

FIRST NATIONS STRATEGIC BULLETIN

FIRST NATIONS STRATEGIC POLICY COUNSEL

AFN Executive Committee Orchestrates Removal of National Chief Archibald to Support Trudeau Government’s Endgame for Next Federal Election



AFN New Brunswick Regional Chief, now AFN Interim National Chief, Joanne Bernard, getting a selfie with PM Justin Trudeau.

By Russ Diabo

In July 2022, the Assembly of First Nations Annual General Assembly voted to overturn the AFN Executive Committee’s illegitimate suspension of AFN National Chief Roseanne Archibald and passed AFN Resolutions to support her initiatives to: **1) do a review of AFN Govern-**

ance, 2) to have an audit of AFN Finances and 3) to re-negotiate the 2017 AFN-Canada Bilateral Agreement on Joint Priorities, which established a Permanent Bilateral Mechanism (AFN-Canada Senior Officials Committee & Annual Meetings with Ministers and Prime Minister).

Following the **2022 AFN Annual General Assembly, National Chief Archibald** attempted to lead the implementation of the **AFN AGA Resolutions** on 1) **reviewing AFN Governance** and 2) **conducting an AFN Audit** with the **AFN Chiefs’ Committee on Charter Renewal**, but the **AFN Executive Committee** continued to undermine **National Chief Archibald** by refusing to approve a Terms-of-Reference for the Chiefs’ Committee or to approve funding to hire an auditor to conduct even an initial review of AFN finances to determine if a forensic audit is necessary.

National Chief Archibald also continued to seek approval for a new **AFN-Canada Bilateral Agreement** with the Trudeau government, which **National Chief Archibald** called the **Healing Path Forward Accord**.

The proposed Accord had three components:

Special points of interest:

- **AFN Executive Committee Removes NC Archibald to Support Trudeau Gov’t’s “Roadmap” into Municipalization**
- **Feds Elaborate Scheme to End Indian Act & Termination/ Replace Inherent & Treaty Rights using: UNDRIP, UNDA Bill C-15, UNDA Nat’l Action-Plan**
- **Taiaiake Alfred has a new book**

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AFN National Chief Roseanne Archibald, leading AFN Grand Entry, AFA AGA, Vancouver 2022. Photo by R. Diabo

“A governance review and restructure needs to happen at the AFN. This work requires adequate funding to undertake a strategic restructuring process which would include strategic planning at all levels with the Chiefs, the Chiefs Committees, the Secretariat and the AFN Executive Committee”



NC Archibald and PM Justin Trudeau, meeting in Ottawa, November 2022.

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1) **Equality and Equity for First Nations**

The Accord would ensure equality and equity for First Nations so that they enjoy the same standards of living as non-Indigenous Canadians. Focus on building safe and vibrant communities that have clean drinking water, safe and sufficient housing, proper health programs and services, properly funded schools and education processes, policing and community safety, infrastructure, roads, water and sewer, electrification, proper community buildings and spaces, connectivity, food security.

2) **Establishing Political Processes**

National Political Process: Permanent Bilateral Mechanism (PBM)

The National process would establish a table to address complex and longstanding issues.

Regional Political Processes:

We would have greater success when we move toward more regionally based approach and solutions. Ultimately, we need community-driven solutions that feed into regional and Treaty approaches that form a national response. Finally, regional offices require adequate funding in order to conduct their internal engagement and information sharing process on issues of a national importance.

Internal Political Restructuring:

Addressing the need for political and administrative restructuring. A governance review and restructure needs to happen at the AFN. This work requires adequate funding to undertake a strategic restructuring process which would include strategic planning at all levels with the Chiefs, the Chiefs Committees, the Secretariat and the AFN Executive Committee.

National Caucus of Elected of Women Leaders (NCEWL)

This will allow us to make significant strides to improve the quality of life for First Nations women regarding the safety, health, wellbeing, empowerment and capacity building of First Nation women using a gender-based plus lens.

National First Nations Economic Growth, Wealth Building and Prosperity Table

To promote economic reconciliation and establish a National First Nations growth, wealth building and prosperity table will be a starting

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point towards greater understanding and cooperation between First Nations, the government of Canada and a platform to promote economic reconciliation and growth in First Nations communities.

3) Implementing, Recognizing and Respecting our inherent and treaty rights

Reviving constitutional discussions that will lead to actionable amendments that will secure First Nations right to self-determination and implement First Nations jurisdiction.

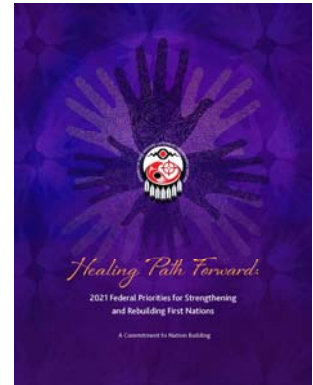
For the third component of the proposed Healing Path Forward Accord, a Discussion Paper entitled "*Sovereignty, Self-Determination & Land Back: A Path Forward for Implementing Our Treaty and Inherent Rights*" was prepared by myself for the **AFN National Chief's Office** and was distributed to all Chiefs regarding development of a national political strategy leading to a **First Ministers' Meeting in order to revive the unfinished business of constitutional discussions**, but this discussion paper was ignored by the **April 2023 Chiefs-in-Assembly**, in favour of a resolution supporting the Trudeau government's [**CANDRIP**] **United Nations Declaration Act** (Bill C-15) **National Action-Plan process**.

The **AFN Regional Chiefs** also refused to discuss the proposed **Healing Path Forward Accord** on the **AFN Executive Committee** or with the Chiefs from the various regions within AFN.

As an example of what **National Chief Archibald** was up against on the **AFN Executive Committee**, CBC reported on a leaked recording of a May 14, 2023, **AFN Executive Committee** meeting, where **Joanne Bernard, New Brunswick Regional Chief and now Interim National Chief** stated "*I feel — this is my opinion only, national chief — that we're not healing. This crap healing path forward and this love and peace stuff, I've had it up to my ears*".

In an effort to move forward on the **AFN AGA mandate** to renegotiate the **2017 AFN-Canada Bilateral Agreement**, **National Chief Archibald** had the **Office of National Chief staff** hold Regional Engagements to present the proposed **Healing Path Forward Accord** and with the various **AFN Committees** (Women's, Knowledge Keepers, etc.).

After almost a year of obstructing **National Chief Archibald's** efforts to implement the **2022 AFN AGA Resolution mandates**, on June 28, 2023, the **Assembly of First Nations, Executive Committee**, orchestrated a **virtual Special Assembly** to hold a vote on whether to remove **AFN National Chief Roseanne Archibald**, the



"AFN Regional Chiefs also refused to discuss the proposed Healing Path Forward Accord on the AFN Executive Committee or with the Chiefs from the various regions within AFN"



AFN Interim National Chief, is New Brunswick Regional Chief, Joanne Bernard, until AFN Election in December 2023.



National Chief Archibald speaking at AFN Special Chiefs' Assembly in Ottawa, April 2023.

“In 2020, as his mandate was ending, AFN National Chief Perry Bellegarde helped the federal government manipulate AFN Chiefs-in-Assembly support for adoption of the United Nations Declaration Act (Bill C-15)“



PM Justin Trudeau with AFN NC Perry Bellegarde at AFN SCA in Ottawa.

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first woman to hold that office.

The result of the virtual vote was 163 Chiefs and Proxies voted to remove **AFN National Chief Roseanne Archibald**, while 62 voted against her removal.

Of the 630 First Nation Chiefs across Canada about less than on third participated in the virtual vote to remove **duly elected National Chief Archibald**.

As a consequence of removing **Roseanne Archibald** as National Chief, it is unlikely the **AFN Executive Committee**, or the **incoming AFN National Chief**, will proceed with the AFN audit, or re-negotiating the **2017 AFN-Canada Bilateral Agreement**, since **Prime Minister Justin Trudeau** told the December 2022, **AFN Chiefs-in-Assembly** that he wants the **Permanent Bilateral Mechanism** (AFN-Canada Senior Officials Committee & Annual Meetings with federal Ministers & Prime Minister) to remain in place for processing (managing & controlling) First Nations national and regional issues.

The **2017 AFN-Canada Agreement on Joint Priorities** and the similar **Bilateral Agreements** with the Metis (MNC) and Inuit (ITK), established bilateral structures and processes for the **Prime Minister’s Office**, the **Cabinet Committee on Reconciliation** and the **federal bureaucracy** to steer the **3 National Indigenous Organizations (AFN, MNC, ITK)** in a top-down approach to “*Reconciliation*” with Indigenous Peoples, which led the Trudeau government to use the **3 National Indigenous Organizations** to publicly say it “*co-developed*” legislation in key areas of First Nations Inherent jurisdiction, like Indigenous languages (Bill C-91), Indigenous Child & Family Services (Bill C-92), which has been appealed to the **Supreme Court of Canada** by the Quebec government as being unconstitutional and a decision from the **Supreme Court of Canada** is expected soon on the Quebec Appeal court case.

In 2020, as his mandate was ending, **AFN National Chief Perry Bellegarde** helped the federal government manipulate **AFN Chiefs-in-Assembly** support for adoption of the **United Nations Declaration Act** (Bill C-15), which with AFN’s input, now has a **5-Year, National Action-Plan** to use the 2007 watered down version of the **United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act** (UNDRIP) as an “*interpretive aid*” in reviewing federal legislation to ensure it is “*aligned*” with the “*objectives*” of **UNDRIP**.

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In accordance with the terms of [**CANDRIP**] **UNDA** (Bill C-15), on June 20, 2023, the federal Minister of Justice and Attorney-General, David Lametti, tabled a **National Action-Plan** in Parliament.

There are 181 federal measures/actions included in the 5-Year [**CANDRIP**] **United Nations Declaration Act** (UNDA) **National Action-Plan**.

However, it should be noted that the **Bill C-15 National Action-Plan** contains fatal flaws that were pointed out by various First Nations as **Bill C-15** was studied by the **House of Commons Standing Committee on Indigenous Peoples**, but the **Liberal-NDP Alliance Members of Parliament**, refused to accept most First Nations proposed amendments to **Bill C-15**, particularly to **section 2(2) of Bill C-15** defining the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, based on **section 35 common law**, which is heavily based on the colonial doctrine of discovery.

So, the flaws in **Bill C-15** remain and the legal obligations of the federal government is only to consult Indigenous Peoples about the **action-plan** (section 6), the **review of federal laws** (section 5) and **annual reporting** to Parliament on progress (section 7) towards achieving the "*objectives*" of the **UN Declaration** remain based on the legal principles, standards and tests set out in **section 35 case law regarding Aboriginal and Treaty rights**, which places the burden of proof on First Nations to produce evidence of Aboriginal and Treaty rights, with resulting costs that go into millions of dollars.

This is why the entire action-plan is written from an "*assumed Crown sovereignty*" perspective, which is consistent with **UNDRIP Article 46.1**, where the federal government is solely in charge of the federal measures/actions and only needs to "*consult*" Indigenous Peoples.

As the action-plan describes it:

*The Government of Canada is committed to implementing the measures identified in this action plan, which **outlines a whole of government roadmap for advancing reconciliation with Indigenous peoples through a renewed, nation-to-nation, government-to-government, and Inuit-Crown relationship** [page 18] [emphasis added]*



Federal Justice Minister, David Lametti, is main architect of **CANDRIP** (Bill C-15), which is based on section 35 Doctrine of Discovery common law.

"the entire action-plan is written from an "assumed Crown sovereignty" perspective, which is consistent with UNDRIP Article 46.1, where the federal government is solely in charge of the federal measures/actions and only needs to "consult" Indigenous Peoples"



Arif Virani, the Toronto Member of Parliament for Parkdale-High Park, has been appointed as the new Justice Minister and Attorney General.



“the government of Canada intends to continue the same federal top-down approach to “Indigenous Reconciliation” it has been using for almost 8 years now, using the 3 National Indigenous Organizations (AFN, MNC, ITK) as National Consultation Bodies”



PM Trudeau with 3 National Indigenous Leaders in Ottawa December 2015.

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The federal phrase “renewed, nation-to-nation, government-to-government, and Inuit-Crown relationship”, refers to the **3 Permanent Bilateral Mechanisms (PBM’s)**, **AFN** (nation-to-nation), **MNC** (government-to-government) and the **ITK** (Inuit-Crown Relationship).

This confirms that the government of Canada intends to continue the same federal top-down approach to “Indigenous Reconciliation” it has been using for almost 8 years now, using the **3 National Indigenous Organizations (AFN, MNC, ITK)** as **National Consultation Bodies**. Although the federal **duty-to-consult** will continue to require regional and local consultations on certain federal measures/actions.

Like the **AFN-Canada PBM**, each of the **3 National Indigenous Organizations** has a **PBM Whole-of-Government Senior Officials Table** (Assistant Deputy-Ministers & Director-Generals) with federal representation from the 3 lead Departments: **Department of Justice; Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada; Indigenous Services Canada** and **Other Government Departments** as necessary for implementation of each federal measure/action.

As noted above, the **Senior Officials Tables** reports back on discussions with each of the 3 National Indigenous Organizations, to the respective **Ministers** and takes direction from, the **Prime Minister’s Office**, the **Cabinet Committee on Reconciliation**, and the **Central Agencies (Privy Council, Finance & Treasury Board)** on the federal responses.

If a **Cabinet submission** is involved the usual Cabinet confidences apply and if **federal legislation** is contemplated, then Parliament is involved, all of which AFN or First Nations have no say in, the federal governing party controls the Cabinet and preparation of legislation, even the Trudeau government’s NDP partner only gets to advise.

To understand where the **AFN Executive Committee**, **AFN Chiefs-in-Assembly** and **AFN Secretariat** are going on the federal Liberal **CANDRIP (Bill C-15) Agenda** without **National Chief Archibald**, one only needs to look at the **AFN mandate** set out in **AFN Resolution #20/2023**, adopted at the **AFN April Assembly**, regarding the **United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act Draft National Action Plan**, moved by **Chief Wilfred King**, Kiasheke Zaaging Anishinaabek First Nation (Gull Bay First Nation),

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Ontario and seconded by **Chief Lisa Robinson**, Wolf Lake First Nation, Quebec

AFN’s April 2023, **SCA Resolution #20/2023 United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act Draft National Action-Plan** is a deliberately drafted weak resolution. It calls on the government of Canada to amend Bill C-15’s section 6(4) to extend the 2-year timeframe to table a final **UNDA Action-Plan** before Parliament in June 2023—which did not happen—so failing that, the resolution calls on Canada to:

commit to amending the Action Plan annually after June 21, 2023, following consultation that meets the requirements of the UNDRIP Act, and First Nations Inherent and Treaty rights, title and jurisdiction. [emphasis added]

to ensure additional funds and resources be made available to all First Nations who wish to participate in the consultation of the Action Plan, in order to meet the requirements of free, prior, and informed consent as per Article 19 of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and the duty to consult and accommodate. [emphasis added]

to continue to consult and cooperate with First Nations title and rights and treaty holders and their representative institutions, where mandated by the First Nation, to review and co-develop amendments to the National Action Plan in order to address the gaps that have been identified by First Nations. This process must be supported by a national oversight body with representation from First Nations and Crown governments, to ensure transparency and the incorporation of First Nations submissions on the National Action Plan. [emphasis added]

Support First Nation and region-specific approaches that uplift First Nations right-holders and advance the implementation of the Declaration based on ongoing work, identified priorities and positions in relation to the UNDRIP Act, and the National Action Plan



Chief Wilfred King, Kiashke Zaaging Anishinaabek First Nation (Gull Bay First Nation) moved weak AFN Resolution #20/2023 to support AFN & First Nations collaboration with Trudeau government on CANDRIP (Bill C-15) Action-Plan.

“AFN’s April 2023, **SCA Resolution #20/2023 United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act Draft National Action-Plan** is a deliberately drafted weak resolution”



Algonquins of Wolf Lake, Chief Lisa Robinson seconded weak AFN Resolution #20/2023 to collaborate on CANDRIP (Bill C-15).



Carolyn Bennett, Minister of Crown-Indigenous Relations, speaking at UNPFII in 2017, photo by R. Diabo.

“The adoption of **AFN SCA Resolution #20/2023** without debate is confirmation the AFN has been coopted into the Liberal **CANDRIP (Bill C-15) Agenda**”



Jody Wilson-Raybould, Minister of Justice at the UNPFII, May 2016, announcing Canada's **CANDRIP National Action-Plan**.

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[emphasis added]

Note that the AFN Resolution calls for consultation NOT consent.

The preamble of **AFN SCA Resolution #20/2023** parrots the Liberal talking point that “*Canada endorsed the UNDRIP without qualification in 2016*”. This isn’t true!

In 2016, Minister Bennett told a **United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII)** meeting that “*We intend nothing less than to adopt and implement the declaration in accordance with the Canadian constitution.*” [emphasis added]

This is a qualification.

Minster Bennett also said in 2016:

*“Canada believes that our constitutional obligations serve to fulfil all of the principles of the declaration, including “free, prior and informed consent...**We see modern treaties and self-government agreements as the ultimate expression of free, prior and informed consent among partners.**”* [emphasis added]

Minister Jody Wilson-Raybould stated at the same 2016 UNPFII meeting, that:

*“**There is a need for a national action plan in Canada, something our government has been referring to as a Reconciliation Framework... And we do not need to re-invent the wheel completely. ...Within Canada, there are modern treaties and examples of self-government—both comprehensive and sectoral. There are regional and national Indigenous institutions that support Nation rebuilding –for example in land management and financial administration.**”* [emphasis added]

The adoption of **AFN SCA Resolution #20/2023** without debate is confirmation the AFN has been coopted into the **Liberal CANDRIP (Bill C-15) Agenda**, and a national strategy going beyond First Nation Chiefs to include First Nation Peoples (rights holders) need to be developed, and developed quickly, if Inherent and Treaty rights are to survive.

The federal plan is to use **CANDRIP (Bill C-15)** as the reason to end

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the **Indian Act** and transition First Nations into 4th Level Indigenous Municipal governments along with Metis and Inuit communities.

Federal Cabinet Shuffle and Reconciliation Agenda

For **Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's** Reconciliation "roadmap", which is set out in his whole of government, **CANDRIP (Bill C-15) National Action-Plan**, on July 25, 2023, the Prime Minister made adjustments to his "Reconciliation" team in a Cabinet shuffle, keeping **Patty Hadju** in place as the **Minister of Indigenous Services**, but replacing **Marc Miller** as **Minister of Crown-Indigenous Relations** and **David Lametti** as **Minister of Justice and Attorney-General**.

The new **Minister of Crown-Indigenous Relations** is **Gary Anandasangaree**, a Sri Lankan Tamil immigrant, who previously was **Parliamentary Secretary of Crown-Indigenous Relations** (2019-2021) with **Carolyn Bennett** who was Minister. He was also **Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada** (2021-2023) with **David Lametti** who was Minister.

So, the new **Minister of Crown-Indigenous Relations** is very familiar with the Trudeau government's **CANDRIP (Bill C-15) National Action-Plan**. He was also a Member of the **Standing Committee on Indigenous and Northern Affairs** (2020-2021), when **Bill C-15** was voted on and passed in Committee and through Parliament when **Bill C-15** received **Royal Assent** on June 21, 2021.

The **new Minister of Justice and Attorney-General of Canada is Arif Virani**, an Ismaili Muslim and refugee immigrant from Uganda, and was **Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada** (2018-2021), first with **Jody Wilson-Raybould** as Minister and then **David Lametti** as Minister. **Gary Anandasangaree** replaced **Arif Virani** as **Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada** in 2021, with **David Lametti** as Minister.

So, the new **Minister of Justice and Attorney-General of Canada, Arif Virani**, is also very familiar with the Trudeau government's **CANDRIP (Bill C-15)** agenda.

As the **Trudeau Liberal government** heads into its final phase of its mandate heading into the next federal election, which will come after the June 2025, **Liberal-NDP Supply and Confidence Agreement** ends, or perhaps sooner, if **Prime Minister Trudeau** determines Liberal election fortunes are improving before then and decides to call an election.



New Minister of Crown-Indigenous Relations, Gary Anandasangaree, a Sri Lankan Tamil immigrant & PM Trudeau.

"The federal plan is to use CANDRIP (Bill C-15) as the reason to end the **Indian Act** and transition First Nations into 4th Level Indigenous Municipal governments along with Metis and Inuit communities"



PM Trudeau & Arif Virani, an Ismaili Muslim and refugee immigrant from Uganda is the new Minister of Justice & Attorney-General of Canada.



“the AFN Executive Committee is now coopted and collaborating with the Trudeau government on the **CANDRIP (Bill C-15) National Action-Plan**, because a majority of Chiefs from all of AFN’s regions are in negotiations/discussions at Trudeau’s secret Tables, bypassing First Nation Peoples who are the rights holders”



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In any case, the **CANDRIP (Bill C-15) National Action-Plan** will be used to seek final agreements from the various negotiation and discussion tables with First Nations across the country, before the next federal election, likely using the threat of a **Poillievre government** to induce final agreements from First Nations.

Federal Unilateral Actions—Endgame

Since 2015, the Trudeau government has implemented a two-track pan-Indigenous approach to “*Reconciliation*”, despite saying it’s a “*distinctions based*” approach. Even the use of the term “*Indigenous*” is a pan-Indigenous approach masking diversity of First Nations, Metis and Inuit, and was used to pass Pan-Indigenous Legislation—**Bills C-91, C-92, C-97, C-15**.

Early on in its first mandate the Trudeau government set up “*exploratory tables*” now called “*Recognition and Self-Determination Tables*” outside of the oversight or review of the national **AFN-Canada PBM/MOU** process and without disclosing the federal negotiation mandate at these tables, while by-passing the **AFN Chiefs-in-Assembly**, which is why the **AFN Executive Committee** is now coopted and collaborating with the Trudeau government on the **CANDRIP (Bill C-15) National Action-Plan**, because a majority of Chiefs from all of AFN’s regions are in negotiations/discussions at Trudeau’s secret Tables, bypassing First Nation Peoples who are the rights holders.

As the **2023-2024 Crown-Indigenous Relations Departmental Plan** puts it:

“CIRNAC will also hold discussions at over 189 negotiations tables based on the affirmation of rights, respect, cooperation, and partnership. Through agreements reached with partners at these discussion tables, representing over 492 First Nations, 22 Inuit communities and 8 Métis organizations, with a total population of over 1 million people [although the “priorities identified by Indigenous groups are the starting point for discussions at these tables”, in the end] CIRNAC will increase the number of treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements.” [emphasis added]

The federal phrase “*treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements*” refers to the federal negotiation framework/options for First Nations to opt out of the **Indian Act**: 1) **Modern Treaties** (Comprehensive Land Claims) in certain parts of Canada; 2) **Self-Government Agreements**; 3) **arrangements** under the **First Nations Land Management Act** (Land Codes) and/or the **First Na-**

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tions Fiscal Management Act (Delegated Tax Powers).

Just after the **2017 AFN-Canada Bilateral Agreement on Joint Priorities** was signed, the federal **Minister of Justice & Attorney-General of Canada, Jody Wilson-Raybould** unilaterally issued **10 Principles for Indigenous Relationships**, which reinforce a domestic interpretation of **UNDRIP** based on “*assumed Crown sovereignty*” and maintains the federal-provincial constitutional division of powers, while remaining silent about the federal government’s ongoing constitutional Treaty and fiduciary responsibilities and obligations to First Nations.

Conclusion

The 8-year track record of the **Trudeau government** towards First Nation Peoples has been one of stealth and deceit towards First Nations leadership and peoples, particularly with the collaboration of **Perry Bellegarde and AFN** during his 6 years in office as **AFN National Chief** (2015-2021).

Using a top-down approach with the **3 National Indigenous Organizations** for First Nations, Metis and Inuit, the **Trudeau government** took advantage of the global pandemic, to pass what I call **CAN-DRIP (Bill C-15)** when the First Nation Peoples (rights holders) couldn’t hold public gatherings for public health reasons.

There are key sections of the **UNDA Bill C-15 National Action-Plan** released on June 20, 2023, that impact on **Inherent and Treaty rights of First Nation Peoples**, for a summary of these federal measures/actions please see **page 23** of this newsletter.



Bellegarde & Bennett signing MOU for New Fiscal Relationship that has led to 10-year grants for Bands & own source revenue (taxation) ‘self-government’ fiscal policy for Indigenous governments.

“The 8-year track record of the Trudeau government towards First Nation Peoples has been one of stealth and deceit towards First Nations leadership and peoples, particularly with the collaboration of Perry Bellegarde and AFN during his 6 years in office as AFN National Chief (2015-2021)”



Assembly of First Nations Chief Perry Bellegarde, left to right, Justice Minister David Lametti and President of the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami Natan Obed participate in an announcement about the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, in Ottawa, on Dec. 3, 2020. (Adrian Wyld / THE CANADIAN PRESS)



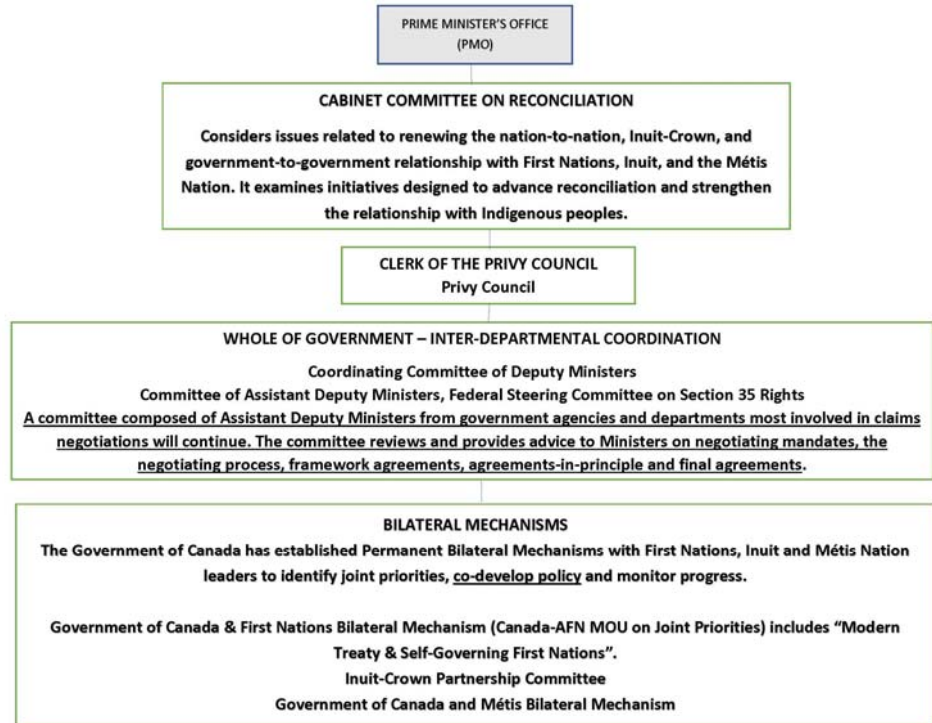
Trudeau & Bellegarde sign MOU on Joint Priorities creating Permanent Bilateral Mechanism to manage issues.



Canada-AFN MOU on Joint Priorities includes “Modern Treaties & Self-Governing First Nations”

“Government of Canada has established Permanent Bilateral Mechanisms with First Nations, Inuit and Metis Nation leaders to identify joint priorities, co-develop policy and monitor progress”

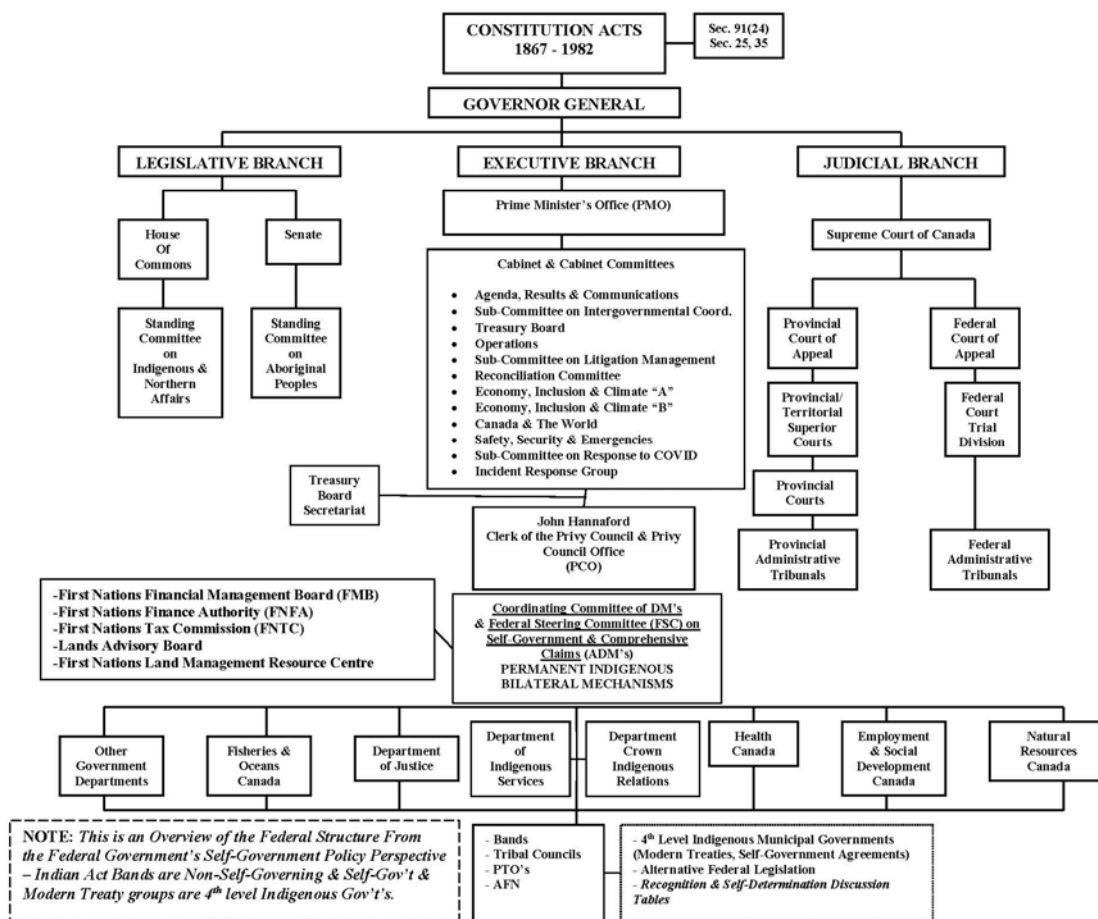
Federal Executive Branch & Permanent Bilateral Mechanisms



Permanent Indigenous Bilateral Mechanisms



Overview of the Government of Canada Structure based on Federal Inherent Right to [Municipal] Self-Government Policy



NOTE: This is an Overview of the Federal Structure From the Federal Government's Self-Government Policy Perspective – Indian Act Bands are Non-Self-Governing & Self-Gov't & Modern Treaty groups are 4th level Indigenous Gov't's.

- Bands
- Tribal Councils
- PTO's
- AFN
- 4th Level Indigenous Municipal Governments (Modern Treaties, Self-Government Agreements)
- Alternative Federal Legislation
- Recognition & Self-Determination Discussion Tables



“As First Nation Peoples, to understand how the federal and provincial governments—like British Columbia—are manipulating a domestic interpretation of international customary law regarding Indigenous Peoples, including UNDRIP, to complete Canada’s colonization project of Terminating/ Replacing the collective Inherent and Treaty rights of First Nations we must now understand and navigate through three documents”

Canada’s ‘Roadmap’ to Transition First Nations into Indigenous Municipalities—Using the UNDA (Bill C-15) National Action-Plan

By Russ Diabo

On June 20, 2023, as required by **Bill C-15**, the **United Nations Declaration Act** (UNDA), the federal Minister of Justice, **David Lametti**, tabled the government of Canada’s **National Action-Plan** to establish a long-term “*evergreen*” process to implement the federal government’s interpretation of the “*objectives*” of the **United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP)**, which the federal government considers merely as an “*interpretive aid*” according to a **Memorandum of Fact and Law of the Attorney General of Canada**, dated April 4, 2022.

As First Nation Peoples, to understand how the federal and provincial governments—like British Columbia—are manipulating a domestic interpretation of international customary law regarding Indigenous Peoples, including **UNDRIP**, to complete Canada’s colonization project of Terminating/ Replacing the collective **Inherent and Treaty rights** of First Nations, we must now understand and navigate through these three documents:

- 1.) 2007 Watered Down Version of the **United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP)**.
- 2.) 2021 Federal **United Nations Declaration Act** (Bill C-15). Also called the **United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act**.
- 3.) 2023 Federal **United Nations Declaration Act** (Bill C-15) **National Action Plan**.

Let’s go through each of these three documents one by one.

2007 UNITED NATIONS DECLARATION ON THE RIGHTS OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

There were three main drafts of the **United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP)**.

- **1994, the Original Text version.**
- **2006, a second amended version of UNDRIP was the Human Rights Council version.**
- **2007, the final version of UNDRIP is the United Nations General Assembly version, passed by the UN General Assembly after changes were made by the African Union, changes that were never properly presented to Indigenous Peoples globally.**

It’s the first 1994 Original Text version of UNDRIP drafted by hundreds of Indigenous representatives over a period of years with their

CANDRIP & Justice Canada’s Draft Nat’l Action-Plan, replaces FPIC, remember those who supported Bill C-15, like Perry Bellegarde, Mary Ellen Turpel-Lafond, Paul Joffe, Willie Littlechild, et al, when resource extraction projects bulldoze over you! #ConsultationIsNotConsent



'Roadmap into Municipalities' continued from page 16

direct participation, which was then undermined by nation states in politicized negotiations within the **United Nations Human Rights Council** system.

Harper Conservative Government Rejects UNDRIP

By Resolution, the **United Nations General Assembly** adopted the **UNDRIP** in 2007, the vote break down is, 144 states voted for **UNDRIP**, 11 states abstained and only four states voted against it: **Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States**.

What these four states have in common is they are all former British colonies with Indigenous Peoples.

Canada's U.N. Ambassador John McNee told the **General Assembly**, "*The provisions in the declaration on lands, territories and resources are overly broad, unclear, and capable of a wide variety of interpretations*".

The **federal Minister of Indian Affairs** told the media "*The declaration is worded in such a way that it is inconsistent with the Canadian Constitution, the Charter, several acts of Parliament and existing treaties*".

Reportedly, **Prime Minister Harper** had expressed concern about the language in the **UN Declaration** and told the media "*We shouldn't vote for things on the basis of political correctness; we should actually vote on the basis of what's in the document*".

On November 12, 2010, the Canadian government announced that it had endorsed the **UN Declaration**. Why the change of policy? Quite likely it was because of electoral politics in the face of a looming federal election after a census showed a growing Indigenous population in key ridings?

John Duncan, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and Federal Interlocutor for Métis and Non-status Indians said Canada was officially endorsing the **UN Declaration** because, "*We understand and respect the importance of this United Nations Declaration to Indigenous peoples in Canada and worldwide,*" so "*Canada has endorsed the Declaration to further reconcile and strengthen our relationship with Aboriginal peoples in Canada.*"

However, while the Harper government publicly endorsed the **UN Declaration** it claimed that the **Declaration** is merely an "*aspirational*" instrument and does not reflect customary international law. Under the Harper government Canada claimed, "*the Declaration does not change Canadian laws. It represents an expression of political, not legal, commitment. Canadian laws define the bounds of Canada's engagement with the Declaration.*"

Canada's Definition of UNDRIP

In 2015, the **Trudeau Liberal's** defeated the **Harper Conservative government** and included in the **Trudeau Liberal's campaign promises** was a promise to adopt the **United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples**.

In 2016, it became clear that like the **Harper Conservatives** before them, the **Trudeau government's Minister of Indigenous Affairs, Carolyn Bennett** gave qualified **NOT** unqualified support to endorsing **UNDRIP**, which she announced at the **United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII)**.

Minister Carolyn Bennett's statement is the basis for the Canadian domestic definition of



Carolyn Bennett, Minister of INAC 2015-2017, & Minister of Crown-Indigenous Relations, 2017-2021, she interfered in AFN 2018 election for Perry Bellegarde.

“Minister Bennett’s 2016 statement confirms that the federal Inherent Right and Comprehensive Land Claims Policies are the federal basis for implementing the “objectives” of UNDRIP, in accordance with the constitutional divisions of federal and provincial powers”



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and Minister of Justice and Jody Wilson-Raybould take part in the grand entrance as the final report of the Truth and Reconciliation commission is released, Tuesday Dec. 15, 2015 in Ottawa. (THE CANADIAN PRESS/Adrian Wyld)

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UNDRIP. Minister Bennett told the UNPFII:

*“We intend nothing less than to adopt and implement the declaration **in accordance with the Canadian Constitution**...Canada believes that our constitutional obligations serve to fulfil all of the principles of the declaration, including **“free, prior and informed consent.”** We see **modern treaties and self-government agreements as the ultimate expression of free, prior and informed consent among partners.**”* **Source:** Carolyn Bennett to UNPFII May 10, 2016. [emphasis added]

Minister Bennett’s 2016 statement confirms that the **federal Inherent Right and Comprehensive Land Claims Policies are the federal basis for implementing the “objectives” of UNDRIP**, in accordance with the constitutional divisions of federal and provincial powers.

Jody Wilson-Raybould, then Minister of Justice & Attorney-General, was also at the 2016 **UNPFII** and reinforced **Minister Bennett’s** position on endorsing **UNDRIP**:

*“There is a need for a national action plan in Canada, something our government has been referring to as a **Reconciliation Framework**...And we do not need to re-invent the wheel completely. ...**Within Canada, there are modern treaties and examples of self-government – both comprehensive and sectoral. There are regional and national Indigenous institutions that support Nation rebuilding –for example in land management and financial administration.**”* [emphasis added]

Jody Wilson-Raybould would later clash with **Carolyn Bennett** on the Liberal government’s proposed 2018 Indigenous *“Rights Recognition Framework”* legislation and **Jody Wilson-Raybould** also found herself clashing with **Prime Minister Justin Trudeau** and top federal bureaucrat, **Michael Wernick** over whether a **Deferred Prosecution Agreement** should be negotiated with **SNC Lavalin**, **Jody Wilson-Raybould** was subsequently demoted to Veteran’s Affairs Minister, until she resigned to sit as an independent Member of Parliament, up until she declined to run in the 2021 federal election.

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Alta Declaration vs. UN "World Conference on Indigenous Peoples"

Prior to the 2015 federal election of the Trudeau Liberal government, a **Global Indigenous Preparatory Conference for the United Nations High Level Plenary Meeting of the General Assembly to be known as the World Conference on Indigenous Peoples** was held in Alta, Norway (Sami Territory), June 10–12, 2013.

300 representatives of Indigenous Peoples from all of the world's global geo-political regions participated in creating the recommendations and document, including the **North American Indigenous Peoples' Caucus**. There were 600 delegates and observers of the preparatory meeting.

The **Sami Parliament of Norway** hosted the event. *"It was drafted through democratic processes, facilitated by a writing group consisting of Indigenous Peoples' representatives from all global regions."*

The result of the **Global Indigenous Preparatory Conference** was the **2013 Alta Outcome Document** containing collective recommendations on the **UN High Level Plenary Meeting of the General Assembly to be known as the World Conference on Indigenous Peoples**, which convened in New York, on September 22, 23, 2014.

Unfortunately, except for a passing reference, the **2013 Alta Outcome Document** was largely ignored in the **2014 Outcome Document of the High-Level Plenary Meeting of the General Assembly known as the World Conference on Indigenous Peoples**.

The **2014 UN HLP/WCIP Outcome Document** did not even mention Indigenous Peoples **Right of Self-Determination** and while **Free, Prior, Informed, Consent** was mentioned, **FPIC** is to be carried out through **National Action-Plans** developed by **Heads of State and Government, Ministers and representatives of Member States**, which **Jody Wilson-Raybould** mentioned in Canada is a *"Reconciliation Framework"* in her 2016 statement to the **UNPFII**, noted above.

Section 8 of the 2014 UN HLP/WCIP Outcome Document includes the reference to *"National Action Plans"*:

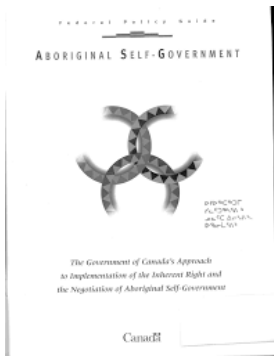
*8. We commit ourselves to cooperating with indigenous peoples, through their own representative institutions, to develop and implement **national action plans, strategies or other measures, where relevant, to achieve the ends of the Declaration.*** [emphasis added]

The **2014 UN HLP/WCIP Outcome Document** is the basis for Canada's **Bill C-15**, the **United Nations Declaration Act**, and the resulting **National Action-Plan**, which the Trudeau government calls a *"Reconciliation Framework"*.

UNITED NATIONS DECLARATION ACT (Bill C-15)

On June 21, 2021, the federal **Bill C-15**, the **United Nations Declaration Act (UNDA)** became law. However, current issues in Canadian Aboriginal/Indigenous law remain unchanged.

In other words, **Bill C-15 the UNDA** maintains the colonial status quo. **Section 2(2) of Bill C-15 the UNDA** on the *"Rights of Indigenous Peoples"* is based on the **Section 35 common law**, which relies heavily on the **colonial doctrine of discovery**, otherwise referred to by the federal government as *"assumed Crown sovereignty."*



“In 2016, at the start of the Trudeau government’s first mandate, as noted above, various Cabinet Ministers made public statements that the federal government’s intent was to develop “a Canadian definition of the Declaration” that domesticates First Nations Inherent and Treaty rights by acceptance of Canada’s “assumed Crown sovereignty”



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The federal government’s position of “*assumed Crown sovereignty*” over First Nations is set out in its so-called **Inherent Right to Self-Government (IRSG) Policy**, which since 1995, is the overarching, umbrella policy for all discussions, negotiations and legislation with First Nations, Metis and Inuit.

Despite **Prime Minister Justin Trudeau’s 2018 commitment** to replace the 1995 policy on the **Inherent Right to Self-Government (IRSG)** with “*new and better approaches*” the **IRSG Policy** remains in place. The policy:

- *Rejects First Nations sovereignty.*
- *Subordinates Inherent Rights to the Charter.*
- *Denies Inherent jurisdiction.*
- *Requires individual negotiations over national and international principles, original Treaties or UNDRIP minimum standards.*

Although First Nations may come to the table with their own objectives and principles, the federal representatives come to the table with the **IRSG policy**. In individual negotiations, it’s very difficult to get the federal government to diverge from this policy.

The **federal IRSG Policy** is the basis for **all** discussions and negotiations with First Nations, Metis, Inuit, including these processes:

- *Recognition of Rights & Self-Determination Tables.*
- *Modern Treaty (Comprehensive Land Claim) Tables.*
- *Self-Government (Sectoral or Comprehensive) Tables.*
- *Specific Claims Tables.*
- *Addition-to-Reserves Process.*
- *Alternative Federal Legislation to the **Indian Act** Imposing National Standards on Inherent and Treaty rights (affecting First Nations lands, taxation, resources, languages, child welfare and governance regimes).*

In 2016, at the start of the Trudeau government’s first mandate, as noted above, various Cabinet Ministers made public statements that the federal government’s intent was to develop “a *Canadian definition of the Declaration*” that **domesticates First Nations Inherent and Treaty rights by acceptance of Canada’s “assumed Crown sovereignty.”**

This is also why as noted above, the federal government refused to amend **section 2(2) of Bill C-15**, which provides for the **definition of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples**:

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Rights of Indigenous peoples

(2) This Act is to be construed as upholding the rights of Indigenous peoples recognized and affirmed by section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982, and not as abrogating or derogating from them. [emphasis added]

Section 2(2) of Bill C-15 is based on the **section 35 common law**, which is heavily based on the **colonial doctrine of discovery** and is being interpreted by the federal and B.C. governments and the courts to limit the implementation of the international standards of **UNDRIP** and more broadly, international customary law regarding Indigenous Peoples.

AFN is a Trudeau government partner, and in order to publicly appear to address First Nation concerns regarding **Bill C-15’s** definition of Indigenous rights, the **Assembly of First Nations National Chief, Perry Bellegarde**, and his **legal advisor Mary Ellen Turpel-Lafond**, meekly proposed several amendments to **section 2 of Bill C-15**, regarding the definition of Indigenous Rights, which were rejected by the Members of the House of Commons **Standing Committee on Indigenous and Northern Affairs**.

The **AFN proposed amendments** were as follows:

Rights of Indigenous peoples

*(2) This Act is to be construed as upholding the rights of Indigenous peoples recognized and affirmed by section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982, and not as **diminishing** or abrogating or derogating from them.*

2(4) For greater certainty, the rights of Indigenous peoples, including treaty rights, must be interpreted flexibly so as to permit their evolution over time and any approach constituting frozen rights must be rejected.

2(5) For greater certainty, nothing in this Act is to be construed so as to diminish or extinguish the rights of Indigenous peoples, including treaty rights. [emphasis added]

AFN National Chief Bellegarde was pressured by some Chiefs to propose these amendments, which were deemed necessary to avoid future interpretations of Indigenous rights based on outdated, colonial, and racist assumptions and prejudices, with the view that First Nation’s customs, traditions, and rights are frozen in stereotypes based on prejudices drawn from non-Indigenous peoples’ beliefs regarding the past lives or circumstances of First Nations Peoples. Also, to limit future interpretations or application of **Bill C-15** that might have the effect of diminishing or extinguishing the rights of First Nations, including Treaty rights.

While **AFN National Chief Bellegarde** proposed to the Parliamentary Committee that **Bill C-15** should be amended to fix its flaws, at the same time, **National Chief Bellegarde** was proposing amendments to strengthen **Bill C-15**, he was telling the House of Commons **Standing Committee on Indigenous and Northern Affairs** “We need to hear the words “royal assent” before the end of June [2021]”, signalling he wanted **Bill C-15** passed, with or without the proposed **AFN amendments**, or proposed amendments from other First Nations who also wanted to strengthen

'Roadmap into Municipalities' continued from page 19**Bill C-15.**

In the end, many proposed First Nations amendments were rejected by the majority of the Standing Committee and Mr. Bellegarde remained silent as **Bill C-15** was adopted without amendment by the **Senate**.

As a result, many First Nations continue to have concerns about the fatal flaws contained in **UN-DA** (Bill C-15).

UNITED NATIONS DECLARATION ACT (Bill C-15) NATIONAL ACTION-PLAN

On June 20, 2023, the federal government tabled before Parliament a **National Action-Plan**, meeting its legislative requirement set out by **section 6 of Bill C-15**, the **United Nations Declaration Act (UNDA)** to issue an **action plan and develop measures** to ensure existing federal laws are consistent with the **UN Declaration** (section 5) to implement the “*objectives*” of the 46 articles of the **United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples** (First Nations, Metis, Inuit).

The purpose of the **UNDA** (*Bill C-15*) is to:

- (a) **affirm the Declaration** as a universal international human rights instrument with application in Canadian law; and
- (b) **provide a framework** for the Government of Canada's implementation of the Declaration. [emphasis added]

Section 5 of Bill C-15 directs the government of Canada to “*take all measures necessary to ensure that the laws of Canada are consistent with the Declaration.*” There is no immediate implementation of **the Declaration**, this section establishes an ongoing process of working with Indigenous peoples for legal review and reform based on Canada's interpretation of **UNDRIP**.

However, there is no list of measures or laws that are inconsistent with **UNDRIP** and even if there were a list of laws to review it would be up to the **House of Commons** and the **Senate** to pass any amendments to the laws, not just the executive branch. Such a legislative amendment process will be subject to changes in the federal government because of federal elections and changing priorities of a new Parliament.

There are already nearly 50 First Nations related federal laws that were passed between 2005-2020, prior to the adoption of **Bill C-15** into federal law. **Sue Collis**, a PhD candidate at Queens University, describes the overall effect of this “*optional*” federal “*recognition*” legislation as a “*coordinated legislative suite*” of 47 laws passed over 15 years:

*The state's method is no longer to repeal, or even substantially amend, the **Indian Act** but, instead, to move communities, one by one and section by section, into alternate legal structures until no one is left for the Act to govern. This is a hollowing out from the inside.*

Designed to be administered by First Nations or Indigenous led statutory institutions, which are legislated into existence and funded by the Canadian government, opt-in legislation fills the regulatory deficits of the Indian Act regime with law that is interchangeable with normative Ca-

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nadian standards in such areas as lands, taxation, and capital enterprise.

Contemporary federal and provincial legal norms are thus extended into Indigenous jurisdictions [emphasis added]

Dr. Jeremy Schmidt refers to what **Sue Collis** calls a “*coordinated legislative suite*” as leading to “*a new kind of federal municipality in Canada,*” which he describes as follows:

Since 2006, successive Canadian governments have worked to create private property regimes on lands reserved for First Nations...under the pretense of restoration, bureaucrats developed legislation that would create novel political spaces where, once converted to private property, reserved lands would function. These changes took place in two ways: First, bureaucrats situated Aboriginal property within the state apparatus and reconfigured Indigenous territorial rights into a series of “regulatory gaps” regarding voting thresholds, certainty of title, and the historical misrepresentation of First Nations economies. Second, the government crafted legislation under what is known as the First Nations Property Ownership Initiative that, by closing regulatory gaps, would produce private property regimes analogous to municipal arrangements elsewhere in Canada. These bureaucratic practices realigned internal state mechanisms to produce novel external boundaries among the [Canadian] state, Indigenous lands, and the economy. [emphasis added]

The **First Nations Property Ownership Initiative** is draft federal legislation to privatize **Indian Reserve lands into a form of fee simple** and was initially developed under the Conservative federal government of **Prime Minister Stephen Harper**, but as **Dr. Jeremy Schmidt** has documented:

under Liberal rule, the private property proposal did not end. Instead...bureaucrats realigned the program to fit the priorities and rhetoric of the incoming government and to strategically introduce new ministers to what is known as the First Nations Property Ownership Initiative (FNPO). [emphasis added]

The federal Liberal government of **Prime Minister Justin Trudeau** has renamed the **First Nations Property Ownership Initiative** as the **Indigenous Land Title Initiative**, which is the same **draft federal legislation to privatize Indian Reserve lands into a form of fee simple**, just under a different name.

In its **Corporate Plan**, under Objectives, Strategies, and Performance Measures for 2019/2020 the **First Nations Tax Commission** listed the **Indigenous Land Title Initiative** as a proposed legislative framework with institutional support:

Indigenous Land Title Registry System - The First Nations Tax Commission will continue to advance an Indigenous land title registry system, separate from the Financial Management Act, so that interested First Nations and



“The federal government uses legislative interference to control and manage the internal affairs of First Nations to limit the nature and scope of Treaty and Inherent rights: First Nations consent when they opt-into legislation, whether they know it or not”



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other interested Indigenous governments can secure title to their lands and move at the speed of business

Like the **First Nations Land Management Act**, the **Indigenous Land Title Initiative** is part of the federal government’s **IRSG Policy** to domesticate Treaties and Inherent Rights by municipalizing First Nations and First Nation Lands. There is already a federal **Self-Governing First Nations Land Registry** maintained for “*Self-Governing First Nations*” who have **Self-Government Agreements**.

*The **Self-Governing First Nations Land Register (SGFNLR)** is established in accordance with the terms of First Nations self-government agreements and record documents that grant an interest in self-governed First Nation lands.*

Since the **1995 IRSG Policy** was adopted, the federal government has continued federal interference by legislating in areas that even Canada admits are internal to First Nations and integral to their culture, **ie., elections, lands, definition of “Indigenous Governing Bodies,” Indigenous child & family services, Indigenous languages.**

The **IRSG Policy and related federal legislation** is a continued assault on First Nations Sovereignty and Jurisdiction. The federal government uses legislative interference to control and manage the internal affairs of First Nations to limit the nature and scope of **Treaty and Inherent rights**: First Nations consent when they opt-into legislation, whether they know it or not.

The **IRSG Policy and related federal legislation** is not in accordance with the **UNDRIP** standard of **Free, Prior, Informed, Consent (FPIC)**.

The **UNDRIP**, contains several provisions that include the **FPIC** international standard, **Articles 10, 11, 19, 29, 30, 32.**

This federal notion of reducing the **UNDRIP** international standard of **FPIC** from consent to consultation is expressed in the federal governments **2017 Principles Respecting the Government of Canada’s Relationship with Indigenous Peoples**, particularly **Principle #6**, which provides as follows:

*6. The Government of Canada recognizes that meaningful engagement with Indigenous peoples **aims to secure** their free, prior, and informed consent when Canada proposes to take actions which impact them and their rights, including their lands, territories and resources. [emphasis added]*

Principle #6 is clearly a manipulation of **UNDRIP’s** international standard on **FPIC**:

Article 32. “States shall consult and cooperate in

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good faith with the indigenous peoples concerned... in order to obtain their free, prior and informed consent prior to the approval of any project affecting their land or territories and other resources, particularly in connection with the development, utilization or exploitation of mineral, water or other resources
[emphasis added]

UNDRIP Article 32 doesn't say "aim to secure" **FPIC**, Article 32 says "States *shall consult and cooperate in good faith...in order to obtain their free, prior and informed consent.*"

Section 6 of Bill C-15 gives the government of Canada the dominant role in developing an "action-plan" to implement **UNDRIP** in the future, in relation to federal laws, since under Canada's constitutional division of federal and provincial powers. The provincial governments have a veto in subject areas that may affect their jurisdiction.

It is important to note that the **United Nations Declaration Act, Bill C-15**, only applies to federal laws while many challenges facing First Nations come from provincial government jurisdiction.

Section 7 of Bill C-15 regarding **Annual Reporting to Parliament** on measures taken and the action-plan. It is the government of Canada that controls the pen in preparing the Annual Report to Parliament.

The fact is, the **Bill C-15 UNDA Action-Plan**, will be limited to the federal framework and process to continue colonization of First Nations through the domestication of Treaties and Inherent rights and municipalization of First Nations and First Nation Lands.

The development of the **Bill C-15 UNDA** and its **Action-Plan** is another example of the federal government coopting our terminology like it did with its "Inherent Right" Policy or its "Nation-to-Nation" relationship under its Reconciliation agenda—for use in its federal communications strategy to the media, public and First Nations.

The adoption of **Bill C-15** into law and the development of a **federal Action-Plan** is another federal effort to control the dialogue and to be seen as the primary source of information, while advancing the ongoing federal policy goals and objectives of domesticating First Nation Treaties and Inherent Rights by municipalizing First Nations and First Nation Lands.

UNDA (Bill C-15) National Action-Plan (Canada's Reconciliation Framework)

There are 5 Chapters in the **UNDA Bill C-15 National Action-Plan** with 181 **UNDA** (Bill C-15) Measures/Actions identified:

Chapter 1: Shared priorities [First Nations, Metis, Inuit]

Chapter 2: First Nations priorities

Chapter 3: Inuit priorities



Liberal Party of Canada 2015 Federal Election Propaganda.

"The development of the **Bill C-15 UNDA** and its **Action-Plan** is another example of the federal government coopting our terminology like it did with its "Inherent Right" Policy or its "Nation-to-Nation" relationship under its Reconciliation agenda—for use in its federal communications strategy to the media, public and First Nations"





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Chapter 4: Métis priorities

Chapter 5: Indigenous Modern Treaty Partner priorities

CHAPTER 1: SHARED PRIORITIES

Most of the 181 federal measures/actions are situated in this chapter, 111 measures/actions to be exact.

The federal **Department of Justice** describes this chapter as follows:

*Canada recognizes that while some priorities may be shared among First Nations, Inuit and Métis, **adopting a distinctions-based approach requires that Canada’s relationships and engagement with First Nations, Inuit and Métis include different approaches or actions and result in different outcomes. Canada also recognizes the importance of historic and modern treaties in informing its relationships and approaches. Finally, Canada acknowledges the need for sensitivity to the impacts that colonization and various forms of discrimination have had on Indigenous identities and the ability of some Indigenous people to maintain their connections to traditional lands, cultures, languages and communities.*** [emphasis added]

“This is a summary list of the measures/actions in this Chapter that I believe should be a concern for First Nation Peoples, Communities and Nations. All bolded text is newsletter editor’s emphasis added”

There is no definition of “traditional lands”.

This is a summary list of the measures/actions in this Chapter that I believe should be a concern for First Nation Peoples, Communities and Nations. **All bolded text is newsletter editor’s emphasis added.**

*The Government of Canada will take the following measures in **consultation and cooperation with Indigenous peoples:***

1. Develop and implement a process and further direction for federal government departments and agencies to ensure bills and proposed regulations are consistent with the UN Declaration through measures such as:

- **Building on initial interim guidance for assessing consistency of federal laws with the UN Declaration (Justice Canada)**
- **Cabinet directives or mandatory assessment tools on consistency with the UN Declaration (Privy Council Office Treasury Board of**



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Canada Secretariat)

- **Other tools to advance the implementation of section 5 of the UN Declaration Act.** (Various departments)

2. Identify and prioritize existing federal statutes for review and possible amendment, including:

- **A non-derogation clause in the Interpretation Act** (Justice Canada)
- **An interpretive provision in the Interpretation Act or other laws that provides for the use of the UN Declaration in the interpretation of federal enactments** (Justice Canada)

- **Any other specific pieces of legislation either already under review or which Indigenous peoples and relevant departments have jointly identified as a priority for review.** (All departments)

3. **Where a statute requires periodic review, responsible departments will conduct that review in a manner that ensures consistency with the UN Declaration and meets applicable consultation and cooperation requirements in the UN Declaration Act** (All departments)

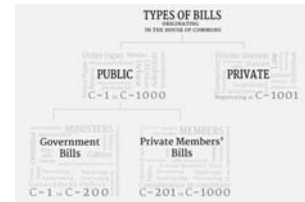
Ensuring oversight and accountability on the implementation of the UN Declaration

The goal of this priority is a Canada where:

- **Indigenous peoples can expect and trust that the Government of Canada will honourably fulfill all of its legislated (including under the UN Declaration Act), common law, fiduciary and constitutional obligations and responsibilities.**
- **Indigenous peoples can easily access processes and mechanisms to ensure accountability on the part of the Government of Canada in meeting the objectives of the UN Declaration and upholding Indigenous title and rights.**

The Government of Canada will take the following measures in consultation and cooperation with Indigenous peoples:

19. Establish an independent Indigenous rights monitoring, over-



“Where a statute requires periodic review, responsible departments will conduct that review in a manner that ensures consistency with the UN Declaration and meets applicable consultation and cooperation requirements in the UN Declaration Act (All departments)”



Reconciliation



We acknowledge that this police operation will be taking place on unceded Indigenous land ...

“Establish an independent Indigenous rights monitoring, oversight, recourse or remedy mechanism or mechanisms to provide Indigenous peoples with access to and prompt decision through just and fair procedures for dispute and conflict resolution and effective remedies for infringements/violations of their individual and collective rights”



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sight, recourse or remedy mechanism or mechanisms to provide Indigenous peoples with access to and prompt decision through just and fair procedures for dispute and conflict resolution and effective remedies for infringements/violations of their individual and collective rights.

Functions could also include:

- **Advancing, monitoring and/or reporting on implementation of the UN Declaration and the UN Declaration Act, as part of ensuring accountability**
- **Promoting Indigenous rights through research and education**
- **Advancing initiatives** to prevent and end systemic discrimination and other human rights violations experienced by Indigenous peoples
- **Contributing to the goal** of rebuilding Indigenous governance and ongoing implementation of international human rights instruments **in Canadian law**

Any Indigenous rights mechanism or mechanisms will:

- **Be Indigenous-led and include representation from First Nations, Inuit and Métis** and equitably reflect gender and other diversity
- **Be distinctions-based** by reflecting the distinct rights, interests and circumstances of First Nations, Inuit and Métis
- **Be informed by** the customs, traditions, rules, and legal systems and legal understandings of Indigenous peoples and international human rights
- **Be accessible** and easy to use for Indigenous peoples
- **Be appropriately resourced**
- **Be complementary and not duplicative** of other monitoring, oversight and dispute resolution mechanisms. (Justice Canada)

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Monitoring the implementation of the Action Plan and reviewing and amending the Action Plan

The **Government of Canada will take the following measures in consultation and cooperation with Indigenous peoples:**

20. Publicly report on progress in an annual report to Parliament and work to ensure coordinated and comprehensive monitoring of implementation of the action plan across existing and new bodies that may be created. (Justice Canada)

- **Include in the UN Declaration Act Annual Report on implementation a section describing progress towards dismantling the Indian Act and recognizing the self-determination of Indigenous nations, as well as monitoring and evaluating the application and outcomes of GBA+.** (Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, Justice Canada and various departments)

- **Coordinate for the UN Declaration Act Annual Report the comprehensive reporting of the actions taken in consultation and cooperation with Indigenous peoples pursuant to section 5 by each relevant federal department and agency.** (Justice Canada)

- **Develop metrics with Indigenous peoples and representative organizations to ensure that useful measurements are being reported on.** (Justice Canada)

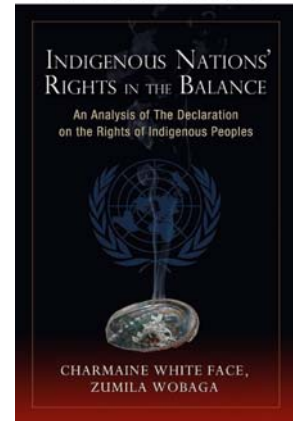
21. Co-develop and implement a process to review and update the action plan every five years, and a process for making amendments to the action plan. (Justice Canada)

22. Establish an Action Plan Advisory Committee (APAC) that will include First Nations, Inuit, and Métis experts selected by First Nations governments and representative institutions, Métis governments and representative institutions and by Inuit Treaty Organizations, or their designates, to provide support and advice, upon request, related to the implementation of shared priorities included in this action plan.

Advice from the APAC will be considered as the Minister, in consultation and cooperation with Indigenous peoples and with other federal ministers, implements the shared priorities in this action plan. (Justice Canada)

“Bill C-15 [and 2007 version of UNDRIP] is based on a lie”
- Charmaine White Face

Support the intent and purpose of the original 1994 version of UNDRIP! #UNDRIP1994



“Establish an Action Plan Advisory Committee (APAC) that will include First Nations, Inuit, and Métis experts selected by First Nations governments and representative institutions, Métis governments and representative institutions and by Inuit Treaty Organizations, or their designates, to provide support and advice, upon request, related to the implementation of shared priorities included in this action plan”

2-TRACK (ISC & CIRNAC) APPROACH DIFFERENT ROLES FOR 2 DEPARTMENTS

- In the Two-Track process, the role of Indigenous Services Canada is to prepare First Nations for the devolution of programs and self-government through capacity building, including the 10-Year Grants.
- The role of Crown-Indigenous Relations is to implement existing self-government agreements, including modern treaties and the alternative to the Indian Act legislative arrangements, through the national land and Financial Management Agreement Institutions—and to continue this approach regarding the negotiation of inherent and treaty rights through the blanket ISG Policy.



Patty Hadju, survived July 2023 cabinet shuffle as Minister of Indigenous Services Canada, responsible for capacity-building, transfer of programs & preparing First Nations to transition into Canada’s definition of “self-government”.

“Engage with partners on the co-development of a Service Transfer Policy Framework. The purpose of the Framework would be to jointly advance the transfer of responsibility for the design, delivery and management of services from Indigenous Services Canada to Indigenous partners. (Indigenous Services Canada)”



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Cross-cutting priorities - Self-determination, self-government and recognition of treaties (articles 3, 4, 37)

The **Government of Canada will take the following actions in consultation and cooperation with Indigenous peoples:**

23. Canada will withdraw the Comprehensive Land Claims and Inherent Right Policies and will issue a public statement that clarifies Canada’s rights recognition approach, including identifying laws and policies that guide the negotiation of treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements. The public statement will include that the extinguishment of rights is not a policy objective. (Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada)

24. Remove and address jointly identified barriers to settlement, and co-develop approaches for the implementation of the right to self-determination through treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements, as well as through new policies and legislative mechanisms. (Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada)

25. Consistent with article 37 of the UN Declaration, honourably implement historic and modern treaties, self-government arrangements, agreements and constructive arrangements – see specific measures found in subsequent chapters. (All departments)

26. Co-develop, in cooperation with Self-Governing Arrangement Holders, solutions to policy impediments impacting the implementation of stand-alone self-government agreements/arrangements and work to resolve them through appropriate actions and mechanisms. (Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada)

27. Engage with partners on the co-development of a Service Transfer Policy Framework. The purpose of the Framework would be to jointly advance the transfer of responsibility for the design, delivery and management of services from Indigenous Services Canada to Indigenous partners. (Indigenous Services Canada)

31. Building on ongoing policy and program renewal, the Government of Canada will work in collaboration with Indigenous partners to identify opportunities to reform and strengthen the foundation-

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al elements that support rights-based negotiations and approaches. This collaborative work may include a review of program administration, capacity support, funding, and delivery models, **including the management of the process for determination of section 35 rights.** (Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada)

Lands, territories and resources (articles 10, 26, 27, 28, 30, 32)

The **Government of Canada will take the following actions** in consultation and cooperation with Indigenous peoples:

32. Develop guidance on engaging with Indigenous peoples on natural resources projects, including in collaboration with provinces, territories, and industry, that:

- **Aligns with the UN Declaration, including article 32(2),** which calls for consultation and cooperation in good faith with the Indigenous peoples concerned in order to obtain free, prior and informed consent, prior to the approval of any project affecting their lands or territories and other resources
- **Provides practical recommendations** for successful free, prior and informed consent implementation (including in situations where multiple regulatory processes are involved) consistent with the outcome(s) of **action plan measure 66**
- **Supports the integration of specific, localized knowledge** held by Indigenous peoples in the design and governance of projects
- **Informs improved and enhanced engagement processes** with Indigenous peoples on natural resources projects. (Various departments)

33. Develop and implement actions to increase the economic participation of Indigenous peoples and their communities in natural resource development. (Natural Resources Canada)

34. Work in consultation and cooperation with First Nation, Métis and Inuit communities, governments and organizations to (i) enhance the participation of Indigenous peoples in, and (ii) **set the measures that could enable them to exercise federal regulatory authority in respect of, projects and matters that are currently regulated by the Canada Energy Regulator (CER).**



“Develop guidance on engaging with Indigenous peoples on natural resources projects, including in collaboration with provinces, territories, and industry”





Jonathan Wilkinson, Federal Minister of Natural Resources since 2021, and is from B.C.

“Develop regulations respecting the Minister of Natural Resource Canada’s power to enter into arrangements that would enable Indigenous governing bodies to be authorized to exercise specific powers, duties and functions under the Canadian Energy Regulator Act”

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Steps to achieve these objectives include to:

- **Develop regulations** respecting the Minister of Natural Resource Canada’s **power to enter into arrangements that would enable Indigenous governing bodies to be authorized** to exercise specific powers, duties and functions under the Canadian Energy Regulator Act.
- **Amend the Canadian Energy Regulator Onshore Pipeline Regulations and Filing Manuals applicable to the lifecycle (design, construction, operation and abandonment) of CER-regulated infrastructure, in a manner that:**
 - o **incorporates specific localized knowledge** held by Indigenous peoples, as well as Indigenous laws, policies, practices, protocols, and knowledge
 - o **strengthens measures** to prevent and address impacts to Indigenous rights and interests, including in relation to heritage resources and sites of Indigenous significance.
- **Develop a systemic model** to enhance Indigenous peoples’ involvement in compliance and oversight over the lifecycle (design, construction, operation and abandonment) of CER-regulated infrastructure. The model should integrate learnings from existing structures and relationships.
- Consult and cooperate to **identify and take the measures needed to support Indigenous governing bodies, and/or the potential establishment of new Indigenous decision-making institutions, to exercise regulatory authority** on projects and matters regulated by the Canada Energy Regulator, including:
 - o **Co-develop** with First Nation, Métis and Inuit communities, governments and organizations and relevant federal departments and regulators **the mandate of such bodies or institutions, as well as the mechanisms required for empowering them with certain regulatory authorities**
 - o **Identify the actions and allocate the resources required** to further develop capacity and expertise for the exercise of regulatory authority by such bodies or institutions.

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This work could lead to other federal departments, regulators or institutions, similarly working in consultation and cooperation with First Nation, Métis and Inuit communities, governments and organizations, to:

- **enhance the participation** of Indigenous peoples
- **set the measures that could enable them to exercise regulatory authority**, in respect of federally regulated natural resource projects. (Natural Resources Canada, Canada Energy Regulator)

36. Pursue amendments and reforms to fisheries legislation, regulation, or policies to support self-determination and the meaningful implementation and exercise of Indigenous fishing rights, including Aboriginal and treaty rights. (Fisheries and Oceans Canada)

Civil and political rights (articles 6, 7, 9, 17, 33, 35, 36)

53. Respond to the Supreme Court of Canada’s decision in R. v. Desautell by undertaking **exploratory discussions with section 35 rights holders to contribute to addressing the impacts of colonialism on Indigenous groups affected by international borders.** (Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada)

Participation in decision-making and Indigenous institutions articles 5, 18, 19, 34)

The **Government of Canada will take the following actions** in consultation and cooperation with Indigenous peoples:

66. Develop coordinated, whole-of-government approaches to the implementation of the right to participate in decision-making related to legislative, policy and program initiatives, consistent with the UN Declaration, including articles 18 and 19, which could include:

- **Elements to ensure relevant processes respect and reflect consultation and cooperation** with affected Indigenous peoples to obtain their free, prior and informed consent
- **Measures to address barriers to full and effective participation** by Indigenous peoples, including, for example, in relation to access



“Respond to the Supreme Court of Canada’s decision in R. v. Desautell by undertaking exploratory discussions with section 35 rights holders to contribute to addressing the impacts of colonialism on Indigenous groups affected by international borders. (Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada)”



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to information and capacity supports

- **Identifying and pursuing potential legislative changes and changes to Government of Canada decision making practices and processes to implement the right to participate in decision-making**

- **Providing guidance on identifying Indigenous representative institutions for the purposes of implementing the right to participate in decision-making.** (Various departments)

67. Work with Indigenous partners to ensure co-development of legislation, policies, programs, regulations and services furthers the right of Indigenous peoples to self-determination, led by priorities and strategies determined and developed by Indigenous peoples, and that co-development processes result in initiatives that comply with Indigenous rights and advance Indigenous priorities. This includes advancing concrete measures co-developed under the permanent bilateral mechanisms process such as the Inuit Nunangat Policy and distinctions-based co-development principles. (Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada and various departments)

68. Strengthen Indigenous peoples’ participation in decision-making through an improved whole-of-government approach to consultation and accommodation which is aligned with the UN Declaration by:

- **Co-developing consultation arrangements with Indigenous partners that establish agreed-upon duty to consult and engagement processes, in a manner that is consistent with self-determination objectives and free, prior and informed consent**

- **Co-developing information on Aboriginal and treaty rights through a system newly co-managed with Indigenous partners**

- **Establishing a permanent Indigenous advisory committee to guide the federal approach to consultation and to explore considerations for an Indigenous-managed consultation capacity support fund.** (Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada)

72. Co-develop with First Nations, Inuit, and Métis right holders or their national designates distinctions-based, whole of government policy guidelines on fully and effectively engaging Indigenous peoples on international issues affecting them, with a commitment to explore the development of policy in specific areas where appropriate. This work will seek to enhance the participation of Indigenous peoples in decision-making on matters which would affect their rights and to advance Canada’s contribution to the work of the entities of the UN system and other intergovernmental organizations in their implementation of article 41. (Global Affairs Canada)

73. Centralize review of policy and program documents to ensure UN Declaration Act en-

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agement principles with Indigenous peoples are respected and maintained. (Canadian Heritage)

Implementation and redress (articles 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 46)

111. Collaborate with Indigenous partners and the Province of British Columbia on the implementation of provincial measures in support of British Columbia’s Declaration Act Action Plan, where federal involvement is appropriate, including through the bilateral process established through the Letter of Understanding between Justice Canada and the First Nations Leadership Council to advance implementation of the federal action plan in British Columbia. (Various departments)

CHAPTER 2: FIRST NATION PRIORITIES

Self-determination, self-government and recognition of treaties (articles 3, 4, 37)

The Government of Canada will take the following actions in consultation and cooperation with First Nations:

1. Continue work underway with First Nations partners on a new fiscal relationship to provide sufficient, predictable and flexible funding in support of closing socio-economic gaps and advancing self-determination. (Indigenous Services Canada)

2. Re-affirm pre-1975 treaty relationships based on the principles of mutual respect, self-determination and the nation-to-nation relationship. Engage Treaty Nations in co-developing approaches, including reconvening of Treaty Councils if Nations wish to do so, for the renewal and honourable implementation of pre-1975 treaties and treaty relationships, including a shared vision to guide actions and a common understanding of the spirit and intent of pre-1975 treaties. (Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada)

Lands, territories and resources (articles 10, 26, 27, 28, 30, 32)

The Government of Canada will take the following actions in consultation and cooperation with First Nations:

3. Continue to co-develop options for reform of the Specific Claims program, and the development of a reformed specific claims resolution process, including a Centre for the resolution of specific claims, to administer and oversee the process presently performed by Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada. As part of this process, co-develop changes to the Specific Claims Policy and amendments to the Specific Claims Tribunal Act as necessary to implement a reformed Specific Claims resolution process that is consistent with the UN Declaration. (Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada)

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4. Building on the adoption of co-developed amendments to the First Nations Fiscal Management Act (Bill C-45), which seek to address capacity and institutional gaps, including through enhancements to the institutions’ mandate and data collection functions, the establishment of the First Nations Infrastructure Institute, and the expansion of First Nations’ law-making powers and enforcement tools under the Act, it is proposed that Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada continues to work closely with the Institutions under the First Nations Fiscal Management Act, Indigenous Services Canada and other relevant federal and Indigenous partners to explore new concepts and the co-development of new or enhanced opt-in mechanisms and initiatives to allow First Nations to strengthen their capacity and assume greater jurisdiction and control in the areas of financial management, taxation, access to capital markets, and infrastructure-related service delivery. (Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada)

5. Co-develop a redesign of the Additions to Reserve Policy. (Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada)

Civil and political rights (articles 6, 7, 9, 17, 33, 35, 36)

The Government of Canada will take the following actions in consultation and cooperation with First Nations:

7. Support the adoption of Bill C-38, which seeks to address discrimination in the registration and membership provisions of the Indian Act. (Indigenous Services Canada)

8. Co-develop a collaborative consultation process on a suite of broader reforms relating to registration and band membership issues, prior to any transition away from the Indian Act. This includes to consult, cooperate and effectively engage with First Nations women to eliminate remaining gender-based issues. Canada recognizes that the Indian Act is a colonial-era law designed to exert control over the affairs of First Nations, and as such, the Act will never be fully aligned with the UN Declaration. For Canada’s laws to fulfill the UN Declaration, the Indian Act must be repealed. The government is seeking to make the Act’s registration and band membership provisions more consistent with the UN Declaration, until a clear consensus on a way forward on comprehensive change or the Act’s repeal is possible. (Indigenous Services Canada)

9. Consult First Nations and other impacted Indigenous groups to support the co-development of opt-in alternatives to Indian Act registration and membership (First Nation citizenship). This will include a broad spectrum of Indigenous demographic groups, such as women, girls and 2SLGBTQI+ people, Elders, Treaty groups, etc. (Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada; Indigenous Services Canada)

'Roadmap into Municipalities' conclusion from page 34**EDITOR'S COMMENT ON BILL C-15 NATIONAL ACTION-PLAN**

It's obvious that the federal lawyers and bureaucrats wrote **Canada's National Action-Plan** to identify measures/actions needed to complete Canada's settler-colonial project to end the **Indian Act** by transitioning First Nations (Bands/Reserves) into **4th Level Indigenous Municipalities**, along with Metis and Inuit communities.

We suggest using the guidance provided by the 1994 version of UNDRIP and Arthur Manuel's 6-Point Plan for Decolonization.

ARTHUR MANUEL'S 6-POINT DECOLONIZATION PLAN

The Trudeau government's National Action-Plan is inconsistent with the late Arthur Manuel's path to decolonization:

1. ***The first step is a simple one and has been advocated by both the RCAP and the TRC: Formally denounce the racist doctrine of discovery and terra nullius as justification for settler presence on our lands, as well as any other doctrines, laws or policies that would allow you to address us on any other basis than nation to nation.***
2. ***As part of the nation to nation negotiation you must, logically, recognize our right to self-determination, which is the essential decolonizing remedy to move Indigenous peoples from dependency to freedom.***
3. ***Acknowledgement of our right to self-determination must be according to international human rights standards and include ecological and equitable development principles, Indigenous knowledge systems, laws, relationships to land, world views, technologies, innovations and practices and, of course, recognition and affirmation of our Aboriginal title and rights to the lands that the Creator has given each nation and which we have inhabited since time immemorial.***
4. ***At this point we can finally sit down together for the long, grown-up talk about who we are and what we need, and who you are and what you need, and we can then begin to sort out the complicated questions about access to our lands and sharing the benefits. These talks can, indeed, lead to reconciliation, but only after our rights as title holders and decision makers on the land and our economic and cultural needs are met. We in turn will ensure that your very real human right to be here after four hundred years is respected and your economic and cultural needs are also met.***
5. ***Anything that we agree to in access and benefits must also include clear jurisdictional lines of authority based on the standard of free, prior and informed consent of Indigenous peoples and decision making that incorporates environmental reviews and oversight in accordance with Indigenous laws.***
6. ***In concrete Canadian terms, Section 35 of the Canadian Constitution must be made to comply with Article 1 of the International Covenant on Civil & Political Rights/ International Covenant on Educational, Social & Cultural Rights and Article 3 of UNDRIP and all of the colonial laws must be struck from Canadian books, thereby implementing the Indigenous right to freely determine our own political status and freely pursue our economic, social and cultural development.***

Advancing the Right of First Nations to Information

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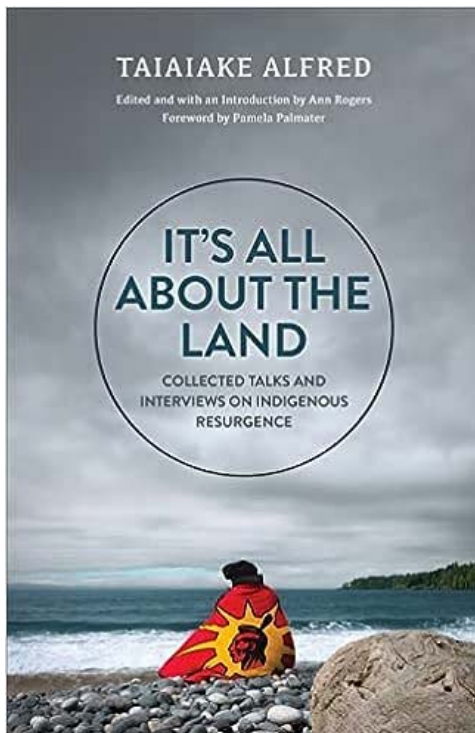
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Feedback is welcome. Let us know what you think of the Bulletin—Russell Diabo, Publisher and Editor, First Nations Strategic Bulletin.

For More Information Check Out: <http://russdiabo.com/>

It's All about the Land: Collected Talks and Interviews on Indigenous Resurgence Paperback – Sept. 12 2023, by Taiaiake Alfred, Author



Illuminating the First Nations struggles against the Canadian state, *It's All about the Land* exposes how racism underpins and shapes Indigenous-settler relationships. Renowned Kahnawà:ke Mohawk activist and scholar Taiaiake Alfred explains how the Canadian government's reconciliation agenda is a new form of colonization that is guaranteed to fail.

Bringing together Alfred's speeches and interviews from over the past two decades, the book shows that Indigenous peoples across the world face a stark choice: reconnect with their authentic cultures and values or continue following a slow road to annihilation.

Rooted in ancestral spirit, knowledge, and law, *It's All about the Land* presents a passionate argument for Indigenous Resurgence as the pathway toward justice for Indigenous peoples.

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