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FIRST NATIONS STRATEGIC BULLETIN

FIRST NATIONS STRATEGIC POLICY COUNSEL

Setting the Trap—Prime Minister Mark Carney Invites First Nation Chiefs into a 2026 First Ministers' Meeting

Alberta Premier Danielle Smooth and Prime Minister Mark Carney sign an MOU on Energy in Calgary, Nov. 30, 2025 (Photo courtesy of THE CANADIAN PRESS/Jeff McIntosh)

By Russ Diabo

The transition from the Trudeau government to the Carney government started with **Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's** resignation in January 2025, followed by a Liberal Leadership race that Mark Carney easily won and a federal election giving Mark Carney a minority government.

As we enter 2026, we will see where "*Indigenous*" and First Nations issues fit into **Prime Minister Carney's** "*nation-building*" plan to respond to **President Donald Trump's** trade war and threat to economically annex Canada. Prime Minister Carney has invited First Nation Chiefs to set the agenda for a **First Ministers' Meeting**, early in the new year.

If the **First Minister's Meeting** goes the way the **Carney government** organized the **First Nation Summit** in July 2025, the **AFN** won't be in charge, there will be a bias to select **pro-Carney, pro-Premiers, pro-development Chiefs** invited to speak and lead the dialogue at the planned 2026, **First Nations-First Ministers' Meeting**.

Know the Players on Carney's Team

Like the **Chretien government**, the **Carney government** is taking a similar authoritarian approach to First Nation issues. It is good to remember the advice a Team of us told **AFN** in a 1997 Paper, after reviewing the **1996 Report and Recommendations of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples**. This advice remains true today:

> *Despite the illusion of negotiation, First Nations are being kept in the dark and away from the real decision-making*

Special points of interest:

- **PM Carney sets a trap for First Nation Chiefs to attend a First Ministers' Meeting after ramming Bill C-5 into law & signing an Alberta-Canada MOU on Energy**
- **PM Carney sells Bill C-5 in speech to AFN Assembly**
- **Carney's Liberal Indigenous Caucus helps to sell Bill C-5**

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Marc Andre Blanchard, Chief of Staff, PMO

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centres of government. ***The real negotiation of policy and priorities takes place with the federal Cabinet, Central Agencies (Finance, Treasury Board, Privy Council Office), Committees of Deputy Ministers and Assistant Deputy Ministers, and provincial governments.***

These are segregated from any of the negotiating forums in which First Nation governments are allowed to participate. Access to the real sources of power which would influence policy continues to be denied.

Once the real power brokers within government have made their decisions about how things will be done, they send their messengers to meet with the Indians. *These messengers are usually negotiators, Directors, Director Generals, occasionally ADM's or Deputies, and sometimes a Minister. Their job is two-fold: (1) to deliver the policy message and obtain the desired result, and (2) to deflect and prevent the First Nations from dealing directly with the power brokers, especially the Prime Minister*. [emphasis added]

"**Prime Minister Mark Carney** has concentrated power in a triumvirate consisting of himself, **Marc Andre Blanchard**, his Chief of Staff, and **Michael Sabia**, a Canadian businessman and public servant who is the incoming Clerk of the Privy Council, the head of the Public Service of Canada"

Similar to Prime Minister **Jean Chretien**, Prime Minister **Mark Carney** has concentrated power in a triumvirate consisting of himself, **Marc Andre Blanchard**, his Chief of Staff, a Canadian executive, lawyer and former diplomat, who under the Trudeau government, served as **Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations**, from April 1, 2016, until July 31, 2020, and **Michael Sabia**, a Canadian businessman and public servant who is the incoming **Clerk of the Privy Council**, the head of the Public Service of Canada.

Michael Sabia, Clerk of Privy Council Office, head of Public Service

Michael Sabia has served in a number of senior public sector roles including as **CEO of Caisse de dépôt et placement du Québec** (2009–2020), **Deputy Minister for the Department of Finance Canada** (2020–2023) and **CEO of Hydro-Québec** (2023–2025). **Michael Sabia** began his career in the federal public service in the 1980s, having served as **Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet** (plans). He has also held senior roles in the private sector as **CEO of Bell Canada Enterprises and CFO of CN Railway**. Sabia was director of the **Munk School of Global Affairs** and remains a distinguished fellow at the school.

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Prime Minister Carney also has two other close advisors, **Tim Hodgson**, a Canadian politician who has been **Minister of Energy and Natural Resources** since 2025. A member of the Liberal Party, Hodgeson was elected to the House of Commons in the 2025 federal election, serving as the member of Parliament (MP) for Markham—Thornhill. Prior to entering politics, **Hodgeson worked in finance**; he was **CEO of Goldman Sachs Canada and has worked at the Bank of Canada**, PwC, and served in the Canadian Armed Forces, and **David Lametti**, a Canadian politician and lawyer who was the member of Parliament for LaSalle—Émard—Verdun from 2015 to 2024.

Tim Hodgson, Minister of Energy & Natural Resources

A member of the Liberal Party, **David Lametti** served as **Minister of Justice and Attorney-General of Canada** from 2019 to 2023, where he manipulated the passage of the **United Nations Declaration Act** (**Bill C-15**) into law. In June 2025, **David Lametti** was chosen by **Prime Minister Mark Carney** as his **Principal Secretary**, prior to the appointment, he had helped with **Carney's transition** into office and as an informal advisor. However, on September 18, 2025, **David Lametti** was named **Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations**, he took over from **Bob Rae** on November 17, 2025.

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The **2025 Federal Election** saw a record number of "*Indigenous*" candidates running as Members of Parliament, including for the **Liberal Party of Canada**.

To help sell his "*Indigenous Economic Reconciliation*" Plan, **Prime Minister Carney** appointed three female Ministers from the North to his Cabinet: **Rebecca Alty**, a non-Indigenous person from a Modern Treaty region, and former Mayor of Yellowknife as **Minister of Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada** (**CIRNAC**), **Mandy Gull-Masty**, a Cree person from the first Modern Treaty Group in Canada, the **Grand Council of the Crees of Quebec**, as **Minister of Indigenous Services Canada** (**ISC**), and **Rebecca Chartrand**, a Anishinaabe, Inninew, and Métis from Northern Manitoba, as **Minister of Northern and Arctic Affairs**.

Prime Minister Carney also appointed Northern Saskatchewan Metis, **Buckley Belanger**, as **Minister of State for Rural Development**.

In addition to his "*Indigenous*" Cabinet Ministers, the Liberal "*Indigenous Caucus*" includes two Members of Parliament who

David Lametti, Canadian Ambassador to UN, led adoption of UNDRIPA (Bill C-15)

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Jaime Battiste, M.P.

“all of the Liberal’s “Indigenous Caucus” members have jobs within the Carney government to sell the Carney government’s version of “Economic Reconciliation” and they voted to support both parts of Bill C-5, the “One Economy Act”“

Wade Grant, M.P.

are part of his “*Indigenous*” team to sell his version of “*Economic Reconciliation*”, they are **Jaime Battiste**, a Mi’kmaw from Nova Scotia and **Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Crown-Indigenous Relations** as well as **Wade Grant**, Coast Salish from Musqueam and **Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Environment and Climate Change**.

So, all of the Liberal’s “*Indigenous Caucus*” members have jobs within the Carney government to sell the Carney government’s version of “*Economic Reconciliation*” and they voted to support both parts of **Bill C-5**, the “*One Economy Act*” - **PART ONE: An Act to enact the Free Trade and Labour Mobility in Canada Act and PART TWO: the Building Canada Act**.

The “*Indigenous Caucus*” is required to support any other “*Indigenous*” policies coming out of the Carney government’s Cabinet, which is continuing to implement the Trudeau government’s “*Rights Recognition Framework*” of policy and legislation **to end the Indian Act Band/Reserve system through “*Indigenous Governing Bodies*” with municipal/corporate status**.

To this end, **Prime Minister Mark Carney** has changed the federal Cabinet Committee’s and membership of committees to reflect **Bill C-5, the One Canadian Economy Act**,

PM Carney has removed **PM Trudeau’s “***Cabinet Committee on Reconciliation***”** and replaced it with “*Indigenous economic prosperity*” (**Build Canada Committee**), which includes the **CIRNAC Minister and Northen Affairs & Arctic Minister**, and to “*reduce government expenditures*” a **Government Transformation Committee** has been created, which includes the **CIRNAC Minister** and to “*advance reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples*” a **Cabinet Committee on Quality of Life and Well-Being** was created, it is a Cabinet Committee charged with social policy to consider “*ways to improve community safety and health, advance reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples, and augment the overall quality of life and well-being of Canadians*”, the membership of this committee includes both the **Ministers of CIRNAC and ISC**.

In my opinion, the changes to **Carney’s Cabinet Committee’s** reflects the Carney government’s intent in **Bill C-5** to place “*investor confidence*” above “*respecting the rights of Indigenous Peoples*” or “*protecting the environment*”.

Carney’s Plan Uses the Canada-AFN Permanent Bilateral Mechanism

The Carney government has inherited the **2016 Bennett-**

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Bellegarde MOU on developing a "*New Fiscal Relationship*", which has resulted in the **10-Year Capacity-Building Grants** to prepare **Indian Act Band Councils and Band Office Staff** for federally defined "*self-government*", by **First Nation communities** assuming the risks for "*sectoral and service transfers from ISC*" like "*Health, Education, Child & Family Services, Social Programs*" and the transition into the federal **Self-Government Fiscal-Policy**, which is based on a **funding formula to reduce federal transfer payments** by **off-loading costs** of local governance and delivering programs and services onto "*Indigenous Governments*" who are required to make up the difference in funding levels under the **Self-Government Fiscal Policy** to use their **own-source revenues, including taxation and taking out loans from the First Nations Financial Authority revolving loan fund**.

The Carney government has also inherited what is called the "*Permanent Bilateral Mechanism*", which comes from the **2017 Trudeau-Bellegarde MOU on Joint Priorities**, this mechanism was used to allegedly "*co-develop*" the suite of legislation adopted by Parliament:

- The **Indigenous Languages Act** (2019).

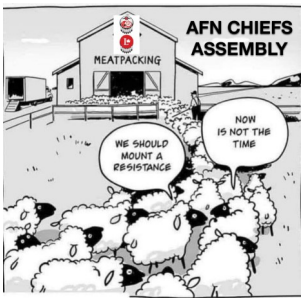
- The **Indigenous Child & Family Services Act** (2019).

- The **An Act to implement certain provisions of the budget tabled in Parliament on March 19, 2019 and other measures - DIVISION 25, Various Measures Related to Indigenous Matters [Dissolving Department of Indian Affairs, Creation of Departments of Indigenous Services Canada & Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada]**.

- United Nations Declaration Act (2021).

Although **Canada and AFN** claimed this suite of legislation was "*co-developed*", the reality is that in the **Bilateral Process**, **Canada controls the funding, agenda and pen** through a **Senior Officials Committee** of federal bureaucrats and the **unilateral Cabinet and Parliamentary processes**. In this **Canada-AFN Bilateral Process**, **AFN Resolutions and AFN Executive Committee positions** are just advisory—but not binding—on the federal government.

In 2024, the **Supreme Court of Canada** in the **Quebec Reference Case** regarding the constitutionality of **An Act respecting First Nations, Inuit and Métis children, youth and families** (**Bill C-92**), held that the suite of federal legislation is "*legislative reconciliation*",



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SCC Chief Justice as Interim GG giving Royal Assent to Bill C-15.

"the 1867 federal constitutional authority under section 91.24 extends to Indians, Inuit and Metis, hence the use of the term "Indigenous Peoples" and "Indigenous Governing Bodies" in legislation and policy by the federal government"

Richard Wagner, Chief Justice of SCC, was Interim GG, on June 21, 2021.

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which the court noted "*legislation of this kind does not purport to be the source of the rights in question, but rather proceeds on the premise that these rights exist*", including the federal **United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act** (**Bill C-15**).

The **Supreme Court of Canada** (**SCC**) also held that **Bill C-15** is the "*Framework for Reconciliation*" and through **Bill C-15**, **UNDRIP** has now been incorporated into Canada's positive law and that includes **section 91.24** of the **Constitution Act 1867**, which gives the federal Parliament exclusive legislative authority for "*Indians and lands reserves for the Indians*", and **Bill C-92**, the **Indigenous Child and Family Services Act**—like the rest of the federal suite of legislation—"*falls squarely within s. 91(24) of the* ***Constitution Act, 1867****… The jurisdiction provided for in* ***s. 91(24) is broad in scope and relates first and foremost to what is called "Indianness" or Indigeneity, that is, Indigenous peoples as Indigenous peoples***". [emphasis added]

Meaning, the **1867 federal constitutional authority under section 91.24 extends to Indians, Inuit and Metis**, hence the use of the term "*Indigenous Peoples*" and "*Indigenous Governing Bodies*" in legislation and policy by the federal government.

This **Pan-Indigenous approach** is very important to understand if you want to understand the Carney government's pivot to "*Economic Reconciliation*" while implementing the **UNDRIPA/ CANDRIP (Bill C-15) National Action-Plan Measures** (**APM's**).

This is why in 2019 as part of what I call the **Indigenous Melting Plot**; the Trudeau government dissolved the federal **Department of Indian Affairs** and created the **Departments of Indigenous Services Canada & Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada**.

Know What Carney's Plan Is!

In the 2025 Federal Election, **Liberal Leader and Prime Minister Elect, Mark Carney**, issued a **Liberal Platform** called "*Canada Strong: Mark Carney's Plan to Unite, Secure, Protect, Build*", which included a section on "*Reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples*".

As **Mark Carney's "***Canada Strong Plan***"** states:

> "*At the core of a Mark Carney-led government will be a* ***fundamental commitment to advance the process of reconciliation****. This must be*

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> ***grounded in the recognition of the rights*** *of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis* ***in alignment with Section 35 of the constitution*** *and the implementation of the* ***United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples***." [emphasis added]

On its surface these words sound good, but remember, **Section 35 of the 1982 constitution, is now based on section 35 common law**, which is the body of Crown law developed over the last 35 years through the **Supreme Court of Canada's** (**SCC**) court decisions, **setting out the legal burden of proof for section 35 Aboriginal and Treaty rights** in the **SCC imposed, legal principles, standards and tests**, and to assess, if in federal, provincial, territorial **Duty to Consult processes and procedures—asserted**—but "***unproven rights***" are to be tested—proven in accordance with Canadian **section 35 common law**.

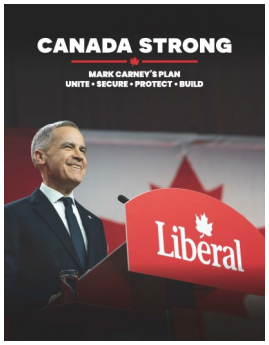
The Carney government's electoral platform also includes the commitment to "***Implement the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act and the Action Plan***"(**Bill C-15**), which replaces the **UNDRIP international minimum standards for human rights** with the **federal domestic interpretation of UNDRIP** through the existing federal "*Rights Recognition Framework*", which is based on decades old federal **self-government, land claims and other policies** as well as the federal government's **section 91.24 constitutional authority to pass legislation for "*Indians and lands reserved for Indians*"**. [emphasis added]

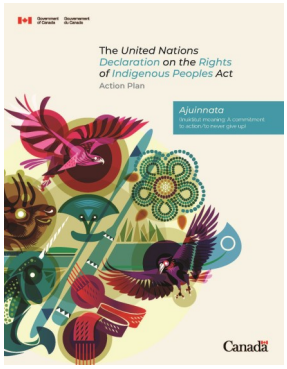
Like the **section 91.24 laws** passed by the Trudeau government, through the **Canada-AFN Bilateral Process**, referred to above.

Carney's 2025 Election Platform specifically promises to:

> ***Work in full partnership with First Nation, Inuit, and Métis*** *to advance and realize the rights of Indigenous Peoples through a distinctions-based approach.*
>
> ***Support Indigenous-led processes for advancing self-determination*** *and the exercise of jurisdiction in priority areas such as education, health, child and family services as well as community safety and policing.*
>
> ***Work in partnership*** *on the implementation of treaties, land*

"remember, **Section 35 of the 1982 constitution, is now based on section 35 common law**, which is the body of Crown law developed over the last 35 years through the Supreme Court of Canada's (SCC) court decisions, setting out the legal burden of proof for section 35 Aboriginal and Treaty rights in the SCC imposed, legal principles, standards and tests, and to assess, if in federal, provincial, territorial Duty to Consult processes and procedures—asserted—but "unproven rights" are to be tested—proven in accordance with Canadian section 35 common law"





"This last promise is to implement the Trudeau government's **UNDRIPA/ CANDRIP (Bill C-15) National Action-Plan**, which is a Pan-Indigenous 5-Year Plan (2023-2028), considered "evergreen", since it is to be renewed for years, likely decades, is the overall plan for the Carney government to continue to advance the lie it is implementing UNDRIP"

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claim, and self-government agreements.

***Commit to developing and supporting, in partnership, the structures that support a nation-to-nation, Inuit-Crown, government-to-government relationship** to progress on shared priorities.*

***Move forward on the important work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Calls to Action** and support Indigenous communities to uncover unmarked and undocumented graves and burial sites at residential schools.*

***Move forward on the implementation** of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls Calls for Justice and the National Action Plan.*

***Implement the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act** and the Action Plan.*

This last promise is to implement the Trudeau government's **UNDRIPA/CANDRIP (Bill C-15) National Action-Plan**, which is a **Pan-Indigenous 5-Year Plan** (2023-2028), considered "*evergreen*", since it is to be renewed for years, likely decades, is the overall plan for the Carney government to continue to advance the lie it is implementing **UNDRIP**.

There are **5 chapters and 181 federal measures/actions** included in the **5-Year UNDRIPA/CANDRIP National Action-Plan**, including "*For Canada's laws to fulfill the UN Declaration, the Indian Act must be repealed*" [First Nations Priorities, Action-Plan Measure #8]

Chapter 1: Shared priorities (Pan-Indigenous: First Nations, Metis, Inuit) [Largest Chapter]

Chapter 2: First Nations priorities [NOTE: Pre-1975 Treaties in This Chapter]

Chapter 3: Inuit priorities

Chapter 4: Métis priorities

Chapter 5: Indigenous Modern Treaty Partner priorities

The entire action-plan to end the **Indian Act Band/Reserve system**

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

Remember, there were three main drafts of the **United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples** (**UNDRIP**):

> 1994, the Original Text version. (**Developed by a UN Working-Group on Indigenous Populations and supported by a majority of Indigenous Peoples**)
>
> 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 like **Article 46.1** that were never properly presented to Indigenous Peoples globally.
>
> **Despite the weakening of UNDRIP in 2007, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the United States** voted against **UNDRIP** in 2007.

In 2021, Canada replaced the watered-down international version of **UNDRIP** with a **Canadian definition** with **UNDRIPA/CANDRIP** (**Bill C-15**), which is based on domestic **section 35 common law**.

To counteract **UNDRIP Article 46.1**, which Canada relies on for its "*assumed Crown sovereignty*" and territorial integrity, First Nation communities need to rely—at minimum—on **UNDRIP Article 3**, the international right of self-determination, **UNDRIP Article 26**, the **restoration** of lands, territories and resources taken without free, prior, informed, consent, and **UNDRIP Article 28**, **restitution** for lands, territories and resources taken without **FPIC**.

Canada lies when it asserts it is implementing **UNDRIP**, because the federal government continues to use **decades old self-government & land claims policies and legislation** that pre-date Parliament's adoption of **UNDRIPA/CANDRIP** (**Bill C-15**).

An example of the federal government's lies, that it is implementing **UNDRIP**, is the **Framework Agreement First Nations Land Management Act** (**FAFNLMA**), which created the **Lands Advisory Board** and the **First Nations Land Management Resource Cen-**

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Press Conference Announcing Bill C-15 in Ottawa, Dec. 3, 2020.

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tre.

On May 1, 2024, **Patty Hajdu**, **Minister of Indigenous Services Canada** and **Robert Louie**, **Chairman of the Lands Advisory Board**, announced a **new five-year funding agreement, part of the $187 million of funding over five years and over $34 million ongoing provided in Budget 2023**, to fund the existing, and development of new "*Land Codes*" under the **FAFNLMA**, which Canada and its Lands Advisory Board say is:

> *another step toward service transfer and* ***implementing Articles 26 and 29 of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples****, which focuses on Indigenous rights to lands and their use, and control and protection of lands*. [emphasis added]

"Canada interprets UNDRIP in a one-sided, unfair way, when it asserts that federally established "**Land Codes**" are implementing **UNDRIP's Article 26**, to restore lands, territories and resources taken without FPIC, and **Article 29**, to recognize "the right to the conservation and protection of the environment and the productive capacity of their lands or territories and resources""

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Canada and their tool the Lands Advisory Board, conveniently forget to mention **UNDRIP Article 28**, which provides that:

> *Indigenous peoples have the right to redress, by means that can include restitution or, when this is not possible****, just, fair and equitable compensation, for the lands, territories and resources which they have traditionally owned or otherwise occupied or used, and which have been confiscated, taken, occupied, used or damaged without their free, prior and informed consent***. [emphasis added]

Canada is also funding the **Lands Advisory Board** and the **First Nations Land Management Resource Centre** to **phase out the Indian Act Reserve system and Land Registry**, by developing a **First Nation Lands Registry** for the **three categories of Lands: Indian**

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Act Reserves; Land Code Lands; and Self-Government/Modern Treaty Fee Simple Lands, as the federal government off-loads its fiduciary and Treaty obligations onto this **new federally created national institution** and **replaces Indian Act Reserves with Self-Government Agreements and Modern Treaties**.

Canada's "*land claims*" policies (Comprehensive & Specific) are the same, they date back to a **Native Claims Policy** announced in 1973 by then **Minister of Indian Affairs Jean Chretien** and **Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's father**, **Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau**, and although amended both land claims policies are based on what the federal lawyers call "*certainty and finality*", which is **federal code for extinguishment of Aboriginal Title, Rights, and legal historic Treaty obligations, through one-time cash settlements**.

The **UNDRIPA/CANDRIP** (**Bill C-15**) **National Action-Plan Measures** (**APM's**) also include **ending the Indian Act and Indian Status** through the Carney government's interpretation of **UNDRIP Articles 6, 7, 9, 17, 33, 35, 36**.

Bill S-2 and the Carney government's current consultation on Second-Generation Cut-Off and Indian Act Section 10 Voting Thresholds are the domestic processes to address **the future of Indian Status**, **which is tied to the plan to end the Indian Act Band/Reserve system** and replace it with legislatively created "*Indigenous Governing Bodies*" having municipal/corporate status.

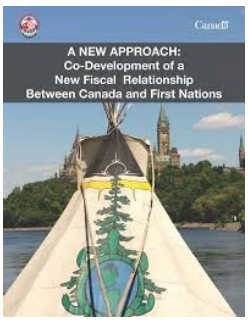
Future Individual Indian Status will be determined by the Self-Government Agreements or Modern Treaty their Indian Act Band agrees to, since these agreements/Modern Treaties affect collective rights.

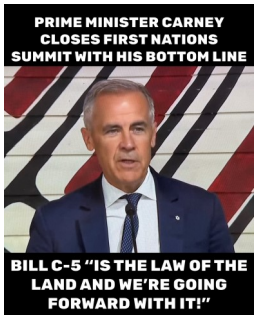
Through the federal government's "***New Fiscal Relationship***" (10-Year Grants & Self-Government Own-Source Revenue Fiscal Policy) most First Nation Leaders and Chiefs are accepting to go along with Canada's lie that it is implementing **UNDRIP—AFN** even adopted **Resolution 78/2023** creating a **Permanent Chiefs' Committee** to help the federal government implement the **UNDRIPA/CANDRIP (Bill C-15) National Action-Plan Measures (APM's)** through the **Canada-AFN Bilateral Process**.

This is main reason the federal government continues to fund **AFN** as a consultative body, and why **Prime Minister Carney** and so many of his federal Ministers showed up at the December 2025,

Chretien & Pierre Trudeau receiving Red Paper 1970, announced Native Claims Policy in 1973.

"Through the federal government's "New Fiscal Relationship" (10-Year Grants & Self-Government Own-Source Revenue Fiscal Policy) most First Nation Leaders and Chiefs are accepting to go along with Canada's lie that it is implementing UNDRIP—AFN even adopted Resolution 78/2023 creating a Permanent Chiefs' Committee to help the federal government implement the **UNDRIPA/CANDRIP (Bill C-15) National Action-Plan Measures (APM's)** through the Canada-AFN Bilateral Process"





"Prime Minister Mark Carney has also already shown how he operates, when it comes to "Indigenous" issues, he appointed two Indigenous women from the North as Ministers, and he uses the Liberal "Indigenous Caucus" to act as promoters of Bill C-5 and a buffer between him and "Indigenous" Leaders and First Nation Chiefs and organizations like AFN"

Rebecca Alty, Federal Minister of Termination (Crown-Indigenous Relations & Northern Affairs Canada).

Mandy Gull-Masty, Federal Minister of Re-Colonization (Indigenous Services Canada).

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AFN Special Chiefs' Assembly, **PM Carney** also showed up because his priority is implementing **Bill C-5**, and he was at the AFN Assembly to promote "*consultation and cooperation*" with First Nation Chiefs, as the **UNDRIPA/CANDRIP** (**Bill C-15**) **National Action-Plan Measures** (**APM's**) and the **Canada-AFN Bilateral Process** require.

Bill C-5, The One Economy Act

Prime Minister Mark Carney has already shown how his priorities have changed from **Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's**, who told a **2015 AFN Assembly** about his Pan-Indigenous approach to "*Reconciliation*" when **Trudeau** said, "*There is no relationship more important to me – and to Canada – than the one with First Nations, the Métis Nation, and Inuit*".

Prime Minister Mark Carney has also already shown how he operates, when it comes to "*Indigenous*" issues, he appointed two Indigenous women from the North as Ministers, and he uses the Liberal "*Indigenous Caucus*" to act as promoters of **Bill C-5** and a buffer between him and "*Indigenous*" Leaders and **First Nation Chiefs and organizations** like **AFN**.

Carney's "*Indigenous*" Ministers and Caucus supported **Bill C-5** when it was rammed through Parliament into law, in record time—without meaningful consultation—and Carney added a hand-picked, **Bill C-5 Major Projects Office, Indigenous Advisory Council—without a terms-of-reference**—to try and deflect criticism from First Nation Chiefs/Leaders, since the Metis and Inuit eventually have supported **Bill C-5**.

It became clear the **MPO Indigenous Advisory Council** is just a rubber stamp for the Carney government, when **Treaty #8 Grand Chief Trevor Mercredi**—a member of the **Indigenous Advisory Council**—told media at a December 18, 2025, press conference that the **Canada-Alberta Memorandum of Understanding on Energy** signed in November 2025, was "*news*" to him and the rest of the **Indigenous Advisory Council** "*We were not aware of the discussion, we were not aware of how they would like to move it forward*".

The Carney government also hand-picked the members of the panels to be predominately pro-fossil fuel advocates for the July "*First Nations Summit*", held in Gatineau, Quebec with **AFN** relegated to a supporting role.

The November 2025, **Alberta-Canada MOU on Energy** has now brought Carney's interpretation of "*Economic Reconciliation*" to a

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head as Premier Danelle Smith continues to press for a new oil pipeline to the B.C. coast, over the objections of Coastal First Nations.

As noted above, on December 2, 2025, **Prime Minister Mark Carney** attended the **AFN Special Chiefs' Assembly** and gave his spin on **Bill C-5 benefits to First Nations**, listed his actions on Indigenous issues since taking office and invited the Chiefs to set the agenda for a federal-provincial-territorial meeting in the new year. (see Carney speech on page 17)

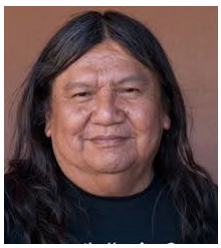
2026 First Nations - First Ministers' Meeting

When I was Special Advisor to **AFN National Chief Roseanne Archibald** (who was illegally removed in June 2023, under false pretenses, now a matter before the courts), I prepared a Discussion Paper for **a proposed national strategy**, entitled "*Sovereignty, Self-Determination and Land Back*"—which was ignored by the **AFN Executive Committee—I recommended a Six-Point Strategy**, for use going into a **First Ministers' Meeting**, which I adapted from the **Six-Point Strategy** originally developed by the late **Arthur Manuel** for **recognition of Aboriginal Title and Rights:**

> *Federal, provincial and territorial governments continue to define our Inherent and Treaty Rights without First Nations at the table. It is critical that First Nations assert themselves and develop a clear path to get the federal, provincial and territorial governments to accommodate Inherent and Treaty Rights, as we understand them, in a jointly developed policy and legislative framework.*
>
> ***Objectives of the Six-Point Strategy***
> *There are **three key objectives** to the six-point strategy:*
>
> *1. To get the federal, provincial, and territorial governments to recognize and respect First Nations Aboriginal title, Inherent rights, all Treaties, and the right of self-determination, **in accordance with international law.***
>
> *2. The creation of a new policy and legislative framework with the federal, provincial, and territorial governments for discussion at **a First Ministers' Meeting**, which recognizes and affirms First Nations Aboriginal title, Inherent rights, all Treaties, and the international right of self-determination.*

AFN National Chief Roseanne Archibald

"When I was Special Advisor to AFN National Chief Roseanne Archibald (who was illegally removed in June 2023, under false pretenses, now a matter before the courts), I prepared a Discussion Paper for a proposed national strategy, entitled "Sovereignty, Self-Determination and Land Back"—which was ignored by the AFN Executive Committee—I recommended a Six-Point Strategy, for use going into a First Ministers' Meeting, which I adapted from the Six-Point Strategy originally developed by the late Arthur Manuel for recognition of Aboriginal Title and Rights"



Arthur Manuel, Neskonlith Secwepemc Leader

'Setting the Trap' continued from page 13

3. To support First Nation Peoples in the exercise of the rights flowing from their Aboriginal title, Inherent rights, and all Treaty rights to obtain benefits from ***restoration*** *of, or* ***restitution*** *for, their* ***lands, territories, and resources*** *that First Nations have traditionally owned, occupied or otherwise used or acquired, which have been confiscated, taken, occupied, used or damaged without their free, prior and informed consent.*

Elements of the Six-Point Strategy
The six elements are as follows:

1. Public Education
To raise awareness about Inherent and Treaty rights amongst the public, media and First Nations.

2. Political/Negotiation/Pre-Litigation Strategy
Replacing harmful policies and process that diminish or negatively Inherent and Treaty Rights, as well as scoping out potential legal strategies.

3. Litigation
Develop short term and long term legal strategies to ensure Inherent and Treaty Rights are fairly and justly interpreted based up the nation-to-nation relationships.

4. Policy & Legislative Framework Development
To replace the existing colonial, domestic policy and legislative framework with one that recognizes and respects First Nation Inherent and Treaty Rights based upon the international right to self-determination.

5. Direct Action/Assertion of Rights
Support rights holders in the exercise of their Inherent and Treaty Rights in their territories.

6. International Campaign
Networking with and securing international support from other Indigenous peoples and human rights bodies from around the globe for the implementation of our Inherent and Treaty Rights.

"Elements of the Six-Point Strategy 1 Public Education 2. Political/ Negotiation/Pre -Litigation Strategy 3. Litigation 4. Policy & Legislative Framework Development 5. Direct Action/ Assertion of Rights 6. International Campaign"

As a consequence of some Chiefs illegally removing **AFN National Chief Roseanne Archibald**—who was trying to advance a rights-

'Setting the Trap' conclusion from page 14

based approach to challenge the Trudeau government—and the Chiefs **electing a partisan Liberal AFN National Chief, Cindy Woodhouse-Nepinak**—who like her supporters—focus on programs not rights, while accepting the Liberal lie that **UNDRIP** is being implemented in Canada through the **UNDRIPA/CANDRIP** (**Bill C-15**) **National Action-Plan Measures** (**APM's**) to **end the Indian Act, Indian Status and Indian Reserves** through the "*New Fiscal Relationship*" and **Indian Act Band Councils holding community referendums to get consent to land codes, delegated tax and borrowing authority and taking over Band Membership as steps to becoming "*Self-Governing First Nations*" with municipal/ corporate status**.

AFN National Chief Woodhouse-Nepinak has already told media that the **First Ministers' Meeting** should focus on policing and water, **PM Carney** has also said that **a new water Bill** will be introduced in Parliament in 2026, and that "*water solutions*" should be included on the agenda of the **2026, First Nations-First Ministers Meeting**.

Likely, the **First Nation's-First Ministers' Meeting agenda** will also include other programs like housing, infrastructure, education, health, child & family services, etc. to discuss the social-economic gap between First Nations and Canadians, but it is unlikely **AFN** and the small segment of program Chiefs who continue to support **AFN**, will challenge the Carney government's lie that it is implementing **UNDRIP** through its continued use of the Trudeau government's "*Rights Recognition Framework*" comprised of decades old policies and legislation intended to Terminate the pre-existing collective rights of First Nations, which pre-date Parliament's adoption of **UNDRIPA/CANDRIP** (**Bill C-15**) **National Action-Plan Measures** (**APM's**).

Grassroots Rights Holders should learn what is being secretly negotiated at federal negotiation tables in their names, and **grassroots right holders should get organized as families, elders, women and youth to demand transparency and accountability from their Indian Act Band Councils and Chiefs organizations**, including **AFN**, about what **First Nations Agenda** is going to be presented to the **federal-provincial-territorial governments** at the upcoming **2026 First Nations-First Ministers' Meeting**.

Will the agenda be based on accepting on-reserve dependency programs without addressing the constitutional and internationally

"Grassroots Rights Holders should learn what is being secretly negotiated at federal negotiation tables in their names, and grassroots right holders should get organized as families, elders, women and youth to demand transparency and accountability from their Indian Act Band Councils and Chiefs organizations, including AFN, about what First Nations Agenda is going to be presented to the federal-provincial-territorial governments at the upcoming 2026 First Nations-First Ministers' Meeting"

FMM in Saskatoon June 2025.

PM Carney announcing Bill C-5 passed HoC, June 2025.

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recognized Inherent and historic Treaty rights?

Conclusion

The Carney government and the likes of Premiers like Danielle Smith, Scott Moe, Doug Ford and Francois Legault will likely try and keep the scope of the **First Nations-First Ministers' Meeting agenda and discussions, to programs and not rights** in order to maintain the status quo of turning First Nation communities into "*Indigenous Governing Bodies*" with municipal/corporate status on private fee simple lands, **as First Nations rights and interests to "*off-reserve*" lands, territories and resources continue to be ignored or minimized as provinces continue to impose cumulative impacts on First Nations Aboriginal and/or original Treaty rights by issuing licenses and permits for logging, mining, oil & gas, hydro, nuclear plants, AI buildings, etc.**

"The Carney government and the likes of Premiers like Danielle Smith, Scott Moe, Doug Ford and Francois Legault will likely try and keep the scope of the First Nations-First Ministers' Meeting agenda and discussions, to programs and not rights in order to maintain the status quo of turning First Nation communities into "Indigenous Governing Bodies" with municipal/corporate status on private fee simple lands"

It is time for First Nations Grassroot Rights Holders to get organized to pick up where Idle No More left off, gather together and hold webinars/teach-in's, and network locally, regionally and national using zoom and in-person meetings **to plan actions to keep Chiefs/Leaders transparent and accountable and to provide input into the agenda items for discussion** at the **2026 First Nations -First Ministers' Meeting**—regardless of the outcome—will have lasting impacts on First Nation Peoples and communities.

L to R: Premiers Danielle Smith, Doug Ford, Scott Moe

Idle No More Marches on Ottawa Calling on Chiefs not to Meet PM Harper, Jan. 11, 2013, Photo by R. Diabo

AFN Meets with PM Harper despite objections of Idle No More, on Jan. 11,

Carney AFN Speech (Check Against Delivery)

Prime Minister's Remarks for the Assembly of First Nations
Special Chiefs Assembly
Tuesday, December 2 – Ottawa, ON

PM Mark Carney answers questions from Chiefs after giving a speech to AFN Assembly in Ottawa on December 2, 2025 (Photo courtesy of APTN)

Good afternoon, everyone.

I am honoured to join you today. Thank you, Cedric, for the kind introduction.

I want to begin by acknowledging that we are gathered on the unceded territory of the Algonquin Anishinaabeg people.

This land acknowledgment honours First Nations as the first stewards of this land.

It recognises the painful history during which First Nations were displaced from their territories, and it points to the possibility of reconciliation–the opportunity for renewal that comes from acknowledging and confronting our past.

I want to thank all the Elders, the drum, and all leaders gathered here today – and over the next two days.

And to thank National Chief Woodhouse Nepinak, the AFN Regional Chiefs, and the entire team at the Assembly of First Nations, for bringing us together today, and for including me in this gathering.

Thank you to everyone in this room for the discussions, advice, and work we do together. [google translation]

Canada's new government is committed to working directly with you to build stronger nation-to-nation relationships, for it is only by working together that we can build stronger, more prosperous First Nations communities, and a stronger, more resilient Canada.

In a more dangerous and divided world, Canada is choosing to build, from major national projects to local infrastructure such as housing to water. Above all, we are choosing to build brighter futures for all our people across this great land.

This mission of nation-building is a positive endeavour. The question is not what we are against, but what we are for. What we want to build together.

Because this approach must be informed by and can only move forward with First Nations.

PM Mark Carney

"this summer, I held three summits to engage First Nations, Inuit, and Métis leadership about your priorities and to discuss opportunities for equity ownership, community benefits, and resource management of these major projects"

PM Carney at AFN Assembly in Ottawa December 2, 2025.

'Carney to AFN' continued from page 17

This is an approach that unites us around a common mission to create opportunities and foster prosperity across Canada. [translation]

It's not just what we build, but how we build.

We will build Canadian. We will build sustainably.

And crucially, we will build in partnership by upholding Indigenous rights and building in ways that First Nations communities have greater security and prosperity.

The new Government of Canada will be a steadfast partner by:

- Respecting self-determination.

- Recognizing that partnership begins with shared understanding. And

- Making equity and Indigenous participation a priority in building our country [google translation]

First Nations leadership, prosperity, and opportunity must be foundational.

Laying this foundation begins with engagement.

That is why this summer, I held three summits to engage First Nations, Inuit, and Métis leadership about your priorities and to discuss opportunities for equity ownership, community benefits, and resource management of these major projects.

Over 430 First Nations were represented at the first summit, in Gatineau.

At this summit, I clearly heard that this partnership must include respect for self-determination and a continued commitment to the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, as well as free, prior, and informed consent.

I also heard that you have many ideas and ambitions. Together, let us be bold and ambitious enough to realize them.

That is how we will move forward, together.

This summer, I also heard several good ideas for projects both large and small. [google translation]

Nation-building carries more than one meaning.

Projects that build our national economy, and through Indigenous equity and management, build First Nations.

‘Carney to AFN’ continued from page 18

This is not an aspiration; it is the law.

Specifically, under the Build Canada Act, for a project to be in Canada's national interest, it must:

- Strengthen Canada’s autonomy, resilience, and security.
- Contribute to clean growth and align with our climate change objectives. and
- Advance the interests of Indigenous Peoples.

In August, we launched the Major Projects Office, to coordinate the development and financing of potential nation-building projects.

The Major Projects Office has held several regional engagements with rights holders to encourage meaningful partnership and involvement of First Nations.

And to ensure that Indigenous participation is embedded throughout this process, we have created the Indigenous Advisory Council.

To be clear, none of this engagement counts as consultation. That process of consultation only starts once projects are referred as possibilities to the Major Projects Office.

Under the legislation, there must be consultation— consistent with free, prior and informed consent—before a project can be designated to be in Canada’s national interest.

And even once that happens, there must be additional consultations on the conditions of that project for it to proceed. These issues would naturally include requirements for Indigenous ownership, Indigenous economic benefits, and environmental protections.

To illustrate, let me give the example of a strategy that the Major Projects Office is currently evaluating – the Northwest Critical Conservation Corridor.

The Corridor is an area in Northwest British Columbia that sits atop vast deposits of critical minerals, has the potential to connect the clean electricity grid of B.C. to the power grids of Yukon and Alberta, while creating a new conservation area the size of Greece.

The proposed North Coast Transmission Line at the heart of this project has the potential to create $10 billion in new economic activity, while reducing emissions by up to three million tonnes annually.

It would also enable the expansion of the Red Chris Mine

– to be built in close, direct collaboration with the Tahltan Nation. Red Chris will increase Canada’s annual copper production by over 15%, employ about 1,500 workers during operations, and reduce greenhouse gas emissions by over 70%.

The North Coast Transmission Line would also enable Ksi Lisims LNG – owned by the Nisga’a Nation, which will become Canada’s second largest and one of the world’s lowest-emission LNG operations.

In the coming months, through consultations with First Nations, and on the advice of the

‘Carney to AFN’ continued from page 19

Major Projects Office, we will determine whether to formally designate these projects as being in the national interest, and if so, following further consultations, the relevant conditions for these projects to proceed will be set.

Projects like this one will create thousands of well-paying jobs and bring lasting security, certainty, and prosperity to First Nations communities.

Being a trusted partner for First Nations goes beyond simply fulfilling the obligation to consult: it also means creating long-term wealth for First Nations through equitable and inclusive participation.

These projects have the potential to serve as a self-sustaining and reliable source of revenue for communities; a source of the wealth needed to achieve their priorities. [google translation]

To empower First Nations to own and lead major projects, Canada’s new government has doubled the Indigenous Loan Guarantee Program to $10 billion.

We have allocated $40 million for First Nations, Inuit, and Métis participation and capacity building. This is direct funding for your communities so you can help determine what we can build together. [google translation]

As we build our nation, we must build strong communities. Over $16 billion has been invested in more than 13,000 projects that support Indigenous community infrastructure. Infrastructure that is central to the strength of communities.

“As we build our nation, we must build strong communities. Over $16 billion has been invested in more than 13,000 projects that support Indigenous community infrastructure. Infrastructure that is central to the strength of communities”

I would like to focus today on two areas: housing and water.

Our new agency, Build Canada Homes, will partner with First Nations and other orders of government to supercharge housing construction using new factory technologies – cutting building times by 50%, reducing costs by 20%, and lowering emissions by 20%.

Build Canada Homes will directly engage with First Nations to build affordable housing with a focus on Indigenous-led solutions, financial support, and innovative construction methods. It is our vision that Build Canada Homes will incorporate Indigenous housing providers’ knowledge and leadership in housing projects.

Furthermore, I have asked the Minister of Indigenous Services to work with you over the next year to find a better way to meet your housing

'Carney to AFN' continued from page 20

needs, particularly on reserves.

This includes ensuring that CMHC's Section 95 housing program is based on the latest census data to effectively address community needs. [google translation]

We want to build housing where First Nations families live.

To support the around two-thirds of First Nations that live off-reserve, we committed $2.8 billion in Budget 2025 to build off-reserve, urban, rural, and northern Indigenous housing.

And we confirmed $1.7 billion to build on-reserve housing.

The government will collaborate with the leaders gathered here to develop affordable solutions to address the unmet housing needs of First Nations. [google translation]

Building the homes we need is one of the core missions of our government, that's why we are making a generational investment of $13 billion in housing through Build Canada Homes. This is on top of funding allocated since 2016 – $5 billion invested directly in on-reserve housing.

We are also moving forward with the essential work of building infrastructure on reserve – beginning with recognising that clean water is foundational.

Over the last decade, 85% of drinking water advisories on reserve (149 advisories) have been lifted through investments of over $7 billion since 2016.

Our government is committed to ending the remaining 38 advisories and we have allocated an additional $2.3 billion for that purpose in Budget 2025.

We recognise that we need a more permanent solution through a coordinated approach, supported by the right funding mechanism, and with the provinces and territories at the table.

This is a top priority for our government.

I am pleased to announce that I will host early in the new year a joint federal-provincial-territorial-First Ministers meeting with First Nations. Coordination on water solutions will be one of the main agenda items.

And I can confirm that, under the leadership of the Minister of Indigenous Services, we intend to introduce water legislation in Spring 2026.

We will also complete the crucial work led by the Minister of Indigenous Services to reform Child and Family Services.

This will help ensure more First Nations children grow up safe, secure, and deeply connected to their families, culture, and language.

Our approach to child welfare will be First Nations- and community-led, and it will be supported by significant additional funding.

L to R: Ministers of Termination (CIRNAC), Rebecca Alty & Re-Colonization (ISC), Mandy Gull-Masty.

"Core services such as healthcare, community safety, child and family services, education, and mental wellness will continue to progress. This builds on the over 400% increase in investments in Indigenous communities over the past decade"

'Carney to AFN' continued from page 21

Building together requires trust.

Trust is never a given – it must be earned through sustained action over time.

Trust grows through partnership.

We must therefore collaborate continuously, from the outset and in a transparent manner, with First Nations leaders as we build large-scale infrastructure to transform our economy. [google translation]

Trust is built by openness. I will always be straight about the challenges we face, and the choices we must make together.

While our government has just undertaken a rigorous spending review, we have protected the essential programs of Indigenous Services Canada and the work of Crown-Indigenous Relations.

Core services such as healthcare, community safety, child and family services, education, and mental wellness will continue to progress.

This builds on the over 400% increase in investments in Indigenous communities over the past decade.

It means recognising that, while outcomes have improved, there has not been as much progress as any of us would want, especially for children who most deserve it.

So, we will work together to better focus, appropriately scale, and optimise these investments to maximise their impact.

That should mean more First Nations-led solutions, greater funding directly to rights holders, and better measurement of outcomes.

Finally, trust requires listening, even when the truth is difficult to hear.

Canada's new government is moving forward on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Calls to Action.

And we are advancing the Calls for Justice from the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls.

We are implementing the law relating to the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, in partnership with indigenous peoples. [google translation]

I want to close by one illustration of how central reconciliation is to

'Carney to AFN' conclusion from page 22

our government's mandate.

When we came into office, I had a painting by a First Nations artist installed just outside the Cabinet Room in Parliament.

A Brief History of Northwest Coast Design by Luke Parnell depicts a part of our history through eleven wooden panels with images inspired by the designs on bentwood boxes and feast bowls.

The first few of the panels burst with vibrant colours.

Then, with contact, those colours fade, until the middle ones become smothered in white paint…a culture, literally, whitewashed.

The final panels resemble the original glory – with images that, although marked by what has been endured, are renewed and resurgent.

This painting captures both the pain of suppression and the possibility of reconciliation.

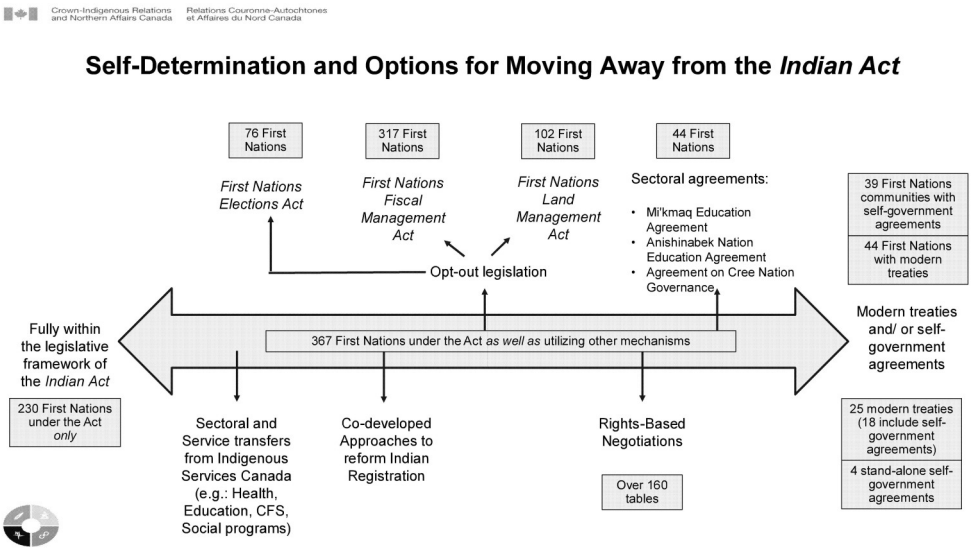
This possibility rests on truth. Truth is the foundation of justice.

Reconciliation is a task that must be lived and practiced every day. [google translation]

Parnell's painting is the last image my ministers and I see before we enter the Cabinet Room to take some of the most important decisions for this country's future. And it is the first image we see when we leave, charged with the responsibility of implementation to create a better future.

It is a reminder of the progress that has been made, the work that remains to achieve all that we can imagine and build together.

Thank you. Merci.



The Federal Plan Presented in 2021 to Mary Simon, Governor-General to End the Indian Act

BULLETIN OF THE FIRST NATIONS STRATEGIC POLICY COUNSEL

Advancing the Right of First Nations to Information

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The First Nations Strategic Policy Counsel is a collection of individuals who are practitioners in either First Nations policy or law. We are not a formal organization, just a network of concerned individuals.

This publication is a volunteer non-profit effort and is part of a series. Please don't take it for granted that everyone has the information in this newsletter, see that it is as widely distributed as you can, and encourage those that receive it to also distribute it.

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

For Back Issues Go To: http://epe.lac-bac.gc.ca/100/201/300/first_nations_strategic_bulletin/index.html

ELBOW'S UP AGAINST COLONIALISM!

ABOUT 8th FIRE RISING

A dangerous centralization of power is happening in Canada right now. Canada is deploying the current wave of nationalism to rob the treasuries, hand over corporate subsidies, and take Indigenous land.

What does it mean to "*put Canada first*"? The provinces are attempting to expedite the regulatory approval of regional infrastructure projects which will shore up their extractive economies (oil, gas, mineral mining). But, such fast-tracking will come at a cost to Indigenous peoples and settlers, local ecologies, and public coffers.

We are an Indigenous-led coalition of concerned and impacted communities working to build a broad-based movement with labour and land defenders. We aim to fight back against recent legislative infringements on Indigenous jurisdiction, violations of workers' rights, and the corporate pillage of lands and waters across these lands.

SIGN UP TO JOIN THE FIGHT!

https://8thfirerising.ca/