Aboriginal Self-Government in the Northwest Territories

Understanding Self-Government
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What This Booklet is About

The Government of Canada, the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) and several Aboriginal peoples are now taking part in negotiations dealing with Aboriginal and treaty rights. The right of self-government is a major subject in these negotiations. Changes in the way we govern ourselves in our territory, in our regions and at the community level can be expected.

The GNWT has prepared this booklet to provide information to help understand the background to these negotiations. It is intended to help build a common understanding of some of the issues and to encourage Northerners to become informed about and involved in the discussion.

Aboriginal and treaty rights, the right of self-government, and some of the reasons why we must adjust our system of government are the focus. The booklet explains the background to Aboriginal and treaty rights and the inherent right of self-government. Constitutional development will also change how we govern ourselves and the accompanying materials provide some background on this.

This booklet and the supplementary booklets are meant to give background information and provide some basis for the discussion of Aboriginal and treaty rights, self-government and related subjects. It is not intended to state the GNWT's legal position on such issues, nor is it a policy statement. It is intended to help you to appreciate the challenges and opportunities that lie ahead. It has been written in plain language where possible, avoiding technical and legal terms. As well, the broad focus of this booklet has meant that some generalizations have had to be made.

This booklet is just one step in providing information and involving Northerners in a discussion of the way our government is set up and could change. If you have any questions or views on this material you may forward them to:

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Why Self-Government is Important

Governments exist to serve the public - to develop policies and provide services that meet the needs of their citizens and residents. Yet, it is not often that citizens get a chance to take part in redesigning the governments that serve them.

Note: Key words are identified in BOLD text and defined in a listing of Key Words and Ideas on page 15 of this booklet. Other key words are defined where they occur in the text.
The people of the NWT face important challenges over the next few years. As in other parts of Canada, we need to meet Aboriginal aspirations for self-government. The way we do so must work in our communities, regions and territory as a whole. The way our communities are made up means that Aboriginal and public governments need to work together to make the North a better place for all to live.

Before contact with Europeans, Aboriginal peoples managed their own affairs. Since those times, many of the impacts of the wider society have been negative for Aboriginal people. The negotiation of land claim, treaty land entitlement and self-government agreements points to a more hopeful future - one that is based upon the recognition of historic rights and that puts resources and responsibilities back in the hands of Aboriginal people. Aboriginal and treaty rights have been recognized in the courts and are enshrined in the Constitution of Canada. Land claim and self-government agreements are negotiated on the basis of these rights. They are important tools for change.

Aboriginal self-government and the constitutional development of the NWT are related subjects. Although the NWT is not a province, it has many province-like powers and responsibilities. One important difference is that Northerners do not have control over their natural resources. The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND), a federal department, manages most of these. In addition, many parts of one of our key constitutional documents, the Northwest Territories Act (NWT Act), are out of date and do not fully reflect the changes that have occurred in the North over the past 50 years. Discussions have been held in all communities on possibilities for constitutional change. This process is expected to continue and will be affected by discussions on Aboriginal and treaty rights, and by land claim and self-government agreements.

We need to take a close look at how we govern ourselves today and at how this might change. Self-government agreements and constitutional development will change the relationships between the federal, territorial, Aboriginal, community and regional governments. This change must occur in a way that respects Aboriginal and treaty rights as well as the basic democratic rights of all residents. It must also give Northerners real control of their economic and social development.
There are strong historical, legal, constitutional, economic and social reasons to settle issues of Aboriginal and treaty rights and pursue our constitutional development. As we begin to make changes at all levels, we need to be able to answer some basic questions. There is a much better chance of finding the answers if we work together.

We need to find answers to questions like:

- How do we put the inherent right of self-government into practice?
- How do we make sure that the overall system of government will be workable and efficient and will allow for practical arrangements among all levels of government?
- How do we make sure that the rights and freedoms of all northern residents are respected?
- How do we make sure that the residents have comparable services from one part of the territory to another and so are able to keep their ability to move freely within the NWT?
- How do we make sure that new arrangements will provide for clear rights and responsibilities?

The issues are difficult and the answers require careful thought. That is why all Northerners need to take part in the discussion. We need to appreciate the social and economic effects and opportunities of the decisions we make.

The challenge

An efficient government and a healthy economy require a clear legal framework. Aboriginal and public governments, communities, corporations and individuals need clarity in things like:

- Ownership and rights to land and resources;
- Authority to regulate development;
- Responsibility to provide programs and services.

Through claims, self-government and other discussions, we have the opportunity to create new arrangements, perhaps different from those tried in other places. Cooperation and coordination will be needed for a successful outcome. As Northerners, we have a far better chance to control our economic, social and political future if we can work together. If we see ourselves as made up of competing groups, our society will be pulled one way or another by different interests at different times. If that happens, basic decisions affecting the territory will be made by those who do not live here. Some of the levers of control will not be in our hands. We will not choose the decisions that get taken. But by working in a spirit of trust and respect, we can forge a better future - both for ourselves and for generations to come.

Aboriginal and Treaty Rights - What They Mean

Introduction

Aboriginal peoples occupied North America for thousands of years before first contact with Europeans. This is where Aboriginal rights come from.

Aboriginal rights are subject to interpretation by the courts but include, at least, a people's right to use and occupy its traditional territory for traditional purposes. Such rights as to hunt,
Why Governments are Engaged in Aboriginal Rights Negotiations

There are legal and constitutional reasons to negotiate land claim and self-government agreements, but social justice is another important reason. A major theme in the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples is that we need to change the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and the federal, provincial and territorial governments. The settlement of outstanding Aboriginal rights is a critical step. The negotiation of Aboriginal rights agreements is an important way in which public governments and Aboriginal people can recognize, protect and clarify Aboriginal rights.

Historical Reasons

Following the colonization of North America by the European nations, much of the land traditionally used by Aboriginal peoples was taken for settlement or the resources on it and the freedom of Aboriginal peoples to make decisions affecting their lives was increasingly infringed upon. Many of the political and economic changes have been detrimental to the culture and social organization of Aboriginal people, and to their general well being.

At the same time, the Crown has recognized some essential rights on the part of Aboriginal peoples. These include Aboriginal rights and title, treaty rights and, increasingly in the present period, the right of self-government. It is these aspects of the Crown’s activity which offer the best promise for restructuring Crown-Aboriginal relationships in a positive manner.
Legal and Constitutional Reasons

The Constitution Act of 1982 includes sections that recognize the rights of Aboriginal peoples.

“The existing aboriginal and treaty rights of the aboriginal peoples of Canada are hereby recognized and affirmed;
(2) In this Act, ‘aboriginal peoples of Canada’ includes the Indian, Inuit and Métis peoples of Canada.
(3) For greater certainty, in subsection (1) ‘treaty rights’ includes rights that now exist by way of land claims agreements or may be so acquired.
(4) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, the aboriginal and treaty rights referred to in subsection (1) are guaranteed equally to male and female persons.”

Section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982

These sections were included in the constitution to reassure Aboriginal people, their organizations, and the Canadian public when the British responsibility for changing the Canadian constitution was ended in 1982. This was part of the national understanding that was built at that time.

In 1994, the Government of Canada stated that it would negotiate self-government agreements on the understanding that the inherent right of self-government is an existing Aboriginal right recognized in section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982. The federal government acknowledged that Aboriginal peoples have an inherent right of self-government that should be recognized by all Canadians.

As well as the inherent right policy, there are sections in land claim agreements that commit the federal and territorial governments to negotiate self-government agreements. For example, both the Gwich’in and Sahtu land claim agreements include sections dealing with self-government. These outline the subjects for self-government negotiations and some general principles. There is also a relevant section in the Inuvialuit land claim agreement.

The recognition of Aboriginal and treaty rights in the constitution, the commitments made in land claim agreements and the federal inherent right policy together provide a basis for Aboriginal
self-government negotiations. But the constitution, the inherent right policy and the self-government sections of land claim agreements do not spell out how self-government is to work in practice. Negotiations give the federal and territorial governments and the Aboriginal people the flexibility needed to work out how to put the right of self-government into practice. Through these negotiations, the powers of Aboriginal and public governments and the relationship between the two will be worked out.

**Economic Reasons**

There is little doubt that clarifying Aboriginal and treaty rights questions will have an important impact on economic development decisions across Canada. Clarity about land rights will help stimulate investment in the NWT economy.

Lack of a northern consensus has made it difficult for us to secure the transfer of province-like responsibilities, particularly the management of natural resources, from the federal government to the North. Unlike the provinces, the NWT does not control non-renewable resources (minerals, oil, gas, land and water). Lack of control over resources has contributed to dependence on federal financing to provide essential services. Until outstanding Aboriginal rights questions are clarified, opportunities for economic development cannot be fully taken advantage of. Northerners will continue to need the federal government to pay for programs and services.

**Social Reasons**

The fact that Aboriginal people in the NWT are disadvantaged economically and face significant social problems is well documented. Many people take the view that the problem stems, in part, from a failure to allow Aboriginal people to develop and put into practice their own solutions to the problems in their communities. Dependency upon government to provide for basic needs is the result. In other words, Aboriginal peoples currently lack the power and resources needed to deal with the social, economic and health issues they face.

While self-government and the settlement of Aboriginal and treaty rights issues will not in themselves improve the conditions of Aboriginal peoples, they will provide essential tools for Aboriginal peoples to set their own priorities and work out their own solutions.
Summary

The combination of historical, legal, constitutional, economic and social reasons for negotiating Aboriginal rights agreements illustrate the need for governments and Aboriginal peoples in the NWT to sit down and conclude this unfinished business. It is in the interest of all Northerners to recognize the rights of Aboriginal peoples, to resolve self-government and land questions, and to establish a mutually respectful relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Northerners. This is expected to help to create a stable and predictable environment that will encourage political, social and economic development in the North.

Our Common Rights

All Northerners, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, enjoy certain basic rights and freedoms as citizens of Canada, and in particular those guaranteed in the constitution under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. These rights and freedoms include such things as freedom of speech, religion and association, equality before the law, freedom from arbitrary arrest, the right to live and work in any province or territory, and the right to vote in federal, provincial and territorial elections. All of these are individual rights. The Charter applies to the federal, provincial and territorial governments, and to any matter falling within their law-making powers. The courts may strike down any law that violates the Charter. In this way Charter rights are strongly protected.

The federal inherent right policy states that all governments in Canada, including Aboriginal governments, should be bound by the Charter:

"Self-government agreements, including treaties, will, therefore, have to provide that the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms applies to Aboriginal governments and institutions in relation to all matters within their respective jurisdictions and authorities."

However, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, as well as other parts of the constitution, recognizes the existence of some collective rights alongside individual rights. Particularly important for Aboriginal peoples is Section 25, which states that the Charter is not to be interpreted as infringing upon Aboriginal and treaty rights.

“25. The guarantee in this Charter of certain rights and freedoms shall not be construed so as to abrogate or derogate from any aboriginal, treaty or other rights or freedoms that pertain to the aboriginal peoples of Canada including (a) any rights or freedoms that have been recognized by the Royal Proclamation of October 7, 1763; and (b) any rights or freedoms that now exist by way of land claims agreements or may be so acquired."

Section 25 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms
One of the challenges of restructuring government in the NWT is to make sure that the rights and freedoms of all residents, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, as well as the collective rights of Aboriginal peoples, are given expression. This means that Aboriginal governments cannot infringe upon the rights guaranteed in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, while the Charter itself must not be interpreted to take away from the special rights of Aboriginal people, including the right of self-government.

Finding the right approach may not always be easy. But it is critical if we intend to create a system of government that is seen to be legitimate by all residents and that reflects respectful relationships amongst peoples and governments.

In addition to respecting the basic rights of all Northerners, particularly rights protected in the Charter, any new government arrangements must also ensure that the basic quality of life of Northerners is not diminished.

This means that new government arrangements must ensure continued access to social services like day care, education, social assistance and housing, across the NWT. It means economic security, whether through government employment, private sector employment, self-employment or income assistance. It means ensuring anyone can move freely within the territory knowing that his or her basic social, economic and political rights and freedoms will still be intact. It means knowing that rights like the right to vote and run for office and critical services like medical care will not be negatively affected.

New government arrangements will affect Northerners’ quest for self-determination and prosperity. The new system of government must increase the ability of Northerners to run their own affairs. It must avoid duplicating responsibilities and services. It must provide stability in order to encourage investment and economic growth. A strong and united voice is also important to protect Northerners’ interests in negotiations with the federal government and in national discussions of social, economic and constitutional issues.
The following questions are often asked about self-government. The answers deal with the main issues only and could be expanded.

**Why do Aboriginal peoples have an inherent right of self-government?**
The inherent right of self-government is based on the fact that Aboriginal peoples governed themselves before European contact and never gave up the right to do so. The word “inherent” means that Aboriginal peoples have always had this right. It is regarded as a pre-existing right, not a right granted by other governments.

**Do land claim agreements deal with self-government?**
The Inuvialuit, Gwich’in and Sahtu land claim agreements all include sections dealing with self-government. The Gwich’in and Sahtu agreements say that the federal and territorial governments will negotiate self-government agreements with the Gwich’in and Sahtu Dene and Métis. The Inuvialuit land claim agreement says that the Inuvialuit will be treated as favourably as other Aboriginal peoples in changes to government in the Western Arctic Region. The Dogrib Comprehensive Land Claim and Self-Government Agreement-in-Principle deals extensively with issues of self-government in the Dogrib region.

**What powers are under discussion at self-government talks?**
Subjects for negotiation are taken from the federal government’s inherent right policy and the Gwich’in, Sahtu and Inuvialuit land claim agreements. They include things like the legal status of Aboriginal authorities, Aboriginal citizenship, structures of government generally, education, language, culture, health, social services, child welfare, taxation, administration of justice, policing, wills and estates, housing, roads and traffic, economic development, and municipal services.
Who will pay for self-government?
None of the parties has yet agreed to any kind of cost-sharing. The federal government's stated national policy position is that financing of self-government is a shared responsibility of the federal, provincial and territorial governments, as well as of Aboriginal governments and institutions. It is expected that financing arrangements will differ from region to region and will be decided at each of the negotiating tables.

Existing program responsibilities, financial resources, and the federal government's special responsibilities for Aboriginal peoples will be considered. In addition there is a growing appreciation by all parties that "capacity building" in communities and regions is essential to putting self-government agreements into practice.

Will the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms continue to apply?
The federal government's inherent right policy says that the Government of Canada is committed to the principle that the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms shall bind all governments in the country. It goes on to say that "self-government agreements, including treaties, will, therefore, have to provide that the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms applies to all Aboriginal governments and institutions in relation to all matters within their respective jurisdictions and authorities." Wording may be required in self-government agreements to ensure this result.

Will there be separate public and Aboriginal governments?
Aboriginal and public governments do not have the same responsibilities. Depending on the intentions of the Aboriginal peoples that are involved in the negotiations, and the agreements that are reached, there could be both Aboriginal and public governments providing certain services at the community and regional levels.

Who will be affected by self-government?
Self-government will affect everyone. It will establish new relationships amongst peoples and governments and in the longer run will shape the society we live in. Of course, those residents who live in a community or region where a self-government agreement is put into practice will be more directly affected than those who live in a community where self-government has not been negotiated.

The most obvious difference to people in communities may be in the form of government that represents them. As well, communities and regions will have a lot more responsibility for programs and services, including law-making powers in many areas.

Why do we need to change our system of government?
The GNWT has a short history as a working democratic government and has undergone a great deal of change in a few years. There has been a fully elected Legislative Assembly only
since 1975 and a Cabinet that is accountable to Members of the Legislative Assembly (MLAs) only since 1986. In addition, the boundaries and population of the NWT changed a great deal with the establishment of Nunavut as a separate territory in 1999.

Some Aboriginal organizations say that the GNWT and municipal governments have been imposed upon Aboriginal peoples without their consent. They see the current territorial and municipal governments as exercising responsibilities that should belong to Aboriginal governments. Others accept the territorial government but want more powers at the community and regional levels, and possibly guarantees for Aboriginal representation. Although the GNWT is representational and Aboriginal people participate in its various institutions, some view the present form of government as temporary.

One of the goals of the GNWT is therefore to improve the relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people and create a system of government that is built on mutual respect and which is accepted by all residents.

What is the relationship between Aboriginal self-government and the constitutional future of the NWT?

The NWT's future constitutional development will mean changing the relationship of the territorial government to the Government of Canada, to the provinces and to Aboriginal governments. The GNWT will therefore face some important challenges over the next few years.

Basic goals must be:

• To encourage understanding and agreement on the role of the GNWT as the one government in the territory which represents and serves all residents;
• To make sure that the GNWT has the legal, human and financial resources needed to govern the territory in the interests of its people.

To accomplish these goals, the people and government of the NWT will have to consider:

• How to make sure that approaches taken on territorial constitutional development will be consistent with those taken in self-government negotiations;
• How to protect and strengthen the GNWT's presence in federal-provincial decision-making forums;
• How to make the NWT Act more appropriate as a key constitutional document for the territory.

Will non-Aboriginal people have to give up any rights because of self-government?

The federal and the territorial governments will ensure that the rights of non-Aboriginal people are not prejudiced by self-government. In particular, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms will continue to apply to all levels of government.
Is negotiation the only way to settle outstanding Aboriginal and treaty rights?

Negotiation is not the only way to deal with Aboriginal and treaty rights. The courts are available to settle disputes. But the court process is often expensive and lengthy, and matters may be decided on technical grounds. As well, legal judgments often give rise to further negotiations. Negotiations give those taking part in them the chance to come to an agreement which is acceptable to all.

Why are some Aboriginal groups in the NWT not engaged in negotiations?

Some Aboriginal groups have chosen not to take part in current Aboriginal and treaty rights negotiations for various reasons. Some Aboriginal groups have other priorities and are not ready to devote the necessary resources to negotiations. Others are of the view that the federal land claims, treaty land entitlement and inherent right policies are too limited to form a basis for negotiations. With some groups, there is also no agreement about who should be involved in the negotiations.
Key Words and Ideas

Aboriginal Government
A government which represents and serves an Aboriginal people.

Aboriginal Peoples
The descendants of the original peoples of Canada. Section 35 (2) of the Constitution Act, 1982 defines the Aboriginal peoples of Canada as Indians, Inuit and Metis. The Aboriginal peoples of the NWT are grouped in six major regions and speak seven major Aboriginal languages.

Aboriginal Right
A right of an Aboriginal people stemming from the use of certain areas in the period before European settlement. Aboriginal rights are subject to interpretation and judgement by the courts but, as a minimum, include the right to hunt and fish and follow the traditions of an Aboriginal people. Aboriginal people, the federal government, the GNWT and some provincial governments consider self-government to be an Aboriginal right.

Aboriginal Title
The terms "Aboriginal rights" and "Aboriginal title" are sometimes used interchangeably. Recent court decisions suggest that Aboriginal title means the right to occupy and use a certain area of land, and is a type of Aboriginal right. Aboriginal customs, practices and traditions are another type of Aboriginal right that can be distinguished from Aboriginal title.

Agreement-in-Principle (AIP)
A draft agreement between an Aboriginal people and the Crown to settle land claims or self-government rights. When completed, the AIP is subject to approval by the Aboriginal people and governments involved.

Collective Rights
Rights based on membership in a distinct group of people. These may include language rights, education rights based on religious affiliation, and Aboriginal and treaty rights.

Crown
The Queen is the formal head of the government in Canada. For this reason, the government is often called "the Crown". For the same reason, agreements with the government are called agreements with "Her Majesty".

Dene
Aboriginal peoples of the Mackenzie Valley, from Inuvik and Aklavik southwards. Dene groups in the NWT include the Gwich’in, Sahtu Dene, Dogrib, Chipewyan and South Slavey. Dene speak languages that are distinct from one group to another, but which belong to the same general language family.

Indian
Section 91 (24) of the Constitution Act, 1867 gives the federal government responsibility for "Indians, and Lands reserved for the Indians". The Indian Act was passed by Parliament under this constitutional authority.
Individual Rights
Rights held by every person as an individual. In Canada, these include rights stated in the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, as well as those stated in other federal, provincial, or territorial laws, such as the NWT's *Fair Practices Act*.

Inuvialuit
The Inuit of the Mackenzie Delta and Beaufort Sea region.

Land Claim Agreement
An agreement between an Aboriginal people and the Crown to settle Aboriginal rights in a geographic area. Land claim agreements deal with things like the rights of governments and Aboriginal people to land and resources, wildlife management and cash compensation. Land claim agreements may also deal with self-government.

Metis
Historically, people of both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal origins mainly located in the prairie provinces and the NWT. Metis belong to a distinct group and are defined in the constitution as one of the Aboriginal peoples of Canada.

Public Government
A government which represents and serves all residents in an area. The federal, provincial, territorial and municipal governments are all "public governments".

Self-Government
The regulation by an Aboriginal people of its own affairs through an Aboriginal government.

Self-Government Agreement
A formal agreement between an Aboriginal people and the federal, provincial or territorial governments that deals with things like the powers of an Aboriginal government and its relationship to public governments.

Treaty
A formal agreement between an Aboriginal people and the Crown. Under Section 35 (3) of the *Constitution Act, 1982* "treaties" include recent land claim agreements like the Inuvialuit Final Agreement as well as older agreements like Treaties 8 and 11.

Treaty Land Entitlement
A term used by the federal government for the entitlement or right of an Aboriginal people to have certain lands set aside for them on the basis of a treaty such as treaties 8 and 11.

Treaty Right
A right recognized in or granted by a treaty. Treaty rights may include verbal (unwritten) promises made when the treaty was negotiated.
A number of publications and papers have been used to help prepare this booklet. This list could easily be expanded, but the following publications are probably the most useful and easy to get hold of for further information and opinion on the various subjects discussed.

PUBLICATIONS

General

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*Member Group Research Reports*, CDSC, Yellowknife, 1994

Constitutional Working Group  
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*History in the Making: Under Northern Skies—The Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories*, Legislative Assembly of the NWT, Yellowknife, 1999

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**Historical**

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Burger, Joanne Overvold


Coates, K.S. & Morrison, W.R.

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Fumoleau, R.


Helm, J.


Indian Registration and Band Lists Directorate


Leslie, J. & Mcguire, R.


Madill, D.F.K.


Western Constitutional Forum


**Agreements**

Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement between Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada and the Gwich'in as represented by the Gwich'in Tribal Council, DIAND, Ottawa, 1992

Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement between Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada and the Dene of Colville Lake, Fort Franklin, Fort Good Hope, Fort Norman and Norman Wells in the Sahtu Region of the Mackenzie Valley as represented by the Sahtu Tribal Council, Sahtu Tribal Council, DIAND and GNWT, Ottawa, 1993


*The Western Arctic Claim - The Inuvialuit Final Agreement*, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Ottawa, 1984 (and subsequent amendments)
WEBSITES

The internet is an important source of information especially in communities where there are only small libraries or no libraries at all. The following websites have information about some of the issues discussed in this booklet. From them you will be able to find other useful websites.

Government of the Northwest Territories
www.gov.nt.ca

Constitutional Working Group
www.cwgcommonground.org

Indian and Northern Affairs Canada
www.inac.gc.ca

Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs, Government of British Columbia
www.aaf.gov.bc.ca/aaf