat. In practice, the Canadian office reports to the Canadian members of the Executive Council and the Canadian Vice President. This practical reporting is supported by requirement for unanimous support by each member country of Executive Council decisions.

The agenda for the Assembly and the preparation and organization of background material for the Assemblies are the responsibility of the Executive Council and the Secretariat. However, the agenda is flexible and can be changed easily at the Assembly. Resolutions for consideration can come from anywhere – Executive Council, ICC committee or individual delegates. The Assembly is a very open forum.

The languages of the Assembly are the six or seven Inuit dialects and English. Simultaneous translation is provided. A Resolution in 1980 proclaimed Inuktitut as the official language of the ICC. Given the number of Alaskans who speak only English this resolution is interpreted as a goal rather than a current reality.

National caucuses are held on at least a daily basis during the Assembly. At these caucuses the national delegations and their advisors work out positions. In the Canadian caucus votes are taken on any issue of importance.

A number of cultural events are scheduled as an important part of every Assembly. The Alaskans, in particular, insist that the Assembly include opportunities for performances by dance groups, choirs and an opportunity to showcase and celebrate the Inuit culture from each nation.

All power and direction in the ICC flows from the Assembly. It is from the Assembly that the President and Executive derive their power. For this reason the size of the Assembly is considered to be important. At the Frobisher Assembly each country was represented by 18 delegates.

#### 2.3.2 The Executive Council

The President is the senior officer of the ICC and the Executive Council. The position is filled by an election at the Assembly. The President must have a two-thirds majority from each national delegation. The Presidency is not required to rotate nor has it in practice or tradition.

The remainder of the Executive Council is made up of six members, two from each country. The two are selected by each delegation in caucus. One of the two is chosen as the Vice-President for his/her respective country. There is no formal requirement in the Canadian delegation that the executive members represent or rotate among the regional associations. However, at the Frobisher Bay Assembly there was a strong push in the Canadian delegation to ensure that one of Canada's two members be a woman.

A decision cannot be taken by the Executive Council without the support of each delegation. The Executive Council can act for the Assembly when it is not meeting. The Executive Council also controls the budget of the ICC and the Secretariat. The absence of any financial contribution from Canada to the ICC budget or Secretariat has meant that in practical terms Canada has had little influence over financial matters.

#### 2.3.3 The Secretariat

The Secretariat is responsible to the Executive Council and is located in a place determined by the President. The present Secretariat is in Nuuk, Greenland. At present its staff consists of an editor/assistant to the President, a receptionist/secretary, a trainee and the President.

#### 2.3.4 Regional Offices

Regional offices are now located in each country. Canada's was established in Ottawa in December 1983. The Greenland office is located in the Secretariat in Nuuk and the Alaska office is in Anchorage. Each office is staffed by a Special Assistant to the President. In theory then the Regional Office reports to the President. In Canada, the practice has been that the Canadian executive members take responsibility for all ICC activities in Canada including fund-raising, supervision of the regional office, and representation of the ICC in Canada. There has also been some discussion that the Canadian executive and regional office assume a role in on-going relations with the United Nations.

### 2.3.5 Elders' Conference

The first Elders' Conference was held in conjunction with the Assembly in Frobisher Bay. The Elders' conference is a parallel assembly that permits older Inuit from each country the opportunity to discuss and pass resolutions on topics of interest to them. A separate elders' conference reflects Inuit views on the importance of the elderly in the transmission of knowledge from one generation to the next.

A second will be held along with the 1986 Assembly in Alaska. By agreement of the General Assembly, the Elders' resolutions were given equal status to those of the Assembly. The Elders' Conference has elected a President, Thomas Brower of Alaska.

### 2.3.6 Committees and Commissions

Committees and Commissions can be established by resolution of the Assembly or the Executive Council. Each has equal representation from each country. The activity of a Committee or Commission is dependent upon the funding available and the interest of the members and/or staff. There is no difference between Committees and Commissions; they function in the same way. Most are inactive at the moment. They are:

Education, Culture and Language Committee (est. 1977)

Health and Welfare Committee (est. 1977)

Air Transportation Committee (est. 1980)

Economic Relations Committee (est. 1980)

Communications Commission (est. 1980)

Circumpolar Environment Commission (est. 1982)

Inuit Circumpolar Whaling Commission (est. 1980)

The two that have been the most active are Communications and Education and Culture and Language. Each has worked actively with and received funding from government departments in Canada.

The Environment Commission coordinated ICC activities on the Arctic Pilot Project. Canadian participation in the Inuit Circumpolar Whaling Commission was strong because of the Canadian members' experience with

the International Whaling Commission. As well, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development made a special financial contribution to enable Canadian participation in the Inuit Circumpolar Whaling Commission.

At the 1983 Assembly new committees were created for Science, Women and Energy. As well, the ICC established the Alaska Native Review Commission (ANRC), charged with studying the effects of the implementation of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. The Chairman of the ANRC is Justice Thomas Berger. This commission is a special case since it is of direct concern to only one of the participants in the ICC.



## 2.4 Resources

The following is only a preliminary statement of financial resources since the ITC audit of the 1983 Assembly was not available at the time of writing and the Canada Office of the ICC could not provide more accurate information at this time. The audit of the 1983 Assembly is being prepared within the context of the overall ITC audit, which is expected to be completed shortly.

The financial resources needed to run the international ICC have to cover the operations of three functions: the periodic Assemblies, the central Secretariat and the Regional Offices.

### 2.4.1 The Assemblies

The costs of the 1983 Assembly are shown in Table 2-1. It is interesting to note that 37% of all costs were covered by Inuit organizations from the three countries. There is also the precedent of Canadian Inuit organizations contributing to the Assembly. The Canadian Inuit contribution was 12.6% of total cost. As well, the costs of the 1983 Assembly were within the budget and a surplus resulted.

### 2.4.2 The Secretariat

Current contributions to the central ICC Secretariat are as follows:

- The Greenland Home Rule Government contributes about 1.2 million Danish Kroners (or about \$155,000\*);
- Alaska puts in \$250,000;
- Canada has not contributed so far. Alaska has advanced \$250,000 to cover Canada's share.

This amounts to a total budget of about \$655,000.

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\* Canadian dollars

Table 2-1

Costs of the 1983 Assembly (preliminary)

## REVENUE

|                       |               |                |                  |
|-----------------------|---------------|----------------|------------------|
| Cash                  | \$            | \$             | \$               |
| Government            | \$344,000     |                |                  |
| Other                 | 136,949       |                |                  |
| Registration          | 4,525         |                |                  |
| Promotional Sales     | <u>13,650</u> |                |                  |
|                       |               | \$499,124      |                  |
| Service Contributions |               | <u>299,938</u> |                  |
| Total Revenues        |               |                | <u>\$799,062</u> |

|                           |               |                |                  |
|---------------------------|---------------|----------------|------------------|
| EXPENSES                  | \$            | \$             | \$               |
| Planning                  | \$ 34,746     |                |                  |
| Conference Mgmt.          | 82,170        |                |                  |
| Fund Raising              | 30,023        |                |                  |
| Logistics Services        | 164,244       |                |                  |
| Communications Media      | 75,500        |                |                  |
| Cultural                  | 17,349        |                |                  |
| Elders                    | <u>40,005</u> |                |                  |
|                           |               | \$444,037      |                  |
| Add Back Donated Services |               | <u>299,938</u> |                  |
|                           |               |                | <u>\$743,975</u> |
| Balance Retaining         |               |                | \$ 55,087        |

Still to pay Nordair, Kiguk, Auditors, Salaries, Interest on Makivik Loan

SERVICE CONTRIBUTIONS

|               |              |
|---------------|--------------|
| ITC           | \$ 5,000*    |
| CUIO          | 19,000       |
| DIAND         | 37,000       |
| G.N.W.T       | 25,828       |
| Alaska ICC    | 122,500*     |
| Greenland ICC | 73,500*      |
| Nordair       | 4,500        |
| ITC           | 5,000*       |
| Makivik       | 2,000*       |
|               | <u>5,610</u> |
|               | \$299,938    |

INUIT ORGANIZATIONS (see under "Other")CASH

|                |                  |
|----------------|------------------|
| TFN            | \$50,000         |
| ICNI           | 5,000            |
| Makivik        | 10,000           |
| Nunasi         | 5,000            |
| Municipalities | 18,925           |
| Villages       | <u>\$88,925*</u> |

\* Inuit Organizations covered 37% of all costs

### 2.4.3 Regional Offices (Canada)

The ICC Canadian Regional Office, established in December 1983, is currently establishing a budget. Indications are that a realistic budget, according to that Office, could be about \$515,600, broken down as follows:

#### ICC Canada Proposed Budget

|  |                  |
|--|------------------|
| ICC Canadian Regional Office   |                  |
| Special Assistant  | \$ 40,000        |
| Secretary/Researcher   | 20,000           |
| Phone, telex, photocopy, rent,<br>supplies   | 24,000           |
| Resource consultants   | 40,000           |
| Travel within Canada   |                  |
| - Executive  |                  |
| 8 trips x \$2,000  | 16,000           |
| - Staff  |                  |
| 6 trips x \$2,000  | <u>12,000</u>    |
|  | \$152,000        |
| Contribution to ICC International  | \$250,000        |
| ICC Committee Work   |                  |
| - 8 committees x 2 meetings<br>annually, 2 persons at each meeting<br>(1 member, 1 resource person) = 32 |                  |
| - each meeting: 3 days + 4 days<br>travel at \$150 per day = \$1050                                      |                  |
| - average travel cost \$2,500 per meeting<br>per person  |                  |
| 32 x \$1050 + 32 x \$2500 =  | <u>\$113,600</u> |
| TOTAL  | \$515,600        |

The Makivik Corp. has advanced about \$18,000 to launch the ICC Canadian Regional Office. For its part, DIAND has provided publishing, translation, and information services to Inuit organizations involved with the ICC.

## 2.5 Activities

The principal activities of the ICC fall into four categories:

- co-ordination functions;
- policy development and advancement;
- Inuit information exchange;
- public awareness.

Co-ordination functions are considered valid activities since they are a pre-requisite to meeting the mandate of the ICC. Moreover, these activities reflect on the effectiveness of the Secretariat and regional offices.

The principal activities under these four categories are as follows:

- co-ordination functions:
  - establishing relations between the central Secretariat and the regional offices, as well as with Committees and the general public,
  - planning General Assemblies,
  - establishing and maintaining exchange programs,
  - pursuing the participation of Siberian Inuit to the ICC,
  - communicating with other international agencies.
- policy development and advancement:
  - applying for NGO status with the UN,
  - preparing interventions in a number of areas of interest to the Inuit.
- Inuit information exchange:
  - publishing written and visual material,
  - responding to information requests,
  - supporting various cultural exchanges.

- public awareness:
  - publishing articles, speeches,
  - participating in conferences,
  - emphasizing special events.

## 2.6 Outputs

The key outputs or results of co-ordination include the following:

- an effective relationship of the Secretariat to the regional offices, to the Committees and Commissions, to governments, to Inuit groups, and to the community at large;
- the establishment of the Canadian Regional Office;
- three General Assemblies have been held to date;
- information service to various constituencies;
- umbrella exchange program (ie. Tikivik-Tikiffik Foundation) and academic exchange programs;
- follow-up on participation of Siberian Inuit;
- ties with other international agencies (eg. UN);
- the establishment of Eben Hopson Chair at McGill University.

### 2.6.1 Policy Development and Advancement

A number of initiatives have been taken to advance Inuit interests.

These include:

- receiving NGO status with the UN on May 12th, 1983;
- intervention in the Arctic Pilot Project\* hearings;

---

\* The Arctic Pilot Project is a plan to transport liquefied natural gas from the Arctic Islands to southern markets by ice-breaking tankers

- opposition to international anti-sealing campaign;
- draft revisions to international migratory treaty to de-criminalize subsistence hunting;
- the formation of the Alaska Native Review Commission headed by Justice Thomas Berger;
- intervention in congressional hearings regarding the US Arctic Research and Policy Act;
- development of a position on whaling through the Inuit Circumpolar Whaling Commission;
- on-going development of a comprehensive Arctic Policy;
- brief to the Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada.

Other initiatives will flow from the Resolutions passed at the 1983 General Assembly (see Appendix 4).

#### 2.6.2 Inuit Information Exchange

As well, a number of activities are geared to facilitating the flow of information among the Inuit. The related outputs include:

- publication of the ICC magazine;
- responses to numerous information requests between ICC regional offices and member parties;
- cultural and educational exchanges;
- interviews and articles in Inuit media;
- invitation to Siberian Inuit;
- interchange of videotapes through the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation.

### 2.6.3 Public Awareness

A number of activities were engaged in to make the ICC known, which resulted in the following outputs:

- publication of articles (eg. report of the 1983 General Assembly in Inuit Today);
- speeches;
- participation in conferences;
- art auction (Washington, DC);
- translation and publication of the book "Oil and Amulets";
- the Tuukkag Theatre (Denmark); performances in Canada and US;
- reception for foreign embassy officials, politicians, government officials and press in December 1983.

## **2.7 Impacts and Effects**

The principal impacts and effects of ICC activities can be summarized as follows.

### **2.7.1 Co-ordination Functions**

The intended effects include:

- increased opportunities for Inuit to meet, exchange views and develop policies;
- improved networking among Inuit leaders and people;
- more effective presence in various forums;
- improved information base.

The unintended effects include:

- better co-ordination means that cultural differences are highlighted which could possibly lead to comparisons of desirable and undesirable cultural differences;
- unequal contributions by national groups could lead to tensions.

### **2.7.2 Policy Development and Advancement**

The intended effects of this activity include:

- exchange of ideas and policies between Inuit from different political systems;
- improved articulation of Inuit views;
- advancement of positions at both the international and national governmental levels;
- increased awareness by decision-makers of Inuit interests and policies;
- improved decision-making by international and national institutions.



Unintended effects include:

- possible tensions within segments of the Inuit community which feel that they are carried along by others or which feel that their views did not prevail;
- possible friction with national governments and agencies over economic development plans.

#### 2.7.3 Inuit Information Exchange

The intended effects of this activity include:

- increased Inuit awareness of other Inuit;
- interchange of ideas and cultural experience among Inuit;
- increased Inuit support for ICC.

One unintended effect could be that the highlighting of differences could lead to tensions.

#### 2.7.4 Public Awareness

The intended effects of this activity include:

- increased public awareness of issues;
- increased support for the ICC.

One unintended effect is the possibility of unfavourable press for the Inuit in general or specific parties in particular.

## **2.8 Federal Government Interests**

The interests of the Federal Government overlap with those of the ICC as reflected in the mandates of various departments. The principal interactions between the ICC mandate and the responsibilities of those departments that contributed financially to the Frobisher Bay Assembly are indicated in Table 2-2.

More specifically, the federal government program objectives are as follows\*:

### **Indian Affairs and Northern Development**

- to assist the native residents to preserve and develop their culture;
- to contribute to the protection and enhancement of the northern environment and the enlargement of opportunities for recreation;
- to manage the natural resources of the North and to stimulate economic development and employment opportunities for northern residents;

### **External Affairs**

- to facilitate the expansion of economic, cultural, scientific and technological relations with other countries;

### **Energy, Mines and Resources**

- to ensure the orderly development of adequate and secure sources of petroleum to meet Canada's energy requirements;
- to contribute to the orderly scientific investigation of Canada's polar continental shelf, the contiguous Arctic Ocean and mainland regions and to maintain and improve the logistics required for scientific investigations in the Arctic environment;

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\* these objectives were selected from the Estimates (ie. the "Blue Book") as being related in any manner or form with the North or the work of the ICC

Table 2-2

The Interaction of the ICC Mandate with Those of Interested  
Federal Government Departments

| ICC Mandate  | DIAND | EA | EMR | NHW | F&O | SoS | DOE |
|--|-------|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| The ICC Charter states that the purposes of the organization are:  |       |    |     |     |     |     |     |
| - to strengthen unity among the Inuit of the circumpolar region;   |       |    |     |     |     |     |     |
| - to promote Inuit rights and interests on the international level;  |       |    |     |     |     |     |     |
| - to ensure adequate Inuit participation in political, economic and social institutions which we, the Inuit, deem relevant;  |       | X  |     | X   |     | X   |     |
| - to promote greater self-sufficiency of Inuit in the circumpolar region;  |       |    |     |     |     |     |     |
| - to ensure the endurance and the growth of Inuit culture and societies for both present and future generations;   | X     |    |     | X   |     |     |     |
| - to promote long-term management and protection of arctic and sub-arctic wildlife, environment and biological productivity;   | X     |    |     |     | X   |     | X   |
| - to promote wise management and use of non-renewable resources in the present and future development of Inuit economies, taking into account other Inuit interests. | X     |    | X   |     |     |     |     |

#### National Health and Welfare

- to assist Indians, Inuit and other eligible Canadians, and residents of the Northwest and Yukon Territories, to attain a standard of health comparable to that of other Canadians;
- to provide leadership and co-ordination in assisting the provinces and territories to bring their health and social services to, and maintain them at, national standards;

#### Fisheries and Oceans

- to perform, promote and assist research in the conservation, increase and use of aquatic renewable resources and on the biological productivity of the aquatic environment;

#### Secretary of State

- to assist native people in defining and achieving their place in Canadian society;

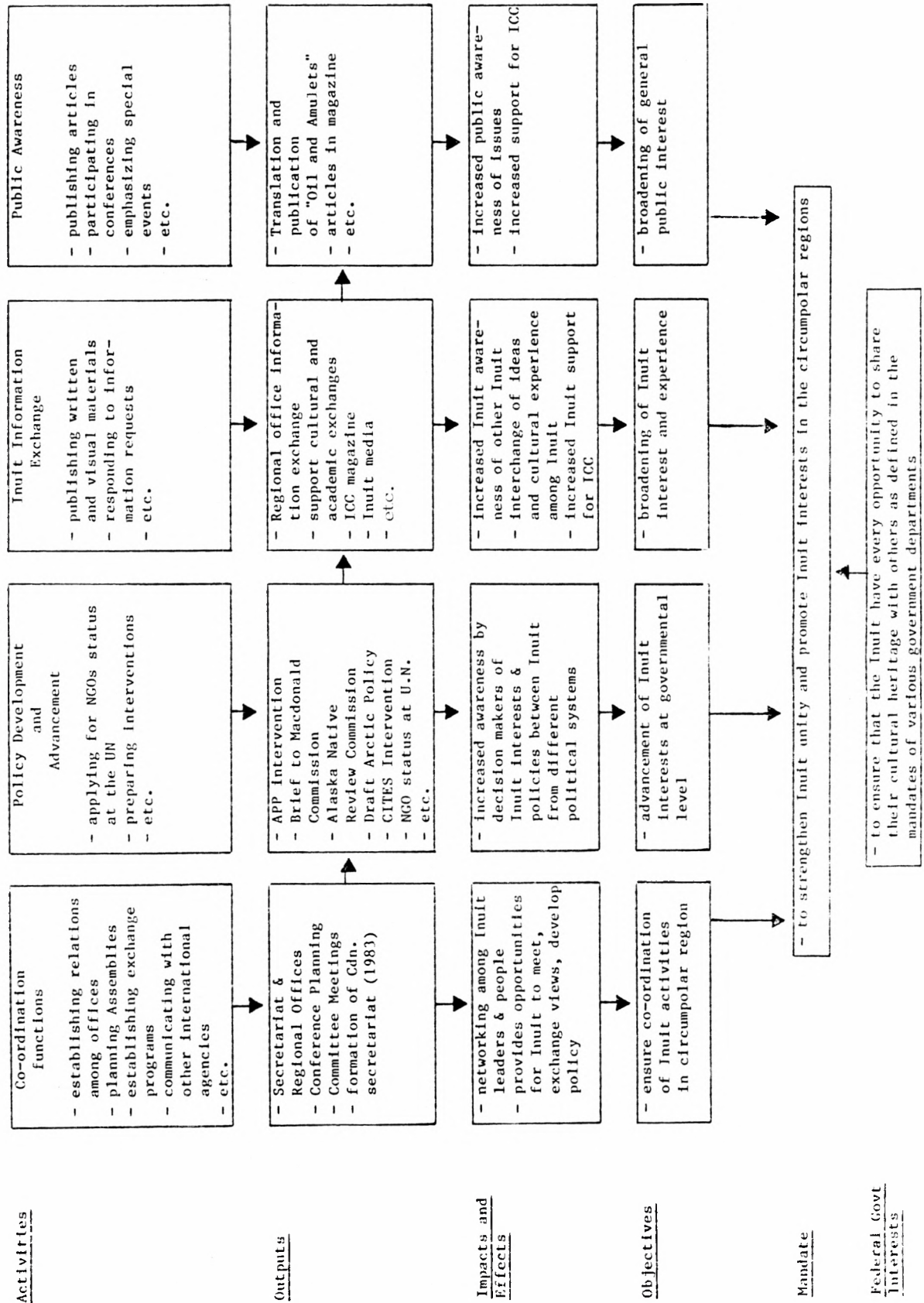
#### Department of the Environment

- to conserve and manage wildlife resources including migratory birds and their habitat in Canada.

## **2.9 Component Structure**

The Component Structure, as developed in the previous sections, is shown in Figure 2-2: The Component Logic Chart links activities, outputs, impacts and effects, objectives, mandate as well as federal government interests in the ICC. The federal government interest is a composite of the interests of various departments.

Figure 2-2  
COMPONENT LOGIC CHART



### 3.0 EVALUATION STUDY APPROACH

ICC activities are characterized by their process orientation (ie., exchange of views), whereby quantifiable outputs are difficult to identify. Therefore, a highly qualitative, three pronged approach was chosen:

- evaluation by analogy to other similar "assembly" type programs that receive support from the federal government;
- evaluation by constituency support, that is the interest of the Inuit in providing financial and other material assistance to the ICC; and
- evaluation by contribution to government policy objectives.

This was the basic approach used to answer the nine specific issues addressed in Section 4.0. The information was collected mainly through interviews. The interview guide can be found in Appendix 2. The list of interviewees is given in Appendix 3. Reliance on interviews was necessary because of the limited amount of written material on the Inuit side.

The key indicators related to this approach were for:

- evaluation by analogy:
  - organizational parallels with other bodies,
  - terms and conditions attached to funding,
  - accountability mechanisms,
  - delivery mechanisms.
- evaluation by constituency support:
  - knowledge of the activities of the ICC,
  - willingness to support the ICC financially,
  - use of materials generated by the ICC,
  - perceptions of the impact of the ICC to date.



- evaluation by contributions to government policy objectives:
  - identification of specific federal government objectives met by supporting the ICC,
  - perceptions of federal government officials regarding role of ICC vis-a-vis government objectives,
  - perceptions of Inuit regarding role of government in ICC.

The persons interviewed were selected from the list of agencies provided in the terms of reference for the study subject to their availability. The interviews were mainly undertaken by Project Team members Murray Coolican and Timothy Denton for the Inuit and federal government officials respectively. While they generally followed the interview guide (Appendix 2) the interview process had to be adapted to each interview. Reconciliation of Inuit and government views was achieved through discussions within the Project Team and the preparation of various drafts of the final report.

The interview process was complemented by the review of available documentation such as the materials provided for and resulting from the 1983 Frobisher Assembly and internal government documentation related to various aspects of the evolution of the ICC since its establishment in 1977. Financial data regarding costs of the Frobisher Assembly was provided by the ITC. Budget estimates for the operation of the Canadian Regional Office were provided by that office.

Obtaining reliable information centered on discussing the issues of Section 4.0 with a number of Inuit and federal government representatives. Focussing on the same issues with a variety of people indicated a consensus on a number of important points related to the above evaluation indicators. For example, both Inuit and federal government officials generally supported the ICC because its activities contributed to their respective objectives. However, the analysis was highly qualitative. Quantification remains suspect where a limited number of individuals are interviewed.



#### **4.0 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS**

The findings are presented by addressing each evaluation question posed in the terms of reference for the study (see Appendix 1).

##### **4.1 Issue I**

The questions to be addressed under this issue were divided into those elements relating to the ICC and to DIAND respectively.

The questions now read:

- A) "What are objectives of the ICC and in particular the Frobisher Bay Assembly? To what extent were the objectives of the ICC met by the Frobisher Bay Assembly?"
- B) "What DIAND objectives does the ICC support or address? To what extent were the objectives of DIAND met by the Frobisher Bay Assembly?"

##### **A) Objectives of ICC and Frobisher Bay Assembly**

The objectives of the ICC were outlined in detail in the Profile (see section 2.2). In summary they are:

- Ensuring co-ordination of Inuit activities.
- Advancement of Inuit interests at governmental levels.
- Broadening of general public awareness.
- Broadening of Inuit interest and experience.

The ICC attempts to meet these objectives in the following general areas:

- International Arctic Policy Development
- Environmental Protection
- Language, Education and Culture
- Economic Development

In his letter of December 16, 1982, to the Minister of IAND, John Amagoalik, President of Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC) wrote:

"The purpose of the Assembly is to bring together spokesmen from all areas of the Inuit homeland, to foster greater understanding amongst ourselves and to bring each other up to date on the many important political, economic, social and cultural developments taking place in each of our regions."

These objectives are similar to those of the ICC as stated above. Further, the Assemblies are considered to be a major vehicle for the achievement of the objectives. Therefore the objectives of the ICC and the Frobisher Bay Assembly are not separated in this discussion.

To What Extent were the Objectives Met?

The answer to this question is based upon the results of the Assembly - resolutions passed and media reports - and upon the interviews conducted with Inuit leaders. It is important to note that the questions posed were not related to objectives but to the Assembly's accomplishments and problems (see Appendix 2).

- Ensuring Co-ordination of Inuit Activities in the Circumpolar Region  
The Frobisher Bay Assembly brought together Inuit delegates from the circumpolar region - Alaska, Greenland and Canada, elders attending the Elders' conference and entertainers to participate in the cultural performances. The Assembly allowed for two meetings of the ICC Executive Committee to take place. In addition, Canadian delegates met in a caucus on several occasions.

As Mark Gordon, Canadian Vice-President of ICC said in his interview:

"Assemblies of the people are an old tradition of Inuit in the Arctic. There used to be mass meetings of the people for cultural events and to pass judgements. The ICC Assemblies are a natural extension of this cultural activity. Only the distances and areas covered are different."

The Inuit interviews underlined the importance to the Inuit of simply coming together across the boundaries and distances of the circumpolar world. Approximately half of those interviewed mentioned this as an important accomplishment. One recalled the sign at the first ICC assembly in Barrow, Alaska which read "Welcome Home to Barrow". Another stated that while some of the leaders have attended international meetings before, there is always a contingent that has not yet experienced the discovery of meeting Inuit who live so far away, are different and yet so much alike.

- Advancement of Inuit Interests at Governmental Levels\*

The contribution of the Assembly to this objective is difficult to measure. The most important activities of the Assembly toward meeting this objective were the writing of, debates about, and voting upon resolutions the majority of which were addressed to governments. Representatives of government were in attendance and the resolutions were passed along to the Government of Canada.

However, from the interviews, most of the Inuit who attended the Assembly responded that the discussion of policy issues at the Assembly was its main accomplishment. Five of those mentioned the work on Arctic Policy as being significant. Only one of those interviewed mentioned a disappointment with the policy discussions as a problem with the Assembly.

- Broadening of General Public Awareness

The Assembly received broad coverage in the southern media. John Amagoalik's letter of October 24, 1983 to the Minister makes reference to the coverage in Canada and the United States. Information supplied to the consultants by the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (IBC) also draws attention to the extensive media coverage.

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\* further discussion of this topic as it pertains to Canada can be found in Sections 4.5 and 4.6

- Exchange of Information Among Inuit and Increasing Inuit Awareness

The achievement of this objective is in part answered in the discussion of the first objective. The opportunity to meet, to discuss and exchange views and information with other Inuit was considered a major accomplishment of the Assembly. Roger Gruben, a COPE delegate, said:

"It was a good place to work out common solutions. It was good for us to hear other experiences."

Mark Gordon also referred to specific exchanges of information in the economic development workshop on renewable resource investments from the Greenlanders, and oil and gas developments from the Alaskans.

The second part of this objective, increasing Inuit awareness, was certainly met for those attending the Assembly. Two of those interviewed mentioned directly their increased awareness as a result of the Assembly of Inuit experience not just in Alaska and Greenland but in their own country as well.

Rosemarie Kuptana of Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (IBC) also drew attention to the live coverage given by IBC of the Assembly. William Anderson III, now President of LIA, stated that his only knowledge of the Assembly came from IBC's and other media coverage. In addition, the video and radio tapes of cultural entertainment have been rebroadcast many times since the Assembly.

The section on objectives also discusses the issue areas in which the ICC attempts to meet its objectives:

- International Arctic Policy Development
- Environmental Protection
- Language, Education and Culture
- Economic Development

When asked about the accomplishments of the Assembly, at least one of these areas was mentioned by every Inuit interviewee. (Appendix 4 contains a summary of the resolutions grouped under the issue areas above.)

There were other conclusions drawn from the interviews with Inuit leaders which do not fit easily into a discussion of objectives. Nevertheless they are important to the evaluation.

The cultural side of the conference was mentioned by just over 50% of the Inuit interviewees as a significant accomplishment. In addition to the informal exchanges which go on, the scheduled cultural activities and entertainment are seen as an important affirmation of Inuit culture, its differences and its links across thousands of miles of territory. As well, the Elders Conference, held for the first time at Frobisher Bay, was referred to by Peter Green, President of COPE, as a cultural achievement affirming the Inuit respect for the opinions and views of their elders.

When asked about problems, approximately 75% of Inuit interviewees referred to logistical foul-ups. These problems could be divided into two categories - first those related to financial difficulties and second the logistical problems of bringing so many people from such great distances into a small community with no previous experience in hosting conferences the size of the Frobisher Bay Assembly.

Two issues were mentioned by Inuit interviewees which take away from the sense of unity which the ICC attempts to encourage. The first is Canada's ability to participate in the ICC - to give financial support to the Secretariat and to an active organization in Canada. In spite of the contribution of Canadian Inuit and the Canadian government to the assembly itself, many of the Canadian Inuit attending continued to feel that they were looked upon as the "welfare cases" of the international Inuit movement, unable to pay their own way or to contribute their share.

A second concern expressed by Mark Gordon was his "disappointment" that the presidency did not go to Canada at the 1983 Assembly as many had expected. This establishes a precedent that the presidency of the ICC needs not rotate from one country to the next every three years. It also reinforced the isolation the Canadians felt due to their inability to contribute financially to the ongoing operations of the ICC.

The problems of the Assembly were considered to be logistical and not substantive. Considering the funding uncertainty, the location of the Assembly and its size, these problems should not be considered significant.

In conclusion, the Assembly was successful in meeting its own objectives and those of the ICC.

#### B) Objectives of DIAND and the Frobisher Bay Assembly

The rationale for DIAND support of the Frobisher Bay Assembly is clearly stated in the Preamble to the Funding Agreement signed between the Crown and ITC on November 1, 1983:

"...The Minister attaches importance to ensuring that the Inuit have every opportunity to share their cultural heritage with the Inuit of Alaska and Greenland and to promote an awareness of Canada's cultural diversity."

The DIAND objectives which have been identified as relevant to the ICC are as follows:

- i) To assist the native residents to preserve and develop their culture;
- ii) To contribute to the protection and enhancement of the northern environment and the enlargement of opportunities for recreation; and
- iii) To manage the natural resources of the North and to stimulate economic development and employment opportunities for northern residents.

The first DIAND objective relevant to the ICC is "To assist the northern residents to preserve and develop their culture". This objective has been clearly addressed in the ICC Charter through its statement of purposes, in particular:

- to strengthen unity among the Inuit of the circumpolar region; and
- to ensure the endurance and the growth of Inuit culture and societies for both present and future generations.



The following ICC outputs serve as support for the first DIAND objective: publication of the ICC magazine, cultural and information exchanges, interviews with articles in Inuit media, invitation to Siberian Inuit, interchange of videotapes through the IBC, publication of articles, speeches, participation in conferences, art auction, translation and publication of "Oil and Amulets" and cultural performances.

At the level of written output, the resolutions of the Frobisher Bay Assembly obviously address the DIAND objective relating to culture. In particular, the following resolutions addressed and supported this objective:

- 83-03 Soviet participation in the ICC
- 83-13 ICC-NGO Status
- 83-06 Inuit Art
- 83-09 ICC Elders' Conference
- E-03-83 Resolution in Inuit Education
- 83-16 A Uniform Inuit Writing System
- 83-18 Inuit Philosophy of Education
- 83-29 Communications

(For details of these resolutions, see Appendix 4).

A less formal but equally persuasive argument for the relevance of ICC activities vis-a-vis this DIAND objective emerged from our interviews with DIAND and other government officials. A majority of these officials interviewed indicated that the ICC occupies a unique niche that could not be filled by other organizations. All government officials interviewed felt that the Assembly was a valuable forum for the exchange of views and for cultural activities among the Circumpolar Inuit.

In the preceding section, we have indicated that the Frobisher Bay Assembly was successful in addressing the following ICC objectives:

- Ensuring co-ordination of Inuit Activities in the Circumpolar Region; and
- Exchange of Information among Inuit and Increasing Inuit Awareness.

Insofar as the Assembly was successful in meeting these ICC objectives, and on the basis of our interviews with government officials, we are confident that the DIAND objective "To assist the native residents to preserve and develop their culture" has been substantially met by the Frobisher Bay Assembly.

However, while the other two DIAND objectives are relevant to the ICC it is less clear that there is congruence between the interests of DIAND and the ICC vis-a-vis these objectives. The ICC views on environmental protection and economic development could differ significantly from government policy in these areas. In these two areas, DIAND does not "assist" the Inuit as in the first instance. Therefore, while we are able to conclude that the ICC addresses these two DIAND objectives we cannot conclude that the ICC necessarily supports DIAND's interpretation of these objectives or that the Frobisher Bay Assembly met the latter two objectives. Each individual policy stance of the ICC would have to be reviewed within the context of the government's policy stances in regard to balanced development in the North.

#### **4.2 Issue 2**

"How and to what extent did a) DIAND's financial contribution and b) the financial support of the Government of Canada in general assist the Assembly in meeting both its own objectives and departmental (DIAND) objectives?"

The Canadian Government provided funds and services equivalent to \$386,000 to help defray the costs of the Frobisher Bay Assembly. The departmental contributions are as follows:



|                  |                 |             |
|------------------|-----------------|-------------|
| DIAND            | \$235,000       | 60.8%       |
| External Affairs | \$ 85,000       | 22.0%       |
| EMR              | \$ 25,000       | 6.0%        |
| NHW              | \$ 15,000       | 3.9%        |
| FO               | \$ 15,000       | 3.9%        |
| Sec. State       | \$ 6,000        | 1.6%        |
| DOE              | <u>\$ 5,000</u> | <u>1.3%</u> |
|                  | \$386,000       | 99.5%*      |

The preliminary statement of costs provided to us by ITC and shown in this report (Table 2-1) indicates that \$344,000 of the federal contribution was expended along with \$37,000 from DIAND in services. This represents 48% of the Frobisher Bay Assembly's total revenues, most of which was contributed by DIAND. If contributions from government departments are deducted from the preliminary financial report on the 1983 Assembly, the following scenario results:

#### REVENUE

|  |               |                |
|--|---------------|----------------|
| Other                                      | \$136,949     |                |
| Registration                               | 4,525         |                |
| Promotional Sales                          | <u>13,650</u> |                |
|  |               | \$155,124      |
| Service Contributions<br>(excluding DIAND) |               | <u>262,938</u> |
|  |               | \$418,062      |

#### EXPENSES

|                           |                   |                |
|---------------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Planning                  | \$ 34,746         |                |
| Conference Mngm.          | 82,170            |                |
| Logistics Services        | 164,244           |                |
| Communications Media      | 75,500            |                |
| Cultural                  | 17,349            |                |
| Elders                    | <u>40,005</u>     |                |
|                           |                   | \$414,014      |
| Add Back Donated Services |                   | <u>262,938</u> |
|                           |                   | \$676,942      |
|                           | Resulting Deficit | (\$258,880)    |

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\* does not exactly add up to 100% because of rounding

In short, government contributions, of which DIAND paid the lion's share, avoided throwing the ICC into a severe deficit situation (over \$1/4 million) as a result of the Frobisher Bay Assembly. Such a financial situation could only impede the future attainment of ICC objectives and the corresponding DIAND ones.

Of the 8 Inuit interviewees who answered this question all acknowledged that the federal government contribution to the Assembly was absolutely critical. As John Amagoalik said:

"The Assembly wouldn't have happened without it."

As Roger Gruben, a COPE delegate, said:

"Everyone gave credit to the federal government for their financial support."

Therefore, Inuit objectives would not have been met without government funding since the Assembly would not have been held.

Government representatives were also unanimous in saying that federal funding was essential to the success of the Frobisher Bay Assembly. Therefore, the funding was essential to meeting DIAND's objective "to assist the native residents to preserve and develop their culture".

#### 4.3 Issue 3

"To what extent was DIAND's financial contribution to the Assembly utilized in an effective and efficient manner?"

As discussed in answer to the previous two issues, DIAND's financial contribution was effective in that it was considered critical to the Assembly being held. The fact that the Assembly was held contributed to the objectives of both the ICC and DIAND.

It is not possible to assess the efficiency of the expenditures at this time because of the lack of an official audit.\* However, based on the consultants' past experience in organizing conferences in both the South and the North, the budget for an Assembly of this size and in that region of Canada seems appropriate. The fact that the expenses of \$743,975 (see Table 2-1) were within the forecasted expenditures of \$759,600 is an indication that the funds were used effectively and efficiently. Moreover, as Mark R. Gordon, Canadian Vice-President of the ICC said:

"This is the first Assembly where all funds could be accounted for. And the Assembly was larger than previous ones requiring more planning and organization"

#### 4.4 Issue 4

"What is the level of support for the ICC by existing Canadian Inuit organizations? What documentation do these organizations have to indicate broad-based support among Canadian Inuit for the ICC?"

All of the existing regional organizations which represent the Inuit in different regions of the country: i.e.,

Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement (Inuvialuit of Western Arctic)

Labrador Inuit Association

Kitikmeot Inuit Association

Keewatin Inuit Association

Baffin Region Inuit Association

Makivik Corporation (Northern Quebec Inuit)

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\* The audit of the 1983 Assembly is forthcoming

supported the ICC through representation at the Frobisher Bay Assembly. In addition, the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, which in theory includes all the regional organizations, hosted the Frobisher Bay Assembly and provides office space to the ICC Canadian Regional Office. The interviews with Inuit confirmed this support and provided no evidence to the contrary. The interviews also revealed support from Rosemarie Kuptana, President of IBC, and Tagak Curley, a member of the Northwest Territories legislative assembly, Minister of Economic Development, and former President of the Nunasi Development Corporation.

The level of this support is more difficult to measure accurately. For this study, measurements are based upon financial contributions, extent of involvement in ICC activities, utilization of outputs and responses in the interviews.

#### Regional Variation

First, we have noted that the level of support for the ICC varies from region to region across the country. In our opinion this variance reflects the different resources available to each region, the different priorities of the regional organizations and their relation to ICC priorities.

For example, the Baffin Region Inuit Association (BRIA) and ITC have had more contact with the on-going activities of the ICC. At the Nuuk Assembly in 1980 the issue of Arctic marine tankers was highlighted in a workshop and in resolutions as a priority for the ICC. The first major project proposed, the Arctic Pilot Project, was seen by the Greenlanders, BRIA and ITC to have potentially significant impacts for them. Their work together in the APP working group, a committee to exchange information, and on submissions to the National Energy Board provided opportunities for continuing contact and interchange from 1980 until 1982 when the APP began to disappear from view.

COPE's involvement with the ICC has been very different. Since the mid-1970s when it began to focus on its own land claims negotiations as a separate group, COPE has attended few meetings of the ITC Board of

Directors or ITC's Annual General Meetings. COPE has had close ties with the Alaskans who have already settled their claims and are closer geographically. For these reasons, since 1980 when the direction of ICC moved from Alaska to Greenland, COPE has had little on-going contact with the ICC Secretariat in Greenland or the on-going activities of the ICC in Canada. However, in spite of COPE's relative isolation, it has sent full delegations to all three ICC assemblies and as Peter Green, President of COPE, stated in an interview: "COPE supports ICC very strongly".

#### Financial Support

The question of financial support can be looked at by examining the record of past and current financial support. In addition, the Inuit leaders were asked about the record of their organizations in supporting the ICC and about the possibilities for future funding.

#### Current and Historical Support

In spite of the limited resources available to Canadian Inuit organizations, they have made contributions to the Canadian operations of the ICC. Canadian Inuit organizations contributed 12.6% of the money or services required for the Frobisher Bay Assembly (see financial statement, Table 2-1). Not evident in this statement was the deficit of \$6,233.00 covered by IBC in providing coverage for the Assembly or the approximately \$10,000 raised by COPE to enable its delegation and cultural groups to go to Frobisher Bay (ref: interview with Peter Green). The Labrador Inuit Association has paid for the time and travel of its members to attend meetings of ICC committees and commissions when possible.

The new Canadian Regional Office based in Ottawa has received \$18,000 from Makivik Corporation. ITC has contributed office space and telephones, the Canadian staff of ICC have contributed a portion of their time to maintain the Regional Office.

However, while this funding for ICC demonstrates a commitment to the ICC, it has been mostly ad hoc, sporadic and inadequate to meet the needs of the ICC. Canadian Inuit have not yet been able to contribute to the international ICC. In addition, the Canadian Regional Office of the ICC was not established until December 1983 and has not yet had a stable budget sufficient for a full time Special Assistant and secretary.

It is worth noting the role of Makivik Corporation, until recently the only Canadian group which had settled its land claims. Makivik has made contributions in kind and cash to the ICC (ref: interviews with Peter Jull, Mark Gordon, Mary Simon). However, in spite of its resources, Makivik has been unwilling to contribute more for two reasons:

1. The resources from the land claims settlement are intended for the benefit of Quebec Inuit.
2. Makivik was concerned that by assuming the burden of other organizations it could come to dominate the ICC Canadian Regional Office, thereby inhibiting ICC's ability to work for all Canadian Inuit.

However, Makivik has demonstrated that it is prepared to contribute its share to the ICC.

#### Future Support

Another possible measure of support for the ICC is the extent to which Inuit organizations will be prepared in the future to make financial contributions to the organization. This was a very difficult question for those interviewed because of its hypothetical nature. When questioned about future financial support, Inuit leaders pointed to the history of support from their organization and indicated that such a hypothetical question was difficult to answer without a discussion or decision from their own board of directors. William Anderson III of LIA underlined that his organization was already short of financial resources to carry out LIA's on-going operations and he therefore found it difficult to see where additional resources could be located to contribute to the ICC.



Although the Inuit organizations have limited funds, there is a wide range of financial resources available to the Inuit organizations contacted. For example, Makivik Corporation, as a result of the James Bay Agreement, has considerable resources both in funds and manpower. At the time of the interviews, the final settlement with COPE had not yet been completed, but COPE did have resources from its Agreement-in-Principle. As well, the economy of the Western Arctic is stronger than other areas represented by Canadian Inuit. At the other end of the spectrum, the Labrador Inuit have no funds from a land claim agreement and the poor economy in their region means that the organization and its members are simply struggling for survival. William Anderson III of LIA also cautioned that even land claim money would not necessarily give LIA the resources to contribute to ICC.

Each of the regional organizations does receive funding from the Federal Government and, in particular, core funding from the Secretary of State. LIA and ITC do not view this funding as discretionary. Those involved in the above organizations mentioned that they are already forced to change spending priorities and cut back on current activities due to the inadequacy of their current levels of funding. For this reason, for all the organizations but Makivik, direct financial contributions to the ICC are currently considered to be next to impossible.

The evaluation was also asked to consider what documentation the organizations had to indicate broad-based support among Canadian Inuit for the ICC. The phrasing of this question recognized that the evaluation could not itself survey Inuit opinion on this issue. Therefore a judgement as to broad support has to be based upon written evidence and the responses of Inuit leaders in the interviews.

Documentary evidence of broad-based support for the ICC is scarce. The best indication comes from the responses to the IBC broadcasts of the Frobisher Bay Assembly's proceedings and the cultural entertainment. Both Marianne Stenbaek, secretary of the Communications Commission and Rosemarie Kuptana of IBC referred to the good response to IBC's coverage. IBC broadcast 17 1/2 hours of live programming and followed

up with repeat showings. In addition to responses from their traditional coverage areas of 32 communities in Labrador, Baffin and from Quebec to Keewatin, they also received positive calls from Alaska, Greenland and the Western Arctic. In addition, the only Inuit leader interviewed who did not attend the Assembly, William Anderson III, mentioned that he had watched with interest some of IBC's coverage.

Of the nine Inuit interviewees who responded to the question of support, all responded that the ICC had a very low profile at the community level. Those interviewed concluded that there is little broad based support because there is a very low awareness of the ICC.

Several reasons for the low profile of the ICC among Inuit were given:

- The ICC Canadian Regional Office has not had the necessary resources to carry out a community program.
- Canadian members of the ICC executive are leaders whose profile is associated with their own organization and not with the ICC.
- The ICC Secretariat and President are in Greenland.
- The Regional Office in Canada did not open until December 1983.

John Amagoalik, President of ITC also noted that the ICC is a relatively young organization. However, he believes that the people support the goals of the ICC. This view is shared by Mark Gordon, who said:

"There is an instinctive reaction of Inuit to support the ICC because it represents a natural growth for the Inuit. They support it instinctively but they have not yet had enough information on the ICC to be anything but distant from it. We need resources to let the people know what is going on".

### Conclusion

It can be concluded from the interviews that Inuit who are well informed about the ICC or are directly involved in the ICC remain committed to it. None of those interviewed did not support the ICC.



Two interviewees referred to their initial lack of knowledge of the ICC and their skepticism when asked to become involved. Both, after becoming involved, are now supporters.

#### 4.5 Issue 5

"What have been the outputs of the ICC to date? How have they been distributed to, and used by, Canadian Inuit organizations and Canadian Inuit in general?"

The main outputs of the ICC have been outlined in the profile (Section 2.6).

The utilization of the outputs of the ICC varies considerably among the different organizations. As an example of the contrast, COPE, a strong supporter and participant in the Assemblies told the consultants that it made little use of the direct outputs of the ICC. On the other hand, those groups that were involved in opposition to the APP and to tanker transportation through the North West Passage have made considerable use of the outputs of the ICC and the resources of the organization between Assemblies.

The resolutions of ICC Assemblies have been utilized by some of the organizations. For example, the resolutions of the 1983 Assembly were forwarded to the Government of Canada by the President of ITC in a letter to the Minister of IAND, December 23, 1984. Resolutions were quoted in a brief to the Macdonald Commission and have been utilized to support a regional organization's position on a special issue (eg. 1983 resolution on North Slope).

Internally within their organizations, both Mary Simon, President of Makivik and John Amagoalik of ITC, said in interviews that the resolutions were used by their leadership as "guiding principles" or "guidelines". As Mr. Amagoalik said: "They remind us of the impact of our decisions on others."

Some of the resolutions have served as directions to the ICC Executive Council for action. However, because the resolutions have covered such a wide range of issues, it has been impossible to act upon all of them. As with most organizations, the ICC has had to be selective because of limited resources. Where the ICC executive has done this it has been effective.

As examples, the 1980 Assembly in Nuuk passed resolutions on the Arctic Pilot Project (11-80), on an Elders' conference (05-80), and establishing a communications committee (30-80). In response the ICC mounted an effective intervention to the National Energy Board on the APP, an Elders' conference was held at Frobisher Bay in 1983 and the communications commission was established which worked to establish communication links between Alaska, Canada and Greenland.

Not all the resolutions passed have resulted in action. However, given their limited resources, in our opinion their record is good.

The Inuit interviewees were asked about the publications of the ICC. They made little comment. Desmond Brice-Bennet, a former adviser to the Inuit suggested that written material is not an effective tool for communicating the results of the ICC to Inuit communities.

The outputs mentioned most often during the interviews with Inuit leaders were:

1. The intervention on the Arctic Pilot Project and the work on protection of the ocean environment
2. Achievement of non-government organization (NGO) status at the United Nations
3. Exchanges of both information and people
4. The Assemblies and the attendant media coverage
5. The Alaska Native Review Commission
6. The ICC intervention at the CITES\* meeting in Botswana to keep seals off the endangered species list.

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\* Convention on International Trade in Endangered Wild Fauna and Flora

It should be remembered that the ICC is a triennial conference. It has no secretariat in this country that is close to being permanent, so the general lack of a documentary output should be understood as the result of a lack of a bureaucracy attached to the ICC. The proceedings of the third (Frobisher Bay) Assembly have been bound and distributed; interviews and cultural performances have been taped and rebroadcast frequently by the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation; Inuit Today, the magazine of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, has devoted a special issue (Feb. '84) to the Third Assembly.

### Conclusion

The output of the Assembly, in one sense of the word, was a series of thirty resolutions on issues of concern to the Inuit. It was the occasion for the presentation of speeches by two federal cabinet ministers and a minister of the Danish government outlining their positions and actions on matters of concern to those present. However, the use of the resolutions varied widely.

At the level of human exchange, the Canadian Inuit were able to hear from their Alaskan counterparts what resource development had meant for them. As with any conference, the real business consisted of thousands of informal exchanges. It is our view that the most important output of the Assembly lies in these informal contacts.

### **4.6 Issue 6**

"What have been the impacts and effects of the ICC to date?"

The major impacts and effects can be found in the Profile in section 2.7. Inuit leaders were also asked to list the "accomplishments" of the ICC to date. We summarize their answers here because they give an indication of the Inuit view of the "impacts and effects" of the ICC.

Among those interviewed in Inuit organizations, no single theme or consistent answer emerged. However, the answers fall into four areas: international recognition and action, culture and language, issues of importance to Inuit, and finally, identity. The first and third are

similar to the category "Policy Development and Advancement" under Impacts and Effects in the Profile (Section 2.7.2); the second and last fit the category of Inuit Information Exchange (Section 2.7.3).

(a) International Recognition and Action

Many of the Inuit interviewees mentioned the importance of the work done by the ICC to achieve international recognition of the Inuit interests in a Circumpolar world and the political action taken by the ICC to achieve its objectives. Accomplishments mentioned included the achievement of NGO status at the United Nations, the lobbying by the ICC to convince the USSR to allow Siberian Inuit to participate in the ICC and the intervention and lobbying by the ICC at the CITES meeting in Botswana to prevent seals from being listed as an endangered species.

(b) Culture and Language

Almost all Inuit interviewees mentioned the importance of the cultural and entertainment events at the Assemblies as an important accomplishment of the ICC. Five interviewees also mentioned the exchanges of teachers and performers, the exchange of information about language and culture, the work of the Communications Commission and in particular the broadcasting by the IBC of the Frobisher Bay Assembly.

(c) Issues of Importance to Inuit

From the interviews, the issue of greatest significance to the Inuit appears to be the protection of the Arctic Ocean environment and the management of wildlife, which is dependent on this environment. A number of related issues were mentioned, the most important to the ICC being the intervention on the Arctic Pilot Project (APP). However, John Amagoalik felt that the work on the APP should be related to the broader efforts of Inuit to encourage protection of the ocean environment over the long term. Work on an Arctic Policy was begun at the Frobisher Bay Assembly and is expected to be a major theme of the ICC over the next few years. A conference is now being organized by the Eben Hopson Chair at McGill University to continue this work.

(d) Identity

The ICC has had two very different but related impacts on Canadian Inuit who have been involved. The involvement of Canadian Inuit with the ICC has increased their identification with other Inuit.

But, at the same time, the ICC has also fostered an increased awareness of their identity as Canadians. In order to express their position at the international table, Canadian Inuit have found that they must first gain a better understanding of the positions of Inuit from other parts of Canada in order to arrive at a consensus which will represent the Canadian view. Meeting Inuit from Alaska and Greenland, the Canadians have noted that they are different as Canadians from the Greenlanders and Alaskans. The result is a greater understanding of and pride in being both Inuit and Canadian:

"The ICC gives each group a stronger sense of national identity. It gives us a strong sense of being Inuit and Canadian and shows us what are the benefits of being Canadian."

(ref: interview with Mark Gordon)

This increased pride in being a Canadian is a benefit not just to the Inuit but also to the country. And there are other impacts and effects which go beyond the Inuit community to Canada as a whole. The ability of Canadian Inuit to participate fully in the ICC reflects upon the image of Canada in the circumpolar world and those countries which take an interest in it. At the moment the inability of Canadian Inuit to pay their share has a negative effect. However, there have been positive effects for the country:

- increased public awareness of Canada's interests in the Arctic;
- increased international awareness of the role of Canada in the Arctic;
- increased support for Canada's environmental legislation to protect the Arctic environment.

#### 4.7 Issue 7

"Are there better ways in which the Government of Canada/DIAND could achieve the objectives currently being addressed by the ICC?"

The two options which appear to be available are (1) government substituting for the ICC or (2) other Inuit organizations substituting for the ICC.

However, the unanimous view of Inuit interviewed was that there is no better way for the Government of Canada or for the Inuit to achieve the objectives currently being addressed by the ICC. The ICC is viewed as an Inuit organization, the idea came from Inuit, and most of the work has been accomplished by Inuit. The trust placed in this exchange among Inuit under the umbrella of an Inuit organization could not be replaced by a government body.

As Mark Gordon put it:

"This is the most trusted advice Inuit can get because it comes from other Inuit and it has a strong practical application to our own problems."

John Amagoalik stated that, as an example, ITC acting alone could not have achieved NGO status at the United Nations for the Inuit. Another mentioned that ITC had not acted for Inuit at the international level before. Mark Gordon added that the ICC in its role as a co-ordinator of Inuit actions avoids duplication of effort by Inuit organizations at the international level.

The general view of DIAND and other governmental interviewees who addressed themselves to this question was that there is no better way for the Government of Canada or for the Inuit to achieve the objectives currently being addressed by the ICC. Partly this is the result of the



fact that the ICC is a concept in being. It has a record of action. If there is going to be a non-governmental international organization of Inuit it would quickly come to resemble an ICC. The Conference could not be replaced as effectively by a government body, since it would involve government doing things for Inuit that the Inuit have already shown they can do for themselves on a largely part-time and voluntary basis, albeit with governmental financial assistance.

Presumably the work of the ICC in Canada could proceed from a national office of Canadian Inuit. But that would simply mean the national association, or group of associations, organized themselves to perform the same task as the ICC. The same decision to fund or not fund that work would present itself to government. The decision about a Canadian ICC and its level of funding actually turns out to be the most useful way of considering how that kind of international work might proceed at all, if the work is to be done by Inuit in the non-governmental sector.

It is our conclusion that, as regards government substituting for the ICC, it would not enjoy the same level of trust, nor the small scale, efficiency, and direct Inuit control as would an all-Inuit organization. As regards another Inuit organization substituting for the ICC, our conclusion is that only a national organization would be appropriate. However, given the efficiencies of one organization dedicated to a task over one with differing tasks, we conclude that a single Canadian ICC Regional Office is the appropriate vehicle for addressing international Inuit concerns. In any case, based on our knowledge of the operation of the ITC and the existing ICC Regional Office, there will be continuing cooperation between them.

#### 4.8 Issue 8

"How would Canadian support of such an international organization fit with its support of similar organizations?"

The Inuit Circumpolar Conference can be described as a non-governmental organization (NGO). An NGO is usually a non-profit association of people who carry out voluntary projects, usually on the basis of donations from private, corporate and governmental sources. The Red Cross and the United Way are examples of very large and successful NGOs. There are thousands of other smaller ones. NGOs come to the attention of government because it funds them through CIDA, Secretary of State Department and National Health and Welfare, among others.\*

The ICC is exceptional by reason of the government department, DIAND, from which it would be funded. The Secretary of State Department and CIDA have well developed programs for the support of representational and voluntary organizations, which are discussed below.

The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) supports an international NGO representing indigenous peoples called the World Council of Indigenous Peoples. It is parallel to the ICC in several respects: it is composed of representatives of the Canadian Amerindian population, and of the Lapps (the Sammi, as they call themselves), the Australian Aborigines, and Central and South American Indian organizations. It is headquartered in Canada. About a quarter of its budget comes from the Canadian government, the rest comes from the Nordic Council and the Australian government. The WCIP is core funded - the money it receives from CIDA goes to pay for the WCIP's costs in Canada and Latin America. The WCIP is an international NGO because it receives money from several national governments. The majority of NGOs are national NGOs, defined as:

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\* (See Sources of Government of Canada Support to Voluntary Organizations, Minister of Supply and Services Canada 1984, ISBN 0-662-53003-9)



"Organizations, agencies or institutions which are non-governmental, non-profit and identifiable as Canadian..."\*

The funding of Canadian NGOs by CIDA is different from the funding of the WCIP. The point is important for future discussion under issue 9. The basic principle governing the CIDA contribution to a Canadian NGO project or program is that it is given on a co-financing basis. Government funds match funds or goods and services in kind contributed by the NGO. Thus the WCIP is a precedent, but as such its funding formula is different from the normal run of domestic NGOs.

Canadian support of the ICC would also be consistent with what the Secretary of State department does in its Native Representational Program, operated from the Citizenship Branch. The Secretary of State Department funds the basic administrative costs of 54 native representational groups, which lobby all levels of the Canadian government on behalf of national, regional and provincial groups. The funding of a Canadian branch of the ICC differs from the funding of the Inuit Tapirisat, the national Inuit organization, only in the sense that the ICC has an international dimension. An ICC Canada would constitute one member of a trinational organization, that would lobby circumpolar governments and international organizations, such as the United Nations.

#### Conclusion

Canadian support for the ICC would be consistent with its support of the WCIP and of domestic native representative organizations.

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\* Overseas Program, Guide for Project Submissions, CIDA 1981, NGO Division

#### 4.9 Issue 9

If it is determined that the government should support ICC:

- A) What should be the total level of government support? How should it be split amongst the involved departments? What alternative sources of funds are available (eg. land claims settlements)?
- B) Should the government provide continuing support to the Assemblies, the Canadian ICC Secretariat and other on-going ICC activities?
- C) How should the funds be delivered?
- D) What should be the nature of any terms and conditions to be attached to funding?

Nature of terms and conditions: Once delivery mechanisms have been determined, the next level of detail to be addressed is the subject of terms and conditions that would be attached to the funding mechanisms, ie. reporting requirements, evaluation procedures, specific indicators of constituency support, etc.

In light of the experience gained during the study, the above questions were reformulated as follows:

- 1) Should the government fund the ICC?
- 2) If so, then should the government provide complete funding for ICC or fund only a portion of its budget?
- 3) What funding formula should be applied to determine the government portion of the ICC budget?
- 4) What activities of the ICC should the Canadian Government fund?

- 5) What level of funding should the Government provide?  
How should the funding be delivered?
- 6) What terms and conditions should be applied to the  
provision of Government funds?

#### Question 1

Should the Government Fund the ICC?

This section examines the implications of funding or not funding the ICC.

#### Policy

Government policy on the subject of funding native associations to attend international conferences has varied. In 1977, the Hon. Warren Allmand informed the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada that:

"The Government does not, as a matter of policy, provide funds to native associations, either for international travel or international conferences, except in cases where native representatives are included in official delegations to intergovernmental conferences"  
(Letter from the Hon. W. Allmand to Mr. Michael Amarook, 13 May, 1977)

Yet clearly under Mr. Munro, the past Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the Inuit were successful in raising from the federal government the funds necessary for hosting the Third Assembly in Frobisher Bay. Government supported the Assembly because it was held in Canada.

#### Availability of Money

One of the issues of fact that would assist the resolution of the funding issue concerns the level of funding within the Inuit community. Do they have sufficient resources to carry on the ICC on their own?

Inuit representative associations, of which there are seven, are funded out of the Native Citizen's Directorate of the Secretary of State Department. There is also an additional smaller fund for newspapers from the same source, which might be used occasionally on behalf of ICC activities. A senior official of the Secretary of State Department was asked his views on the possible diversion of money from existing representation program funds into the ICC. He replied that the money was available for political representation, and for his part, he had no objection to its use in the support of the ICC or any other proper purpose. However, it would not be well viewed, he said, if money given to the ICC by the Inuit groups were used as a reason for seeking larger amounts of core funding.

The monies available under the two funds for 1983-84 are:

Native Representational Program

|   |                   |
|---|-------------------|
| 1. Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC)                    | \$ 751,231        |
| 2. Baffin Region Inuit Association                    | \$ 328,556        |
| 3. COPE (Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement) | \$ 285,243        |
| 4. Keewatin Inuit Association                         | \$ 305,353        |
| 5. Katikmuit Inuit Association                        | \$ 305,353        |
| 6. Labrador Inuit Association                         | \$ 275,152        |
| 7. Makivik Corporation                                | <u>\$ 322,470</u> |
| Total   | \$2,573,358       |

Newspaper Fund

|                             |                  |
|-----------------------------|------------------|
| Inuit Tapirisat of Canada   | \$ 22,000        |
| Keewatin Inuit Association  | \$ 10,000        |
| Katikmuit Inuit Association | \$ 17,000        |
| C.O.P.E.                    | <u>\$ 20,000</u> |
| Total                       | <u>\$ 69,000</u> |

There are other sources of government funds for the Inuit people. Local government in the Northwest Territories is funded by the Territorial Government, which provides Inuit communities with money for schools, social services, roads and sewers, and hunters and trappers associations. Money for Inuit is not earmarked as such, but as an official of the Territorial Government, said: "I'd be surprised if they (the ICC) could get money out of any of these groups (ie. hunters and trappers associations). They're too spare; they don't have it". The ICC was given \$50,000 out of territorial government funds for the Frobisher Bay Conference last year.

Inuit representative organizations have been funded until now by the Secretary of State Department, on the premise that it was appropriate that such groups not be funded out of the budget of DIAND, from which they draw the bulk of government expenditures directed toward them. In this way it was felt that native representational groups could preserve a measure of independence vis-à-vis DIAND.

Officials of the Secretary of State Department said that one of the problems with government funding of indigenous peoples' representative groups is fragmentation. The 24 aboriginal associations funded by the Secretary of State Department in 1971-72 have expanded to 34 in 1975-76, 42 in 1981-82, and 54 in 1984-85, according to figures from the Secretary of State Department. Given a core-funding approach, there is a rational incentive for a group to split and obtain control of a new smaller organization rather than to accede to policies of the larger group it cannot abide. Funding has not been refused so far by the Secretary of State Department to any Canadian aboriginal people's group that apparently represents a distinct interest.

#### Arguments For and Against Funding

From the discussions we held with government officials, we heard a number of arguments for and against federal funding of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference. Arguments against are given first, arguments for are given in reply.

1. Basically the ICC as an international organization is too distant from the Inuit population. It is neither local government nor is it a regional or national lobby. It is a triennial international conference seeking permanent status through the establishment of a secretariat.
2. In view of the amounts being spent on native representational groups by the Secretary of State, it would be possible for the Inuit to use part of their travel and administrative budgets to support a Canadian presence at the next ICC Conference. This expenditure from Secretary of State funds would force the Inuit to prioritize their expenditures among a number of goals. Their presence on the ICC would compete with other goals available for them to pursue, so that by not funding the ICC specifically the government is simply forcing the Inuit to choose among competing goals.
3. Some government officials perceive that, for the time being, the Greenland Inuit dominate the ICC. Thus, while all resolutions must be supported by each national group, in fact the Greenlanders, through their relative sophistication, have been able to use the ICC as a platform for their views against economic development, nuclear power, and in favour of ecological purity. By not funding a Canadian presence on the ICC, the government could be perceived as signalling its refusal to pay for a forum in which its policies and actions are not supported. For instance, one federal official was particularly concerned about the role of the ICC in blocking the Arctic Pilot Project, which was considered an important economic development in the region.
4. In relation to cultural matters, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development has continued to support Inuit culture with Inuktitut magazine, with conferences on the Inuit languages (or dialects) and with on-going program expenditure designed to perpetuate a vigorous Inuit language and culture. A DIAND official pointed out that the Government had recently allocated \$16 million to the support of native languages in the NWT, over a five year period. Therefore, the possible expenditure on an ICC secretariat would only duplicate the efforts of the Department and the Government of Northwest Territories in matters of Inuit language.

5. A fifth argument for not funding an ICC (Canada) is that government will be spending millions on land claims settlements and northern development in the next few years. This money will provide Inuit groups with the means to support the ICC without resorting to direct government assistance. Considering that the next ICC Conference in Canada will be held eight years from now, it is not unreasonable to assume that some or all land claims will have been settled, and that assistance from the regional and national Inuit associations will be forthcoming at that time. For instance, Makivik Corporation, which is the beneficiary of a land claims settlement, is currently the one association making an ICC Secretariat possible. Thus, it can be argued that nothing needs to be done at this time, since land claims settlements will provide the means for the Inuit to sustain the ICC in the future.

The arguments for funding Canadian participation in the ICC are as follows:

1. The Canadian government has important interests at stake in the circumpolar region. Sovereignty over its vast Arctic region is exercised by making the federal presence known to the people who live in that region and to our circumpolar neighbours. An organization comprising the indigenous Canadians who live there is a natural forum in which the Canadian government can explain its positions on issues of concern to Inuit: whaling, resource extraction, and economic development. Support of the ICC would demonstrate Canada's commitment to the region and to one group of its citizens who are indigenous to it.

2. The Inuit do not have such an abundance of federal resources that their participation in the ICC can be wholly financed by themselves at this time if a level of effort comparable to the Greenland and Alaskan Inuit is to be maintained. Basically their principal means of participating comes from the monies made available through the Secretary of State's Native Representational Program. Without the federal government making some form of contribution, the Canadian Inuit would be unable to spare the kind of money that would sustain the ICC (Canada) effectively. Direct assistance can be given in such a way as to require real support by Inuit of an ICC.

3. With respect to the question of Greenlandic domination, this is the natural result of their early participation and initiative. Canadian Inuit have not been pawns but have engaged in the normal trade-offs of political organizations. As the Canadian Inuit, with the help of government funding, increase their capacity to participate, the leadership will tend to rotate according to the natural weight accorded to participation by member groups. This is the natural operation of democratic groups. The agenda will in the course of time be set by a Canadian Inuit leadership in their rightful turn. As to the possibility that the ICC would not support federal government initiatives in the region, we observe that the Canadian government does not overly concern itself with funding a political forum in which its policies and views are opposed on occasion. It provides numerous organizations that oppose it from time to time with money or tax breaks: the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, the Consumers Association of Canada, and the Assembly of First Nations are examples.

4. With respect to Inuit language and culture, it is acknowledged that the amounts devoted by DIAND to these purposes vastly exceed what the ICC is likely to be able to spend in any future funding scenario. One of the arguments for funding the ICC, however, is that it can facilitate in the long run work on common lexicons, spelling, and the adoption of new words into the Inuit dialects. Thus an active ICC could support and complement the efforts of the Inuit Cultural Institutes and of DIAND in this regard.

5. Finally, the uncertainty as to the size and timing of land claims money argues for some level of assistance now. The interests of the Canadian government in the polar region are immediate and continuing. The previous sections have shown that support for the ICC among the Inuit involved in representational groups is present, and that if there is to be an international forum for Inuit at all, the ICC is the appropriate vehicle. In this view, the settlement of land claims is not relevant, other than as a source of money, to Canadian participation in the ICC, and the decision on the merits of the ICC should not wait for the resolution of land claims.



We have weighed the merits of the arguments for and against the ICC, we have considered the level of funding available from other sources, and we have paid attention to previous decisions of DIAND. Our conclusion and recommendation is that

**Recommendation 1: The ICC deserves some measure of government financial support.**

This recommendation has some caveats attached to it. We do not recommend, as shall be seen in the next section, that the federal government support the ICC for all its possible future expenses. We propose means whereby the level of federal support will be linked to the level of Inuit support. Our recommendation to support the ICC is based on a continuing requirement on the part of the ICC to obtain the backing of Inuit associations and other groups and individuals.

**Question 2**

Should the government provide complete funding for ICC or fund only a portion of its budget?

The option of complete funding is based upon the precedent of funding the World Council of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP). The WCIP is funded through CIDA to an amount of \$1.2 million over 2 years. In practical terms this represents total funding of WCIP's Canadian share.

Complete funding of ICC activities would demonstrate a very strong commitment by the Government of Canada to the Inuit, their role in the circumpolar world and the Government interest in circumpolar policy issues. It would also reverse the image the Canadian Inuit and Government have gained as the paupers of the circumpolar world. A complete contribution would also leave the Inuit free from financial concerns to concentrate their energies fully on their activities - policy development, community information programs and the work of the committees and commissions.

Complete funding would, in our opinion, discourage the ICC from seeking other funding sources in Canada. The result would be to increase the dependence of the ICC in Canada upon government making it totally dependent upon a single government program for its entire funding.

The key Inuit leaders - John Amagoalik, Mark Gordon and Tagak Curley - indicated in the interviews that they were favourably disposed, with varying degrees of enthusiasm, to partial funding by government which would encourage Inuit initiative to raise the remainder of the funds required. John Amagoalik added that Inuit organizations would not have equal resources to contribute to ICC operations. William Anderson of LIA stated categorically that until land claims were settled Inuit would not have the resources to contribute; additional funding would have to come from the federal government.

In our opinion, the Canadian government could achieve many of the advantages of complete funding through a partial funding of the ICC. Partial funding would encourage Inuit to either contribute themselves or raise money from other sources. Inuit or other funds not guaranteed by government would also decrease the dependence of the ICC upon government.

Therefore,

**Recommendation 2: The Government of Canada should only fund part of the budget of the ICC.**

### Question 3

What funding formula should be applied to determine the government portion of the ICC budget?

Three models are presented.

a) Core Funding

In this model, the government would assume to pay the overhead of a Canadian ICC Secretariat. The payments could be made in the form of grants or contributions. In the case of a contribution, the government would enter into a legal agreement with an as-yet-to-be-incorporated Canadian ICC which specifies how the money will be spent. In the case of a grant, the government would retain less say in how the money is spent. A grant is not a contract between parties, a contribution agreement is. Because in a contribution, money must be spent on certain contracted items, it is subject to audit while a grant is not.

The advantage of core funding is that it would liberate the recipient group from the need to canvass money from many sources, which can be time consuming and ineffective. However, other sources would be needed to cover activities not covered by the core funding, which is limited to the basic costs of an office manager, a secretary, phones, travel, stationery and office space rental. The disadvantage of core funding is that it works only too well in orienting the recipient group towards its source of money and away from the interests of the groups and individuals meant to be represented. In our interviews with the Secretary of State Department, the impression was left that this problem is cumulative, that it grows with the passage of time. The absence of a feedback mechanism in the funding formula puts the government in the difficult position of substituting its own judgement on the degree of support for the organization instead of gauging the association's support by the quantity of donations from interested groups and persons.

For this reason

**Recommendation 3: The ICC should not be core funded.**

b) Tied-Funding

In tied-funding, the level of government support is determined by reference to the amount of money and labour that the group is able to raise from other sources. In the case of the ICC, the donor department might be DIAND, for the sake of discussion. The ICC would raise funds

from any number of sources, even including other government departments. The ICC would demonstrate to the donor Department the amount of money it had collected. In addition the Department might also allow a dollar value for labour contributed to the ICC. The amount the Department paid out to the ICC would be based on a pre-arranged formula. It could be one for one, three for one, seven for one, and so forth, depending upon how large the ICC budget ought to be for it to carry out its functions. The matter of the size of the ICC budget is discussed further below. A tied-funding formula has the following features:

- The feedback between constituency support and government support is automatic. The more they raise privately or from other sources, the more the government is committed to contribute. If too much money is raised in one year, the private donors are reluctant to give in the next, and so the government's liability decreases accordingly.
- The donors, other than DIAND, determine the size of the budget. Decision-making power rests in their hands. The continuing need of the association to raise money causes the association to orient itself towards its least certain donors. Government support is guaranteed, even if the level is unknown until private fund raising is finished.
- The government helps in the tied-funding model. It augments the effect of private donations. It does not take the lead.
- The ratio of government dollars to other sources of income in the funding formula is a key variable. Whether it should be dollar for dollar, or three dollars for every one dollar, or an even larger ratio, depends on two assumptions. The first is how much the Inuit can reasonably be expected to raise privately. The second is how large the ICC budget is determined to be.

There are a number of arguments for linking the level of government support to the ICC to the level of Inuit support for the Conference:

- Government interviewees who were professionally acquainted with the history and operation of native representational groups were consistently concerned with the degree to which native representational groups are responsible to their constituencies. Their general view was these groups had become distant from the people they were supposed to represent.
- Although resources are always limited, the diversion of only 1% of Inuit representational funds by the Inuit themselves to the ICC would permit a contribution of the order of \$25,000. Augmented by a DIAND tied-funding formula of 3:1 or 5:1, significant funds could be made available to the ICC. Thus, it is quite conceivable that the Inuit could support the ICC now, as long as the government augmented Inuit resources.
- Once the formula is established, the program becomes relatively simple to administer. As an example, the Director General of CIDA's NGO division, Mr. Peter Harkness, pointed out that some \$60 million is channelled annually to about 2,000 Canadian NGOs, supervised by twenty officials. A tied-funding formula obviates the need for a great deal of case-by-case decision making.

c) Land Claims Formula

During the interviews a number of issues were raised:

1. Inuit should contribute to the ICC.
2. Until land claims are settled Inuit resources are extremely limited.
3. As land claims are settled the resources available to regional Inuit organizations are unequal.

To meet these concerns, a funding formula was arrived at that would:

- Recognize the government interest in the ICC;
- Encourage Inuit to contribute as resources are available from land claim settlements;

- Overcome the inequalities between regions during the period when only some of the land claims are settled.

The land claims formula would work as follows:

Let the desired level of funding for ICC be X. Assume for the sake of discussion that the Government of Canada believes that its ongoing contribution to ICC should be 50% of X or  $X/2$ .

The Inuit organization which had settled their land claims would be expected to contribute their share or  $1/6$  of  $X/2$ . The Government, in addition to its share, would pay the share of each organization whose claim had not been settled. Gradually, as the claims are settled the Government's contribution would be reduced to 50% of X and the Inuit organizations would be expected to contribute the balance.

This formula could also be changed to determine a regional organization's share by the size of population it represents. However, the basic principle remains the same; a regional organization's share of ICC is paid by the federal government until a land claim settlement is reached at which time that organization will be expected to pay its share. If the organization decided not to contribute to ICC the government would not be expected to make up the difference.

#### d) Which Funding Formula?

While we do not recommend "core funding" per se, we are not in a position to recommend either the "tied-funding" or "lands claim" formula.

**Recommendation 4: The Government should decide which of the two funding formulae best reflects the degree of its interest in the ICC.**

Tied-funding is the approach chosen by government to facilitate some activity with government funds on the basis of the amount the recipient group raises from other sources. In playing a facilitator role, government is showing no more interest in the activity than the recipient group, which in this case would be the Canadian Inuit. The



government commits itself to support the ICC based strictly on the level of support evidenced by the Inuit according to some matching principle.

In the lands claim model, one part of the money is always derived directly from government while the other part is derived from the interested party, in this case funds obtained from the Inuit as land claims are settled. This formula recognizes that there is a national interest apart from that of the Inuit for the government to provide some on-going funding to the ICC to permit the Inuit to participate in the activities of the ICC.

From a decision on degree of government interest, the appropriate funding option would then be determined.

#### Question 4

What activities of the ICC should the Canadian government fund?

Regardless of the formula used to deliver funding and decide upon a level of funding, the government may want to restrict or direct the funds of the ICC to certain of its activities. Within this question we looked at a number of options:

1. To fund only the next Assembly of the ICC in Canada.
2. To restrict funding to Canadian activities of the ICC only.
3. To fund only the core activities of the ICC Canadian Regional Office.
4. To deliver funds to the ICC Canadian Office without restrictions as to objects of expenditure.

1. To fund only the next Assembly in Canada

ICC assemblies are held every three years and rotate from country to country. The Alaskans are hosts in 1986, the Greenlanders in 1989. Therefore, it will be 1992 before the Canadian Inuit host the assembly in Canada.

In this option, the government would undertake to pay the cost of the Canadian Conference in 1992 and perhaps also assist Canadian Inuit representatives with travel costs for two assemblies in the meantime.

The advantage of this option is that DIAND would assure Canadian participation in the ICC without committing itself to further involvement in the specialized committees that the ICC might set up. In our opinion, it would also increase the likelihood that the Assemblies remain the main focus for Canadian participation in the ICC.

The disadvantages of this approach are that it would commit the government to maintaining the Canadian presence at an international forum without assuring itself of the capacity of the Canadian Inuit to assume much of a role in relation to it. The Canadian secretariat would either go unfunded or be forced to rely upon Inuit and other private resources entirely. Before land claims are settled, their capacity to do this is uncertain.

A decision to fund a Canadian presence at the assemblies only would be consistent with a decision that the ICC is peripheral to the interests of the federal government in the North, and that the Inuit associations alone should bear the cost of a permanent secretariat. If the government perceives it has interests at stake in the ICC, this method of financing exposes it to all the disadvantages of participation without the benefits that would come from a sustained Canadian effort.

**Recommendation 5: The Government should not restrict its funding to the next Assembly of the ICC in Canada only.**

2. To restrict funding to the Canadian activities of the ICC only. Earlier government policy excluded funding to Canadian organizations for participation in international bodies. There remains among government officials a concern that the Government of Canada should not be sending funds directly to an international organization with its Secretariat outside of Canada and of which the Canadian Government is not a member. It would be difficult to retain any accountability for these funds. The consensus among Inuit leaders was that funds should not go directly to the international office of the ICC in Greenland. However, the concern was expressed over and over that if Canada does not pay its share in the



ICC it will continue to be unable to have much influence over its activities or to hold the ICC Secretariat accountable for its budgeting and expenditures.

After the preliminary interviews were completed, Mark Gordon, Canadian Vice-President of the ICC, contacted the consultants to discuss the issue further. Mr. Gordon agreed again that funds should not go directly to the ICC Secretariat. However, he argued that the Canadian Regional Office of the ICC should be free to decide where to place its resources to give Canadian Inuit a strong position in the ICC.

Mr. Gordon also expressed very strongly that the Canadian Regional Office of the ICC would retain control of funds to be contributed to ensure that they were spent in the interests of Canadian Inuit. He stated that a system of financial controls has already been established - monies will not be forwarded to the Secretariat without signed contracts stipulating the purposes and work to be accomplished. In addition, the contribution will not be forwarded in one lump sum but only as it is required. Finally, Mr. Gordon stated that the Canadian members of the Executive Council continue to hold a veto over ICC policy and spending.

Although a detailed budget for the Canadian contribution to the ICC has not been worked out, only a portion of this money would go to the ICC's international overhead. This money would also go toward:

1. Travel costs for Canadian executive members to ICC meetings.
2. Report to the UN.
3. Special research projects on issues such as;
  - education
  - economic development
  - Arctic policy.

Therefore,

**Recommendation 6: Any Canadian government contribution should go directly to the Canadian Regional Office of the ICC. However, we believe that no restriction should be placed as to where geographically these funds might be spent. Such a restriction would be impractical, would decrease the independence of the ICC and would limit the ability of the ICC Canadian Regional Office to use its resources in its best interests.**

3. To fund only the core activities of the ICC Canadian Regional Office.

The core activities of the ICC could be defined in different ways. For the purposes of this discussion core activities would represent only those necessary to maintain a regional office and attend meetings of the Executive Council of the ICC. A decision to fund only the core activities would ensure that a minimum Canadian presence in the ICC is maintained. This restriction would limit the independence of the ICC.

**Recommendation 7: A restriction on the funds to core activities is not necessary. However, the amount of funds required to maintain minimum activities of the ICC Canadian Regional Office could be a useful benchmark when examining funding levels.**

4. To deliver funds to the ICC Canadian Regional Office without restrictions as to objects of expenditure.

One of the advantages of the ICC as expressed by an Inuit interviewee is that it is trusted because it is Inuit and Inuit controlled. It is our view that it is to the advantage of the Canadian government to maintain as much independence for the ICC as possible.

Therefore,

**Recommendation 8: The funding for the ICC should not be directed or restricted in any way except to satisfy normal accounting procedures and ensure that the funds are spent on activities approved by the ICC Canadian Regional Office.**

It should be noted here that the interviews with Inuit leaders also raised the possibility that funds for the ICC should be delivered to the regional Inuit organizations for ICC activities to require ICC Canada to maintain support from and accountability to its constituent groups. The consensus among the Inuit interviewed was that this option would create needless red tape and would not increase the accountability of ICC Canada to its constituency.

#### Question 5

What level of funding should the government provide to the ICC? How should the funding be delivered?

Regardless of which formula for partial funding is decided upon by the government, an estimate will have to be made of the funding level the government will contribute. If the tied-funding formula is used, this level and an estimate of the ICC's ability to raise funds would be utilized to arrive at a ratio of government dollars contributed for every dollar raised by the ICC. If the land claims formula is used, the government will have to decide upon a more definite level of funding.

Both formulae suggest that Inuit contributions will be made in some ratio to government funding. To arrive at a funding level it is useful to look at the budget request of the ICC Canadian Regional Office.

The Canadian Regional Office of the ICC has submitted an annual budget which appears in Section 2.4.3. The total budget sought is \$515,600.

In summary it is made up of:

|   |                  |
|---|------------------|
| ICC Canadian Regional Office contribution to ICC                | \$250,000        |
| Operations of regional office and travel within Canada          | \$152,600        |
| Attend meetings of the 8 committees by Canadian representatives | <u>\$113,000</u> |
| TOTAL   | \$515,600        |

If the total level of funding requested of \$515,600 was available from Inuit and government sources it would allow the ICC Canadian Regional Office to:

1. Pay its share to ICC.
2. Operate a regional office with some monies for research and increasing Inuit and public awareness.
3. Allow Canadians to attend the meetings of the 8 committees.

In our view, this total level would allow full participation by Canadian Inuit in the ICC.

If the total level available from Inuit and government sources fell below the total requested, what would the consequences be? The ICC Canadian Regional Office would be required to establish priorities for its spending program. Based upon our analysis of the Inuit interviews, it is our conclusion that the priorities for the ICC Canadian Regional Office would be as follows:

1. Operation of the Canadian Regional Office
2. Contribution to the ICC
3. Meetings of committees.

In our opinion, the inability to fund the attendance at committee meetings would not be catastrophic. The committees have not been active on a regular basis in the past. This has made it difficult for ICC to follow up on its resolutions but has not proven to be a major problem.

However, the inability of the ICC Canadian Regional Office to pay its share of the international operations of the ICC could be a serious problem for ICC Canada. As a consequence, the ICC Canadian Regional Office would continue to have problems in asserting its views on the priorities of ICC and the expenditure of its revenues. If the ICC Canadian Regional Office could only pay a portion of its share, it is not clear that these problems would be any less.

If the total level of funding available was less than the amount required to operate a regional office in Canada, it is our view that the ICC Canadian Regional Office would find it difficult to continue except in the rather ad hoc and sporadic activities of the last few years, dependent upon the charity of the Alaskans and Greenlanders.

Therefore,

**Recommendation 9:** The minimum total level of funding which would be required from Inuit and government sources is approximately \$100,000.

Further, because of the difficulties of negotiating funding levels with government and the challenges of fund raising from other sources,

**Recommendation 10:** The Government of Canada should provide to the ICC Canadian Regional Office seed funding for two years or until a level of funding and formula is negotiated. Seed money should be given in the following amounts:

|        |           |
|--------|-----------|
| Year 1 | \$100,000 |
| Year 2 | \$ 50,000 |

The evaluation also asked that we consider which department of government should deliver the funds. In our opinion,

**Recommendation 11:** DIAND is the department best suited to deliver the funding because of the knowledge of the ICC and its activities in the department, as well as the familiarity of Inuit with the department. Moreover, this activity falls clearly within DIAND's stated mandate.

The fact that Inuit organizations presently receive their funding from Secretary of State to have a measure of independence from DIAND does not necessarily hold in this case because the Inuit themselves will retain independence by providing a sizeable portion of the funds. There is also the precedent of DIAND's experience in funding native groups interested in northern development questions through the Northern Native Associations program. In addition, our interviews with Secretary of State officials led us to believe that that Department would be reluctant to fund an ICC Canadian Regional Office since the Native Representational Program is intended for domestic purposes.

However, we do not believe that the ICC Canadian Regional Office should be restricted only to the money it receives from DIAND. In our view, if the ICC Canadian Regional Office activities or special projects fit the

objectives of funding programs of other government departments, then a decision to provide funding should not be blocked.

Question 6

What terms and conditions should be applied to the provision of Government funds?

The terms and conditions for the provision of Government funds should be substantially the same as those that currently apply to the making of contributions to Northern Native Associations. These include:

- An annual report on activities;
- An annual audited financial statement;
- Maintenance of all necessary records and accounts as required by generally accepted accounting principles; and,
- A program evaluation in accordance with Treasury Board guidelines.

#### **4.10 The Future Legal Status of the ICC**

In Canada, the ICC is neither incorporated nor is it registered under any provincial registration system as a firm name. The ICC already has rules of procedure and many of the attributes of a corporation, but it lacks legal status.

**Recommendation 12:** The decision to grant money to the ICC should be accompanied by the incorporation of the ICC Regional Office . This is the required procedure for any Canadian native organization seeking funding from government, for instance. Incorporation will ensure the existence of a board of directors, a known legal status, a structure of decision making and accountability, and a requirement to hold annual meetings of the members (if it is a not-for-profit corporation) or the shareholders.

In addition to recommending incorporation of a Canadian ICC, we have also recommended (Recommendation 6) that federal monies be paid directly to the Canadian Office. Subsequent contributions to ICC headquarters in Nuuk, Greenland, should be at the discretion of the board of directors of the Canadian ICC.

The constitution of the board of directors of the Canadian ICC could follow the current organization as laid out in the ICC Charter. That would mean a two person board. However, we make no recommendations as to how the ICC should organize itself internally or as to which interests should be represented on the board.



## **5.0 CONCLUSION**

The ICC has support within the Canadian Inuit community and within the federal government. This despite the fact that the ICC, as an international organization, is removed from the day to day concerns of the Inuit in the different regions of the North and that the recently established Canadian Secretariat has not yet had the chance to develop its constituency. Clearly, awareness of and support for the ICC by Canadian Inuit would be increased through a fully operational Canadian Secretariat.

From a federal government perspective, support for the ICC is in keeping with the mandate of a number of departments (see Table 2-2). In particular, the responsibility of DIAND's Northern Affairs Program "to assist the native residents to preserve and develop their culture" is met through support of the ICC.

Although the ICC was only established in 1977, and only three assemblies have been held, activities to date have led to an impressive number of results in the areas of co-ordination, policy development and advancement, public awareness and Inuit information exchange (see Section 2.6). These activities and their outputs have led to increased awareness of the similarities and differences among Inuit in Alaska, Canada and Greenland as well as to the improved articulation of views on particular issues, such as the intervention of an APP and the development of an Arctic Policy.

Given the record of the ICC to date and the fact that it is within the mandate of the federal government to support such an organization, we recommend that the federal government provide some on-going level of funding to the ICC through one of the mechanisms discussed in Section 4.9. Moreover, the Inuit feel that government support is critical to ensuring their participation in the ICC. Not to fund the ICC would imply that the federal government is distancing itself from an organization in which it has a clearly identified interest. The funding formula chosen should reflect the degree of government interest in the organization.



Because of the shared Inuit-Government interest in the ICC we believe that the funding formula chosen should reflect this joint interest and responsibility. We have advanced two such funding formulae in Section 4.9; tied-funding and the lands claim formula.

Tied-funding is the approach chosen by government to facilitate some activity with government funds on the basis of the amount the recipient group raises from other sources. In playing a facilitator role, government is showing no more interest in the activity than the recipient group, which in this case would be the Canadian Inuit. The government commits itself to support the ICC based strictly on the level of support evidenced by the Inuit according to some matching principle.

In the lands claim model, one part of the money is always derived directly from government while the other part is derived from the interested party, which in this case are funds obtained from the Inuit as land claims are settled. This formula recognizes that there is a national interest apart from that of the Inuit for the government to provide some on-going funding to the ICC to permit the Inuit to participate in the activities of the ICC.

Whichever formula is adopted, we believe that the funding for the ICC should not be directed or restricted in any way except to satisfy normal accounting procedures. The funds should be given directly to the ICC Canadian Regional Office, which should be incorporated.

A minimal level of funding to ensure a Canadian presence through an ICC Regional Office is placed at about \$100,000. The government portion would depend on the formula chosen.

We also believe that "seed money" is required to launch an ICC Canadian Regional Office and to permit it to organize its on-going funding. We propose a 2 year sliding-scale funding program; \$100,000 the first year, \$50,000 the second year. By the end of the second year a permanent funding solution would have to be in place.

The onus is on government to choose an approach depending on whether its interest in the ICC should be linked to that of the Inuit (ie. tied funding) or whether it believes that there is a national interest apart from the interest of the Inuit, for supporting the ICC (ie. the lands claim formula).

We believe that DIAND should be the lead agency in furthering discussion of the appropriate funding formula for the ICC and be the department that provides the principal contact point with the ICC Canada.

APPENDICES

## Terms of Reference

1983 INUIT CIRCUMPOLAR CONFERENCE EVALUATION STUDYS.W.1 BACKGROUND

- 1.1 The Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC) is an international cultural organization representing 100,000 Inuit in Alaska, Canada and Greenland. Of these, approximately 25,500 live in Canada.
- 1.2 Established in 1977, the ICC hosts a General Assembly once every three years. The first, in 1977, was held at Barrow, Alaska, the second in 1980 took place in Nuuk, Greenland, and the third was held in Frobisher Bay, NWT in July, 1983. The 1983 Assembly, hosted by the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, was attended by approximately 250 delegates from Canada, Alaska and Greenland.
- 1.3 At the 1980 Assembly, delegates adopted a charter to create ICC as an international organization. In February, 1983, it was granted special status as a Non-Government Organization at the United Nations.
- 1.4 In addition to the Assemblies, the ICC works on a continuing basis through its permanent staff and special committees. In addition to offices in Nuuk and Anchorage, the permanent staff includes the Canadian ICC Secretariat, established in 1983 and located in Ottawa.
- 1.5 The Canadian Government provided a total of \$386,000.00 to help defray the costs of the Frobisher Bay Assembly. Of this, approximately \$235,000 came from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND). The rest came from External Affairs (\$85,000), Energy, Mines and Resources (\$25,000), National Health and Welfare (\$15,000), Fisheries and Oceans (\$15,000), Secretary of State (\$6,000) and Environment (\$5,000).
- 1.6 In approving DIAND's contribution, Treasury Board stipulated in its Minute 790412 dated October 6, 1983, that an evaluation procedure be established to determine the effectiveness of the contribution relative to the Department's objectives. This present study is being carried out to meet that requirement.

S.W.2 EVALUATION STUDY

- 2.1 The study will also provide information required by the Department and the Government of Canada to determine whether they should continue to fund the ICC and if so, how and what level of support should be provided.

2.2 In particular, the study will address the following issues:

- 2.2.1 What are the objectives of the ICC and in particular of the Frobisher Bay Assembly? What DIAND objectives does the ICC support and/or address? To what extent were the objectives of a) ICC and b) DIAND met by the Frobisher Bay Assembly?
- 2.2.2 How and to what extent did a) DIAND's financial contribution and b) the financial support of the Government of Canada in general assist the Assembly in meeting both its own objectives and departmental (DIAND) objectives?
- 2.2.3 To what extent was DIAND's financial contribution to the Assembly utilized in an effective and efficient manner?
- 2.2.4 What is the level of support for the ICC by existing Canadian Inuit organizations? What documentation do these organizations have to indicate broad-based support among Canadian Inuit for the ICC?
- 2.2.5 What have been the outputs of the ICC to date? How have they been distributed to and used by Canadian Inuit organizations and Canadian Inuit in general?
- 2.2.6 What have been the impacts and effects of the ICC to date?
- 2.2.7 Are there better ways in which the Government of Canada/DIAND could achieve the objectives currently being addressed by the ICC?
- 2.2.8 How would Canadian support of such an international organization fit with its support of (similar) organizations?
- 2.2.9 If it is determined that the government should support ICC:
  - 2.2.9.1 What should be the total level of government support? How should that level be split amongst the involved departments? What, if any, alternative sources of funds are available? What is likely to happen as a result of land claims settlements?

2.2.9.2 Should the federal government provide continuing support to:

- i) the Assemblies (given that the next two are not likely to be held in Canada); this will include a discussion of:
  - level of support
  - purpose of support
  - activities to be supported;
- ii) the Canadian IOC Secretariat; this will include a discussion of:
  - the Secretariat's objectives and their linkage to DIAND objectives
  - level of support
  - purpose of support
  - activities to be supported; and
- iii) other ongoing or specific IOC activities; this will include a discussion of:
  - level of support
  - purpose of support
  - activities or types of projects to be supported.

What criteria should be used to determine the above (e.g. support for and acceptance of IOC from already established Canadian Inuit organizations)?

2.2.9.3 How should government funds be delivered?

This will include a discussion of the (possible) roles of DIAND, other federal departments and agencies, the Government of the Northwest Territories, and Inuit Organizations. It will also include an analysis of such aspects as coordination, liaison, responsibility and accountability; the advantages/disadvantages of using DIAND as a "one-window" approach, and any possible changes that could result from a settlement of land claims.

2.2.9.4 What should be the nature of any terms and conditions to be attached to funding? This will include a discussion of such conditions as the need to avoid duplication between departments, and between the federal government and other (potential) funding/support sources; and the need to ensure proper expenditure of funds.

### S.W.3 EVALUATION APPROACH

#### 3.1 Task 1 - Preparation of a Profile of the ICC

3.1.1 The contractor will prepare a profile that identifies the ICC's mandate, objectives, resources, activities, outputs and intended impacts and effects, and that links these to DIAND's objectives.

3.1.2 The profile will be based on:

- a review of documentation to be provided by the Northern Affairs Program
- limited interviews with NAP staff and others as necessary and approved by the Advisory Committee (see below).

#### 3.2 Task 2 - Data Collection and Analysis to Address Evaluation Questions

3.2.1 Upon acceptance of the profile by the Advisory Committee, the contractor will address each of the evaluation questions.

3.2.2 The methodology and instruments to be used to obtain the data and carry out the analyses must be presented to the Advisory Committee in the form of a research and data analysis plan, and is to be approved by the Advisory Committee before work on Task 2 begins.

3.2.3 The contractor is expected to carry out interviews with senior personnel in the following agencies; where possible persons who attended the 1983 Assembly should be selected:

- Inuit organizations, including: Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement, Baffin Region Inuit Association, Kitikmeot Inuit Association, Keewatin Inuit Association, Labrador Inuit Association, Makivik Corporation, Nunasi



Corporation, Inuit Cultural Institute, Inuit Broadcasting Corporation, Taqramiut Nipingat Inc. (approximately 15 interviews)

- ICC Secretariat, Ottawa (3 interviews)
- Government of the Northwest Territories (approximately 5 interviews)
- federal departments and agencies, including: DIAND, External Affairs, Energy Mines and Resources, National Health and Welfare, Fisheries and Oceans, Secretary of State, Environment, Communications (both Senior Management and participants of the 1983 Assembly) (approximately 17 interviews).

### 3.3 Task 3 - Preparation of Draft Final Report

3.3.1 The contractor will prepare a draft final report that includes:

3.3.1.1 An executive summary that:

- identifies the purpose of the study
- summarizes the evaluation approach
- presents the major findings and conclusions

3.3.1.2 Table of contents

3.3.1.3 Introduction that includes:

- the context for the evaluation study
- expected uses and users of the study
- constraints
- the profile of ICC
- description of linkage to DIAND objectives and other NAP programs

3.3.1.4 Evaluation study approach that discusses:

- evaluation indicators used to address each evaluation question
- evaluation methodologies used to collect information and to infer ICC effectiveness
- procedures used to ensure reliability of information collection methods, accuracy of information and validity of conclusions
- procedures used to analyze the data collected



3.3.1.5 Presentation of findings and conclusions, by evaluation question:

- summary of the relevant information and evidence collected
- statement of any limitations on the dependability of this information and evidence
- conclusions with an indication of any necessary qualifications

3.3.1.6 Appendices, e.g.

- approved terms of reference
- data collection instruments
- interview schedules
- lists of people contacted and interviewed
- detailed data analyses

3.4 Following discussion of the draft final report with the advisory committee, the contractor shall prepare and submit a final report.

3.5 Following completion and submission of the final report, the Contractor shall meet with and debrief the Northern Affairs Program Senior Management.

S.W.4 EVALUATION SCHEDULE

4.1 The study will be carried out in accordance with the following schedule:

|          |  |
|----------|--|
| March 21 | Meeting with Advisory Committee to discuss approach to Task 1                                  |
| March 30 | Profile due  |
| April 5  | Meeting with Advisory Committee to discuss profile and any refinements to evaluation questions |
| April 27 | Research and analysis plan for Task 2 due  |
| May 3    | Meeting with Advisory Committee to discuss research and analysis plan                          |
| May 31   | Progress meeting with Advisory Committee   |
| June 20  | Draft final report due   |

June 25 Meeting with Advisory Committee to discuss  
draft final report

July 13 Final report due

July 23 Meeting with Advisory Committee to discuss  
final report

by August 31 debriefing of NAP Senior Management

- 4.2 The dates of the meetings with the Advisory Committee may change depending on the availability of members to attend. Additional progress/monitoring sessions may be required. The contractor will be required to make a presentation of his findings to NAP Senior Management.

#### S.W.5 EVALUATION ADVISORY COMMITTEE

- 5.1 While the ultimate client for the evaluation report is the Deputy Minister, DIAND, it is the ADM, NAP, who approves the terms of reference for the study. Within this framework, direction for the study will be provided by an Evaluation Advisory Committee consisting of the following members:

Walter Slipchenko (819) 997-9595  
Co-ordinator  
Circumpolar Affairs Division  
NAP, DIAND

Don MacNeill (819) 997-9550  
Head, Native Liaison Section  
Social & Cultural Development Division  
NAP, DIAND

John Harrington (819) 993-5910  
Director  
Social Policy & Programs Division  
External Affairs

Ann Hewitt (Chair) (819) 994-1203  
Methodologist  
Evaluation Branch  
Corporate Policy, DIAND

Rosemary Wallbank (819) 994-1203  
Senior Evaluation Manager  
Evaluation Branch  
Corporate Policy, DIAND

Ex-officio members:

|  |                |
|--|----------------|
| <p>Gunther Abrahamson<br/> A/Director<br/> Northern Co-ordination &amp; Social<br/> Development Directorate<br/> NAP, DIAND</p>    | (819) 997-0753 |
| <p>Donat Savoie<br/> Science Adviser<br/> Office of the Northern Research &amp;<br/> Sciences Adviser<br/> NAP, DIAND</p>          | (819) 997-9120 |
| <p>John MacDonald<br/> Head, Culture &amp; Linguistics Section<br/> Social &amp; Cultural Development Division<br/> NAP, DIAND</p> | (819) 997-9660 |

## APPENDIX 2

### Interview Guide

#### Questionnaire for Inuit Leaders

As was suggested in the proposal, the interviews with Inuit leaders were not designed to follow detailed and lengthy questions. However, a straightforward list of questions was utilized as a guide for the interviewees to allow for some consistency among the interviews. The questions concerned all the issues raised in the evaluation which required responses from the Inuit.

#### Question Guide

1. What were the main accomplishments of the Frobisher Bay Assembly?
2. Were there any major problems?
3. How important was the funding from the federal government to the assembly?
4. How much support is there for the ICC among Inuit organizations?
  - a) Was the assembly worthwhile?
  - b) Do Inuit organizations support the Secretariat? (even if in Greenland)
  - c) Do they support a regional office?
5. What have been the most important things the ICC has done?
  - the Assemblies
  - cultural exchange
  - APP
  - committee & commission work
  - publications

6. Has your organization used ICC resolutions, publications etc. in its work?
7. Have the Inuit in your area had much contact with the ICC?  
  
Have they had a report on the Assembly?  
Are they aware that the ICC exists?  
Do they support the ICC?
8. If you had extra money do you think a contribution to the ICC would be a good thing?
9. Has your organization contributed money to help the work of the ICC in Canada?
10. Do you think the federal government should give money directly to the ICC? Should this go only to the regional office? Should it go first to your organization and then to the ICC? Do you favour a matching grant system?
11. What have been the major accomplishments of the ICC - How has it helped Canadian Inuit?
12. Are there better ways of doing these things than through the ICC?

### Questions Asked of the Government Interviewees

Note: The list of Assembly attendees supplied by the ICC formed the basis of the interviewees from government. Assembly attendees who were members of the ICC Evaluation Committee were not approached, on the ground that the opinions of members of the Evaluation Committee are decisive. Two conference attendees from the departments of Fisheries and Oceans and Energy Mines and Resources could not be traced.

1. Q. Did you attend last year's Frobisher Bay Assembly of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference?

A. If yes, proceed.

2. Q. We are conducting an evaluation of the ICC for the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Can you tell me what your department's interest was in attending the Assembly?

A. If the department was present only to observe (Environment) or to promote its wares (Telidon-Communications), subsequent questioning dealt with what the attendees got out of the conference from their departmental perspective.

3. Q. What was your general impression of the Assembly?

4. Q. Did you find it well organized? Did you think money was being misspent?

5. Q. What benefits did you or your department derive from the Assembly? Can you describe them?

If the interviewee had given thought to the work of the ICC, apart from his or her own department's interest in the conference, questioning proceeded as follows.

6. Q. What was your impression of the ICC's leadership?

7. Q. Can you give your impression of the dynamics of the ICC as it relates to the Alaskan, Canadian, and Greenlandic contingents? Who dominates? What is the position of the Canadian Inuit in the organization?
8. Q. How much support do you think there is for the ICC among the Canadian Inuit?
9. Q. What do you think the ICC is trying to achieve?
10. Q. One of our concerns is whether the ICC should receive government funding in future. Do you think that a case can be made for assisting the ICC financially? If no, why not? If yes, why?
11. Q. If you think that the ICC deserves federal financial support, we have two basic models to follow. One is the core funding approach used by the Secretary of State Department, and the other is the tied-funding approach used by CIDA. (Explanations are given as required) Of these two approaches to funding which do you prefer? What advantages do you see with one or the other?
12. Q. What interests do you think the Canadian government has in the ICC?

## APPENDIX 3

### List of Interviewees

#### Interviewees

Dick Abernathy, Secretary to the Executive Committee, Government of the Northwest Territories

Gunther Abrahamson, A/Director Northern Co-Ordination and Social Development Directorate, DIAND

John Amagoalik, President, ITC

Randy Ames, former land claim staff ITC

William Anderson III, President, LIA

Doug Bowie, ADM Citizenship Branch, Secretary of State Dept.

Bob Brault, Native Citizens Directorate, Citizenship Branch, Secretary

Desmond Brice-Bennett, former advisor to ITC

Michael Brock, External Affairs Dept.

Laura Chapman, Acting Director, Policy Coordination, Citizenship Branch  
Secretary of State Department

Tagak Curley, Minister, Economic Development GNWT

Mark Gordon, Vice-President ICC; Vice-President Makivik

Peter Green, President, COPE

Roger Gruben, COPE

Reeves Haggan, Bureau of Native Affairs, Federal Provincial Relations  
Office

Maeve Hancey, Ministry of State for Social Development

Peter Harkness, Director General, NGO Division, CIDA

Roy Jacobs, Director, Native Citizens Program, Secretary of State  
Department

Alan Johnson, Executive Director, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada

Peter Jull, consultant, Secretary to the Canadian ICC (pro tempore)



cont'd

Rosemarie Kuptana, President, IBC

Michelle Levesque, Special Programs Branch, CIDA

John MacDonald, Head, Cultural and Linguistics Section, DIAND

Sandra MacDonald, Minister's Office, DOC

Don MacNeill, Head Native Liaison Section, DIAND

Hal Markell, Information Services, DOC

Craig McNaughton, Dept. of the Environment

Sam Metcalfe, interpreter, DIAND

David Milne, Executive Assistant to the Minister of DIAND

Dwight Noseworthy, Deputy Minister, Aboriginal Rights and Constitutional Development, Government of the Northwest Territories

Diana Rivington, Special Programs Branch, CIDA

Judy Rowell, Environmental Advisor to LIA

Mary Sillett, Program Officer, Citizenship Branch, Secretary of State Dept.

Mary Simon, President, Makivik

Walter Slipchenko, Co-Ordinator Circumpolar Affairs Division, DIAND

Marianne Stenbaek, Co-Chairperson, Northern Studies, McGill University

Robert Vaive, Telidon Program, DOC

Fran Williams, past President LIA

APPENDIX 4

Resolutions of the Frobisher Bay Assembly

# ICC Resolutions — in Brief

AFTER THE PRESENTATION OF A brief, comprehensive summary of previous ICC resolutions relating to Arctic Policy drawn up by the ICC executive council, the delegates retired to working-group sessions to produce thirty resolutions that were passed by the General Assembly. The Assembly also adopted additional five resolutions presented by the newly-founded ICC Elders' Conference. Together, they form the basis for an ICC Arctic Policy.

## INTERNATIONAL ARCTIC POLICY DEVELOPMENT

### 83-03 Soviet Participation in the ICC

The ICC establishes a special membership status for the participation of Soviet Inuit in the Executive Committee, until such time as they Inuit are able to establish official membership in the ICC.

### 83-13 ICC-NGO Status

The ICC Assembly gives full support to the Inuit Circumpolar Conference-Non-Governmental Organization (ICC-NGO) consultative status at the United Nations and calls for fulfillment of its international responsibilities.

### 83-17 Circumpolar Science and Research

Provides for the establishment of an International Scientific Commission for the purpose of aiding the co-ordination and dissemination of circumpolar research as a means of supporting Inuit interests. This resolution was accompanied by a Declaration on Inuit Research and Science which lists principles by which Arctic research should be managed.

### 83-28 U.S. Arctic Research and Policy Act

Calls upon the U.S. Congress to guarantee the participation of Alaska Inuit in U.S. Arctic research policy.

### 83-30 Circumpolar Arctic Policy

Formulates the basic principles which the ICC brings before circumpolar nations

in the development of an international Arctic Policy.

## ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

### 83-01 Arctic as a Nuclear-Free Zone

The ICC calls for a nuclear-free zone in the Arctic, with bans on nuclear testing, missile deployment, uranium mining, nuclear waste dumps, and "nuclear devices" including atomic energy plants.

### 83-07 Norton Sound, Alaska

The ICC calls upon the U.S. government to give "proper concern to the pro-

tection of land claims in the area.

### 83-14 The Canadian-Denmark Marine Environmental Agreement

The ICC calls upon the governments of Canada and Denmark to include the Inuit in current negotiations leading to cooperative marine management.

### 83-15 Migratory Birds

The ICC supports the Inuit peoples of Canada and the U.S. in their efforts to secure Inuit participation in the management of migratory birds and the implementation of the Protocol on Migratory Waterfowl.

### 83-21 Circumpolar Environmental Principles

The ICC stated basic principles concerning the Arctic environment, including the Inuit right to manage and participate in the decision making of the circumpolar environment; that no major development take place in the Arctic unless there are environmental and social impact statements made acceptable to Inuit; and that Inuit use of renewable resources of the Arctic must take priority over other uses.

### 83-22 Oil-Spill Response Standards

The ICC calls upon governments to join with the ICC to develop specific standards for Arctic and Sub-Arctic oil-spill-response standards and methods before any exploration can be allowed in the circumpolar region.

## EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### 83-06 Inuit Art

The ICC requests the government of Canada to introduce legislation to outlaw imitations of Inuit art which devalues the price and integrity of art pieces made by the Inuit.

### 83-09 ICC Elders' Conference

The ICC approves the creation of a continuous, permanent, Elders' organiza-



John Amagoalik, President of ITC welcomes delegates to ICC Iqaluit '83.

tection of the Inuit way of life in the Norton Sound, Bering Sea region by voiding leases sold in Oil and Gas OCS Sale No. 57." The U.S. has recently sold leases to the oil industry to explore and develop oil and gas reserves in the Norton Sound, despite the objection of 75 communities dependent upon the Sound's environment.

### 83-12 North Slope, Yukon

The ICC calls upon the Canadian government to prohibit facility siting, rights-of-way, corridors or any similar works from being established on the Yukon-Beaufort Sea coast without settle-



tion within the ICC to be called the ICC Elders' Conference. The five Elders' Conference resolutions are:

E-01-83 Calls upon the ICC to establish the ICC Elders' Conference.

E-02-83 Resolution on Alcohol and Drug Abuse.

E-03-83 Resolution on Inuit Education calling for mandatory Inuit language and traditional skills program.

E-04-83 Language, Education, and Culture. Supports ICC resolution 77-04.

E-05-83 Inuit Subsistence. Calls for report on international regulation of the Inupiat whale hunt.

#### 83-16 A Uniform Inuit Writing System

The ICC recognizes the need for a uniform writing system and calls upon the Alaskan Inuit to make changes in their orthography for that purpose.

#### 83-18 Inuit Philosophy of Education

The ICC will sponsor an international Inuit education conference before the next assembly in order to review Inuit education philosophy, to exchange programs, and to meet with Elders.

#### 83-20 Inuit Health and Welfare

The ICC will ensure that governments and establishments in the Arctic encourage higher education for Inuit health and welfare professionals; that institutions are built for Inuit Elders to remain in their home areas; that governments provide more jobs and training opportunities to Inuit youth.

#### 83-24 Alaskan Contract Schools

The U.S. Congress is called upon to provide federal support for Inuit in the Calista-AVCP region in providing contract schools for as long as they choose to manage their own educational systems. The American government has proposed to terminate federal support for Inuit-operated schools in Alaska, despite Inuit opposition to the idea.

## THE RIGHTS OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

#### 83-02 Status of Inuit Women

Inuit women of Alaska, Canada, and Greenland whenever possible will be guaranteed by each Member Party equal representation within the ICC. A Committee for the Status of Inuit Women will be established.

#### 83-04 Support for Aleut World War II Claims

The ICC supports the recommendations of the World War II Commission offering reparation to the Aleuts for war-time losses.

#### 83-05 The Canadian Constitution

The ICC supports the work of Canadian Inuit in asserting Native rights in the constitution, and will disseminate information about this work "in order to assist peoples undertaking similar efforts



Inuit Elders listen to resolutions being introduced and passed by ICC.

elsewhere in the world."

#### 83-08 Inupiat Offshore Land Claims

The ICC supports Inupiat plaintiffs in current cases before the U.S. Supreme Court and offers aid in areas of information, research, strategy, and publicity. The Inupiat of the Arctic Slope in Alaska, are seeking enforcement of Inuit rights to areas up to 60 miles offshore. The Inupiat are concerned about recent government lease sales to oil companies which will allow them to conduct deepwater exploration and development near their homeland in spite of Inupiat protests that adequate oil-spill cleanup technology

does not yet exist.

#### 83-10 World Council of Indigenous Peoples

The ICC associates itself with the World Council of Indigenous Peoples and offers aid and support to the Native people of Central and South America "suffering the tribulations of war, persecution, and relocation."

#### 83-11 World Council of Churches

The ICC encourages the policy of the World Council of Churches in support of the Land Rights of Indigenous Peoples and instructs the Inuit Committee on National Issues to inform the Council on Inuit views.

#### 83-19 Inuit Subsistence Rights

Calls upon the governments of the U.S., Canada, and Denmark to recognize the inalienable nature of Inuit subsistence activities.

#### 83-27 Nunavut Wildlife Agreement

Calls upon the Canadian Government to ratify and honour the Wildlife Agreement in Principle as an important component of the land claims settlement.

## ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

#### 83-23 Alternate Energy Systems

Calls for the formation of an ICC Energy Committee to oversee the development of energy conservation and alternative energy systems.

#### 83-25 Inuit Economic Development

The ICC calls upon the governments of Canada, Denmark, and the U.S. to work with the ICC in the exchange of skilled people throughout the circumpolar region and to eliminate trade barriers.

#### 83-26 Inuit Employment

Organize local and regional groups under Inuit leadership to ensure full opportunity for Inuit employment and businesses.

#### 83-29 Communications

Directs the ICC Communications Commission to promote communications systems that better serve the Inuit. □