

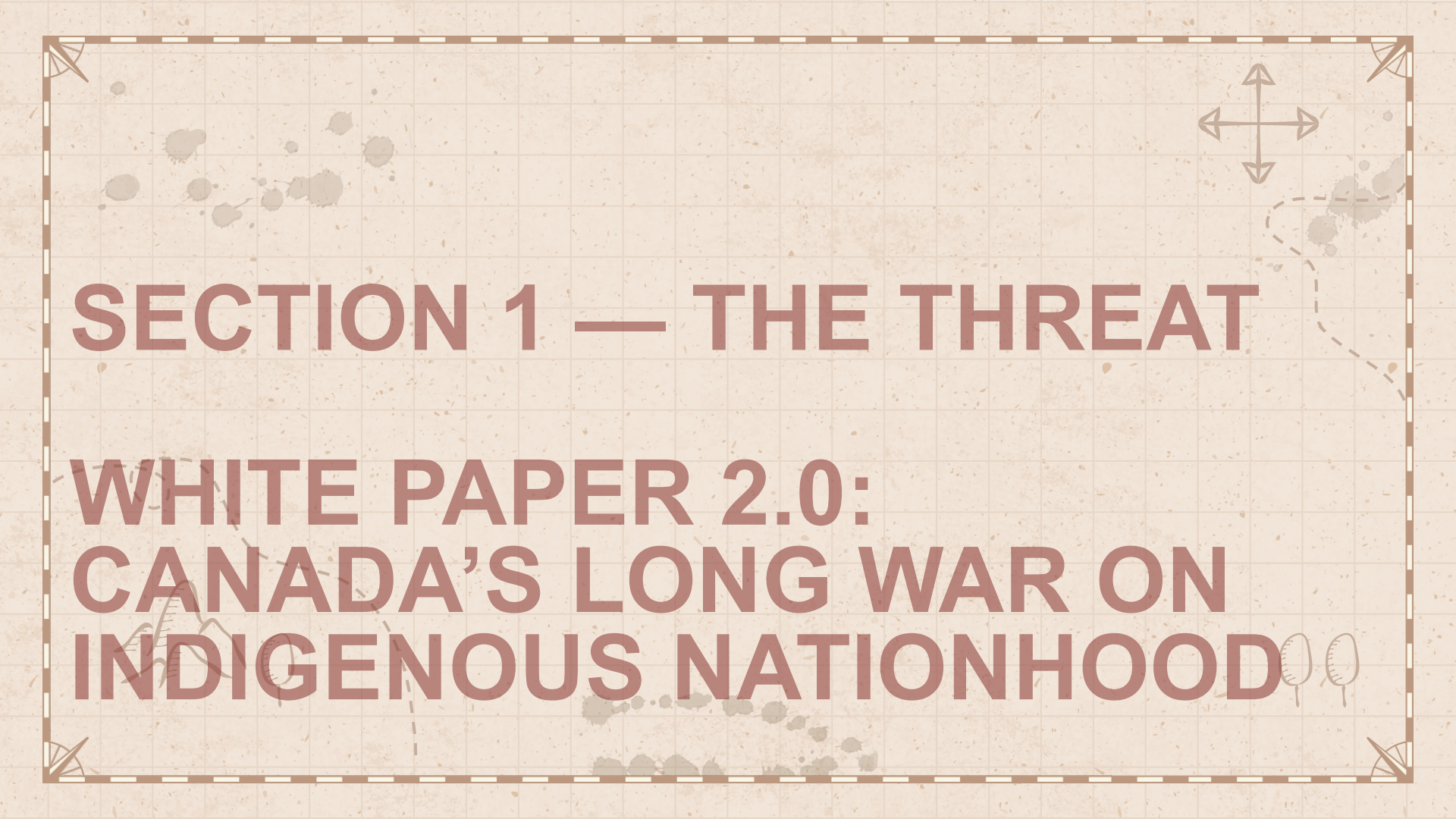


WHITE PAPER 2.0: A 50+ YEAR STRATEGY OF MUNICIPALIZATION

Organizing for Self-Determination, Treaty Enforcement & Nationhood

Prepared by Russ Diabo, Truth Before Reconciliation Education & Advocacy Network

September 8, 2026



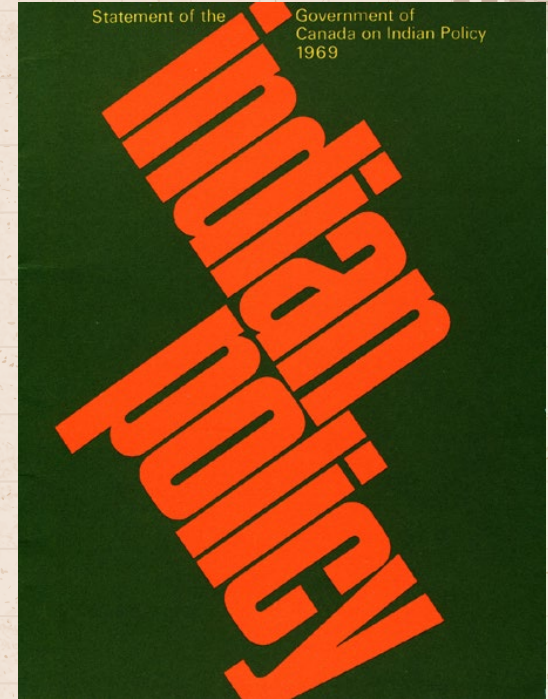
SECTION 1 — THE THREAT

WHITE PAPER 2.0:
CANADA'S LONG WAR ON
INDIGENOUS NATIONHOOD



Core Message

- The **1969 White Paper** never disappeared — its tactics changed.
- Today's “*Reconciliation*” agenda continues the same long-term federal objectives.
- White Paper 2.0 = **Termination by Municipalization.**



Why 2026 Matters



- **Oct. 26 First Nations–First Ministers’ Meeting** is a structural turning point.
- **PMO** controls invitations and agenda. **AFN** gives priorities.
- **Public focus:** services, efficiency, “*economic reconciliation*.”
- **Missing: Land, Treaties, Sovereignty, Nationhood.**
- **Risk:** locking First Nations into municipal-style governance.



SECTION 2 — WHAT WHITE PAPER 2.0 IS

White Paper 2.0 is Canada's Modern Strategy to:

- End the legal category of "*Indian.*"
- Convert Bands into municipal-style "*Indigenous Governments.*"
- Replace Treaty Nationhood with delegated authority.
- Shift federal fiduciary (Trust) obligations to provincial/municipal-style arrangements.
- Reduce federal spending through "*own-source revenue*" and taxation.



The Four Linked Circles: These Rise or Fall together

Status Band
Reserve Land

International
Right of Self-
Determination
vs.

Ancestral
Territories
Treaty
Relationship

domestic
federal
interpretation

How Municipalization Works

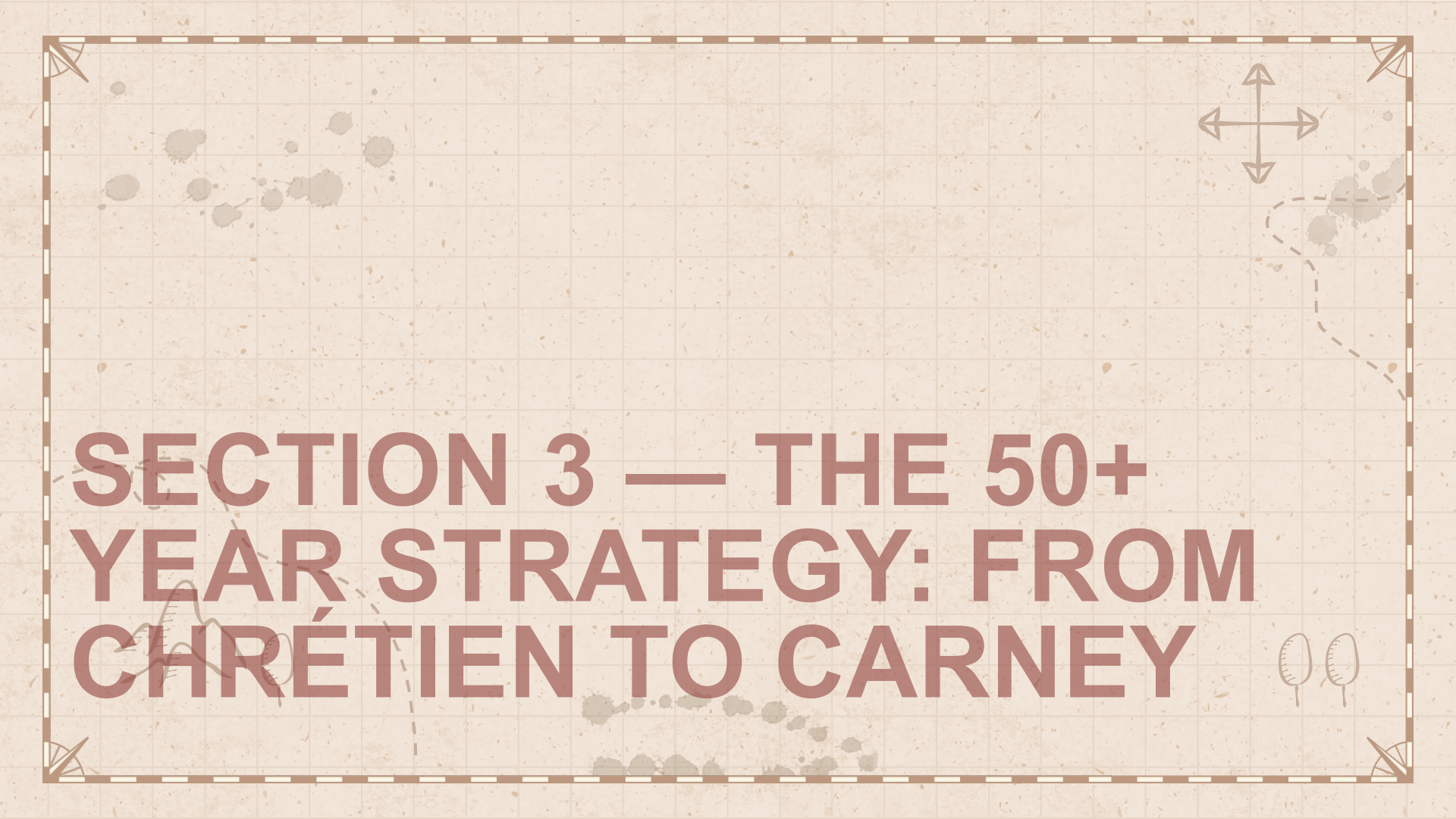


Rebecca Alty, Federal Minister of Termination (Crown-Indigenous Relations & Northern Affairs Canada).



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

- **1. Change registration rules** (C-31, S-2, second-generation cut-off).
- **2. Rebrand Bands as “*Indigenous Governments*”** with natural person powers.
- **3. Wrap in UNDRIPA/CANDRIP language** to legitimize federal definitions.
- **4. Move “*beyond the Indian Act*”** without Land Back or Treaty enforcement.



SECTION 3 — THE 50+ YEAR STRATEGY: FROM CHRÉTIEN TO CARNEY

Era 1: 1969–1975 — Explicit Termination

- **1969 White Paper**
proposals: eliminate status, dissolve **DIA**, abolish **Indian Act**, terminate Treaties.
- Internal **DIA** federal letters (Munro 1970, Chrétien 1971) confirm long-term strategy: *"We should not depart from its essential content..."*
- **Red Paper** (1970) and other position papers push back.



Era 2: 1981–1995 — Constitutional Containment



- **Section 35** added (1982).
- **1983 amendment** recognizes modern land claims as "*Treaties*," sidelining historic *Treaties*.
- **Penner Report** (1983) ignored.
- **RCAP** (1996) dismissed as "*too costly*."
- **SCC** narrows meaning of section 35 in case law.

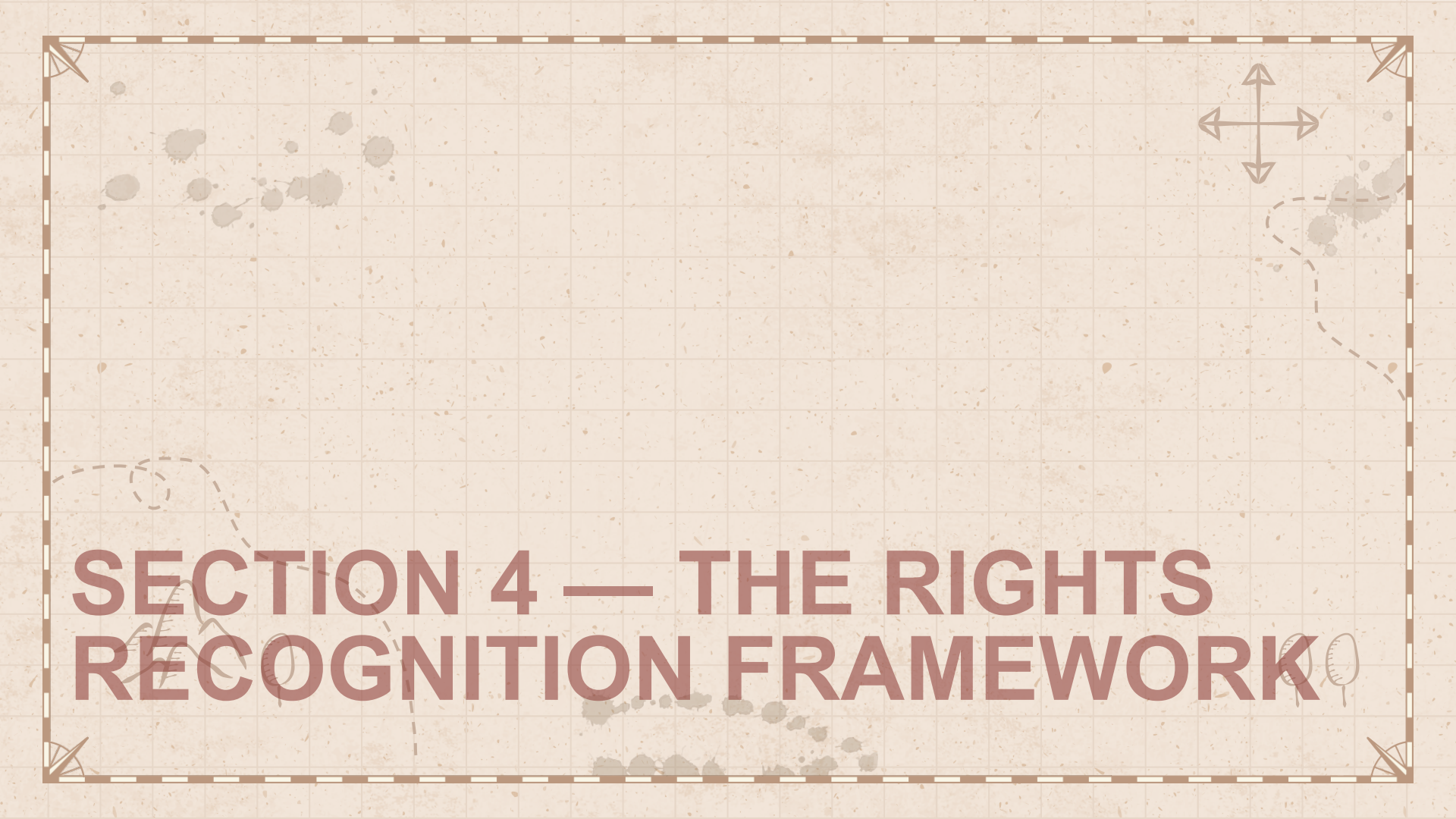
Era 3: 1995–2015 — Administrative Municipalization

- **Chrétien-era policy & legislation:** 1995 “*Inherent Right*” Policy, **FAFNLMA** (1999), **FNFMA** (2006), various modern treaty & governance acts.
- **Harper agenda:** off-load, cap & cut funding, individualize rights; maintain **Indian Act**.



Trudeau, Bellegarde to discuss First ... cristiane.ca	Trudeau, Bellegarde meet as AFN ... afn.ca	Trudeau, Bellegarde signing - 2016 AGA ... afn.ca	Trudeau, meets to 20th action - Bellegar ... www.theglobeandmail.com	Trudeau: 'Trudeau won't be voted as ... nationalpost.com	Trudeau promises Lagimodier: 'Block ... breaknews.ca
Bellegarde downplays relationship with ... cristiane.ca	Justin Trudeau receives new honou ... villagevoice.com	Chief Perry Bellegarde, Justin Trudeau ... toronto.com	Mikisii, P. Trudeau, the show ... toronto.com	Trudeau promises Lagimodier: 'Block ... breaknews.ca	Trudeau promises Lagimodier: 'Block ... breaknews.ca
		 toronto.com			
Trudeau to First Nations chiefs, his ... cristiane.ca	Trudeau, 17 years at Bellegarde on 20th ... toronto.com	Trudeau, 17 years at Bellegarde on 20th ... toronto.com	Trudeau, Bellegarde in traditional AFN ... toronto.com	The Bellegarde Chief in Canada ... afn.ca	Trudeau meets First Nations chief ... toronto.com

- **Trudeau:** *"Indigenous governments are the fourth level of government."*
- **Two-Track approach:**
 - Services (ISC)
 - Rights Recognition Framework (CIRNAC)
- **UNDRIPA/CANDRIP** used to negotiate federal definitions of self-government.
- **Five BC-based institutions** facilitate transition to corporate/municipal status.



SECTION 4 — THE RIGHTS RECOGNITION FRAMEWORK

Federal Strategy

- Use **Section 91.24** legislation + **Section 35** agreements to define Indigenous legal status.
- Impose “*natural person powers*” — same as municipalities/corporations.
- Off-load federal responsibilities through transfer policy.
- Dissolve **ISC** over time.



Indigenous Services
Canada

Services aux
Autochtones Canada



When self-determination is a reality for all, this Department will no longer need to exist.

SOURCE: Page 3, Departmental Plan 2018-2019

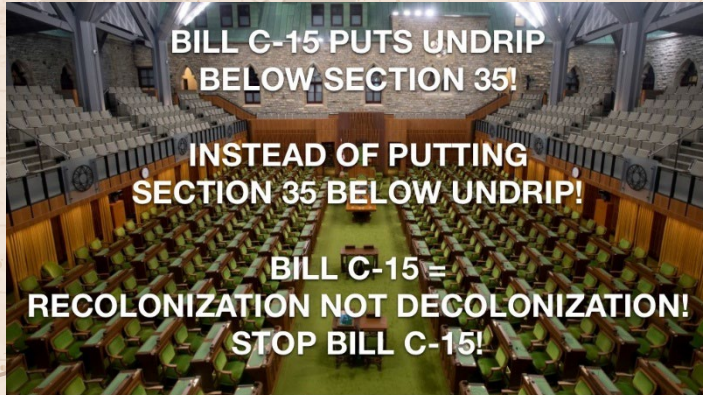
"As the first Minister of this new Department, I'm proud to present the 2018–2019 Departmental Plan. This is a transitional plan, as we actively engage with Indigenous peoples to shape Indigenous Services Canada. Ours may be the first government Department ever created with its own obsolescence as a goal."

"Over time, one fundamental measure of success will be that appropriate programs and services will be increasingly delivered not by the Government of Canada, but instead by Indigenous peoples. This work will be done in partnership with Indigenous leaders and Communities."

"The end goal is not only that the design, delivery and control of services — in all areas — are led by and for Indigenous peoples, but also that the Department will disappear over time."

SOURCE: Jane Philpott, Minister of Indigenous Services Canada, Departmental Plan 2018-2019k

UNDRIPA/CANDRIP Reality Check



C-15

An Act respecting the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

Sponsor
Minister of Justice



- **Government language:**
“*UNDRIP implementation.*”
Actual practice:
- **FPIC** reduced to Duty to Consult.
- **Strength-of-claim** model maintained.
- Crown sovereignty assumed
(**UNDRIP Article 46.1**).

Fiscal Municipalization

- **4th Level Self-Government Fiscal Policy:**
- Cost-sharing
- Own-source revenue
- Taxation
- Reduced federal spending
(**AFN–Canada Fiscal Report 2017**)



**SECTION 5 — CURRENT
FLASHPOINT: OCTOBER 26, 2026**

Why This Meeting Is Dangerous

- **PMO** controls agenda.
- **AFN** asked to bring priorities.
- **Federal framing:** “*services*,” “*economic reconciliation*,” “*efficiency*.”
- **Structural issues excluded:**
 - Land
 - Treaties
 - Sovereignty
 - Nationhood
 - Status erosion



Key Questions for Leaders

Status & Bill S-2

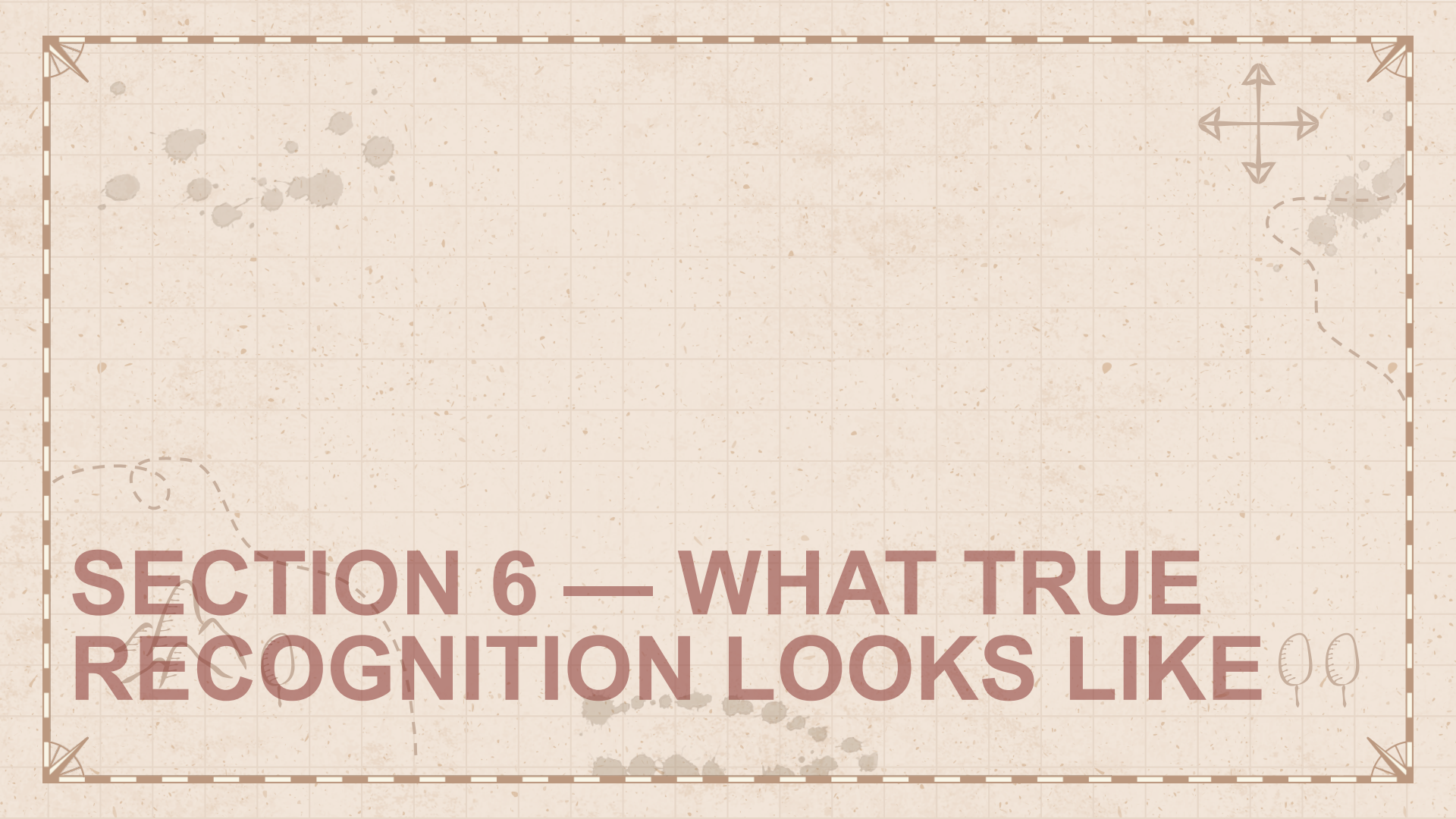
- Who is affected by second-generation cut-off?
- Are collective rights protected?

Self-Government & UNDRIPA/CANDRIP

- Are we in **Rights Recognition Tables**?
- Have members seen draft agreements?
- Do agreements affirm Treaties or create "*Indigenous Governing Bodies*"?

Meeting Strategy

- Who speaks for the community?
- What are non-negotiables?
- How are grassroots rights holders involved?

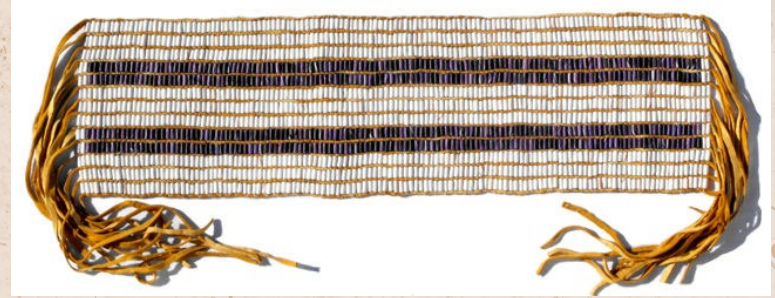


SECTION 6 — WHAT TRUE RECOGNITION LOOKS LIKE

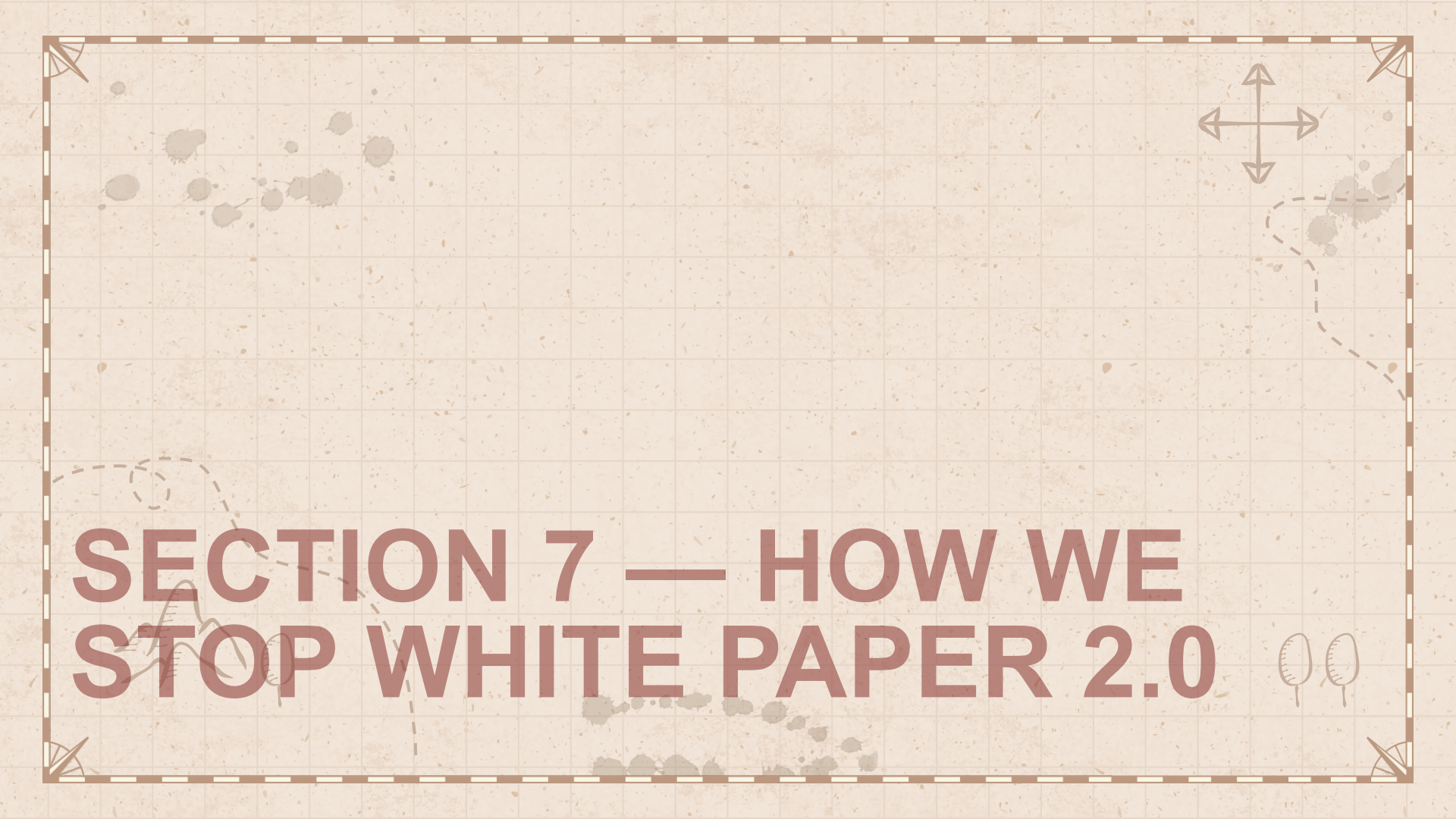


What True Recognition Would Look Like

- Nation-to-Nation relationships
- Recognition of Sovereignty and Treaty fiduciary (Trust) obligations
- Restoration of lands, territories & resources taken without **FPIC**, or restitution
- No provincial veto
- No federal delegation model
- Fiscal arrangements based on rights and needs
- Respect for First Nations legal orders



Anything less is not self-determination!



SECTION 7 — HOW WE STOP WHITE PAPER 2.0

Four-Part Strategy

Treaty Enforcement

- Reassert Crown–Treaty relationships.
- Reject municipalization models.

Status Protection

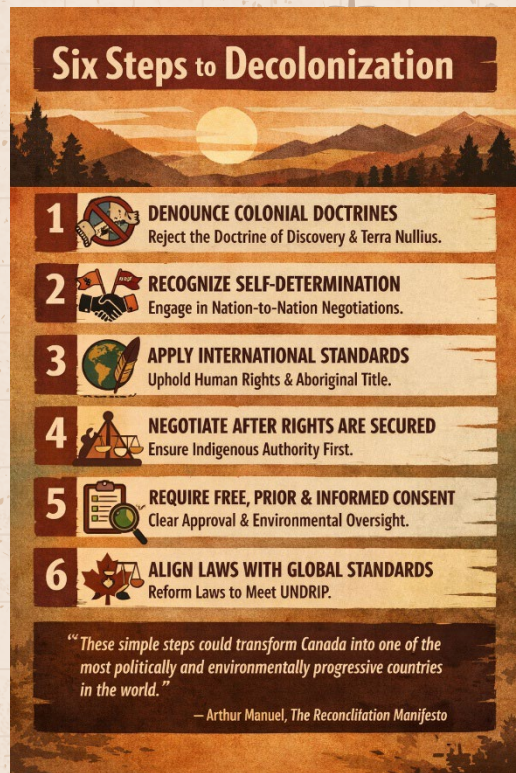
- Oppose second-generation cut-off.
- Protect collective rights.

Reject Delegated Self-Government Models

- Avoid “*Indigenous Governing Body*” agreements.
- Demand recognition of Inherent & Treaty rights.

Grassroots Nationhood Planning

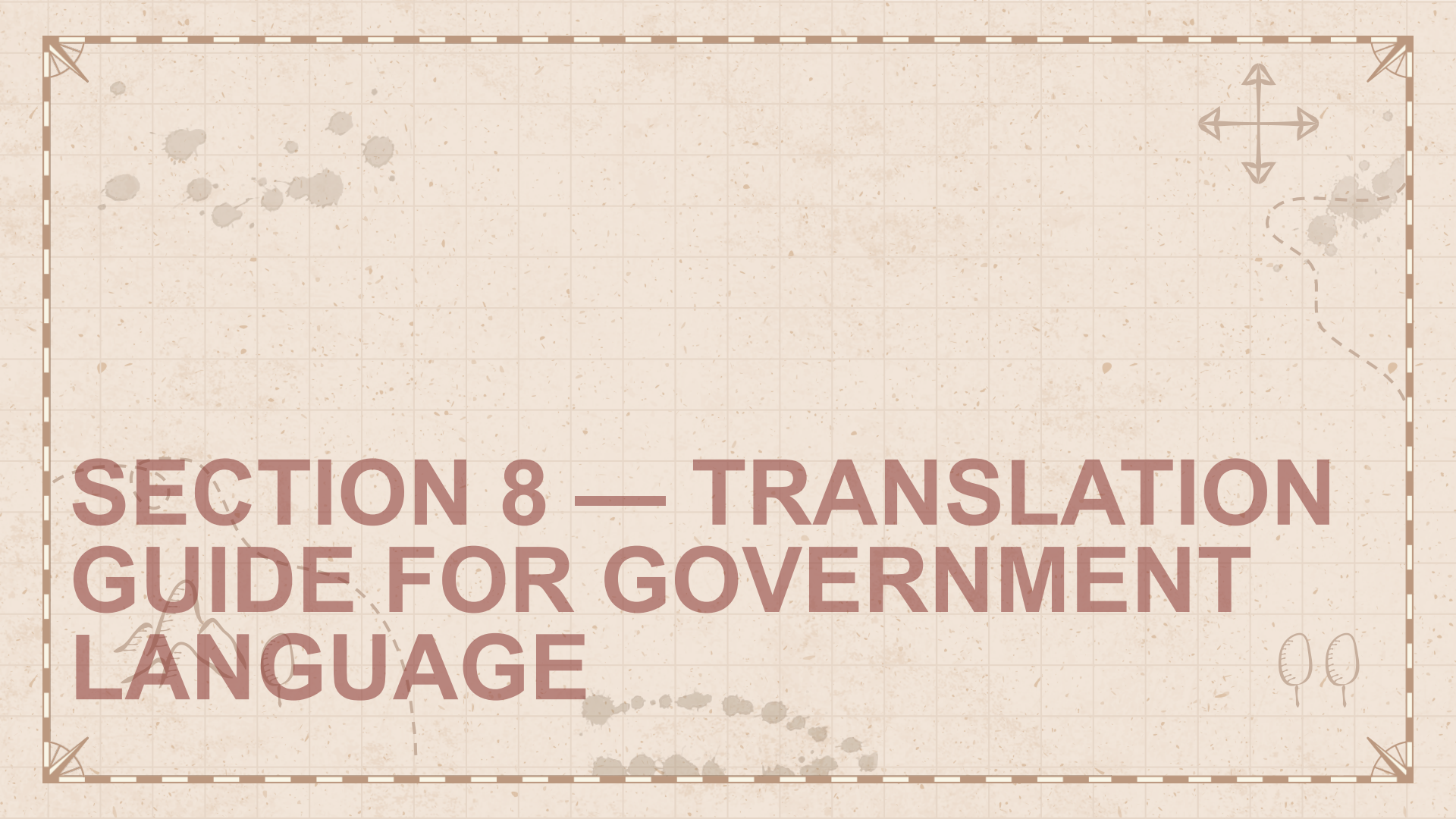
- Community mandates.
- Treaty-based governance.
- Independent political organizing.



Six Steps to Decolonization

-  **DENOUNCE COLONIAL DOCTRINES**
Reject the Doctrine of Discovery & Terra Nullius.
-  **RECOGNIZE SELF-DETERMINATION**
Engage in Nation-to-Nation Negotiations.
-  **APPLY INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS**
Uphold Human Rights & Aboriginal Title.
-  **NEGOTIATE AFTER RIGHTS ARE SECURED**
Ensure Indigenous Authority First.
-  **REQUIRE FREE, PRIOR & INFORMED CONSENT**
Clear Approval & Environmental Oversight.
-  **ALIGN LAWS WITH GLOBAL STANDARDS**
Reform Laws to Meet UNDRIP.

“These simple steps could transform Canada into one of the most politically and environmentally progressive countries in the world.”
— Arthur Manuel, *The Reconciliation Manifesto*



SECTION 8 — TRANSLATION GUIDE FOR GOVERNMENT LANGUAGE

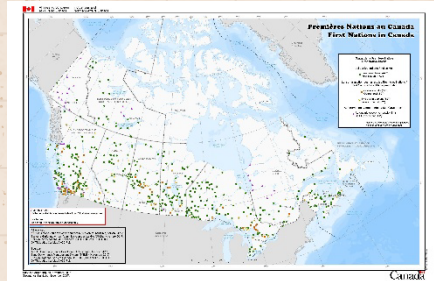
Translation Guide

Government Language	What to Watch For
<i>“Distinctions-based”</i>	Is there still one standard First Nations, Metis, Inuit model?
<i>“Modern Treaty / self-government”</i>	Municipal type constitution/charter?
<i>“New fiscal relationship”</i>	Whose powers grow?
<i>“Moving beyond the <u>Indian Act</u>”</i>	On whose terms?
<i>“UNDRIP implementation”</i>	Real FPIC or just Duty to Consult tied to strength of claim ?



SECTION 9 — FOR ALLIES

Seeing Through Reconciliation Rhetoric



Ask two questions:

- Who holds real power over land, water, resources?
- Are First Nations treated as sovereign Treaty partners or local municipal governments?

Warning signs:

- Focus on services, taxation, efficiency
- Little focus on Land Back, Treaty enforcement, FPIC, sovereignty.

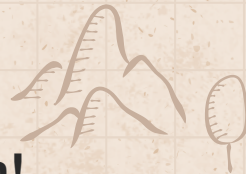
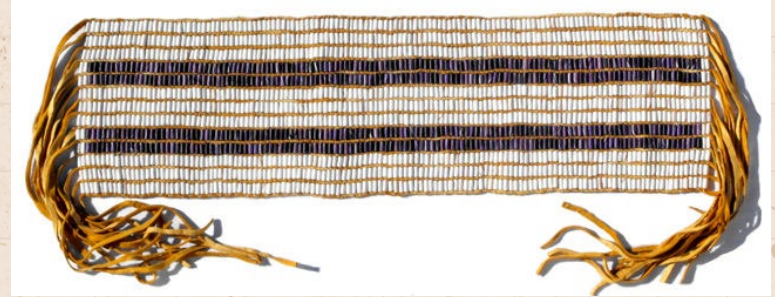


SECTION 10 — CLOSING

Again--What True Recognition Would Look Like

- Nation-to-Nation relationships
- Recognition of Sovereignty and Treaty fiduciary (Trust) obligations
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- No provincial veto
- No federal delegation model
- Fiscal arrangements based on rights and needs
- Respect for First Nations legal orders

Anything less is not self-determination!



Final Message

- We are not future municipalities. We are Treaty Peoples and Sovereign Nations.
- **White Paper 2.0** can be stopped — but only through organized Treaty-based action.



Closing Nia:wen – Thank You!

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