

FIRST NATIONS STRATEGIC BULLETIN

FIRST NATIONS STRATEGIC POLICY COUNSEL

Decoding Liberal Leader/Prime Minister Mark Carney's "Reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples" Platform Promises



Mark Carney, Leader of Liberal Party of Canada & Prime Minister, has won the 2025 federal election.

By Russ Diabo

2025 Election Results

Thanks to **Justin Trudeau** resigning, **Mark Carney** with his economic pedigree, becoming interim Prime Minister, and **Donald Trump's** election interference by launching a US-Canada Trade War to annex Canada as a "51st state", the Liberals bounced back in pop-

ularity and the polls to win a fourth mandate with a minority government (169 seats) defeating the Conservatives despite their growing support among Canadians (144) seats and message of "change".

The Liberals were able to defeat the Conservative Leader, **Pierre Poilievre**, with Liberal, **Bruce Fanjoy**, winning the seat for the Carleton Riding, a seat **Poilievre** held for 20 years.

Now, despite **Poilievre** announcing on election night that he was going to continue to fight for the Conservative Party and its values, losing his seat in Parliament means, while he is Leader of the Conservative Party of Canada, he is not the Official Leader of the Opposition, so an interim Leader has to be selected for when Parliament resumes and **Poilievre** cannot remain in Stornaway, the Official Opposition Leader's residence, located in the upscale Rockcliff neighborhood, unless the Interim Leader allows it.

It will now take time, likely months, for **Pierre Poilievre** to convince a sitting Conservative M.P. to resign, opening up a seat for **Poilievre** to run in a by-election, unless the Conservative Party decides to change leaders like the party has done after previous elections when they lose.

Elizabeth May, Green Party, survived winning her seat, but the other smaller parties like the NDP only won 7 seats, losing party status in Parliament and causing **Jagmeet Singh**—who lost his seat—to resign

Special points of interest:

- **PM Carney wins a Minority Government as Poilievre Conservatives lose and NDP lose Party Status**
- **During Election, Carney had advantage of being both Liberal Leader and Prime Minister**
- **Decoding Carney's Platform Confirms it continues much of Trudeau's False Reconciliation Plan**

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The Supreme Court of Canada has defined the meaning of section 35 through court cases since 1990.

“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 rights in the SCC imposed, legal principles, standards and tests to assess if—asserted—but “unproven rights” are to be tested—proven in accordance with Canadian section 35 common law”



Supreme Court of Canada building on stolen Algonquin Territory.

‘Decoding Carney’ continued from page 1

starting a process to select an interim NDP Leader until an NDP Leadership Convention is held.

The Bloc Quebecois lost 9 seats, leaving the party with 23 seats, and BQ Leader, **Yves-Francois Blanchett**, keeping his seat.

The Liberal’s with 169 seats, are just three seats short of the 172 seats needed for a majority government and with all parties post-election, professing Canadian unity in the face of **Donald Trump’s** threats in tariffs and annexation of Canada, the Liberal’s will likely be able to find 3 M.P.’s from the opposition parties to support a legislative agenda, including—with some negotiating—approving a federal budget.

Because of **Trump’s** assault on Canada’s economy, there is urgency over the next few weeks, for **Prime Minister Mark Carney** to name his real Cabinet, issue a Throne Speech and restart Parliament.

The **Carney’s Liberal Platform 2025 “Indigenous Reconciliation”** vague commitments need context to understand and the commitments are as follows:

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

To decode these two core commitments, we must understand that: 1) Aboriginal and Treaty rights recognized and affirmed in **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 rights in the SCC imposed, legal principles, standards and tests to assess if—asserted—but “*unproven rights*” are to be tested—proven in accordance with **Canadian section 35 common law**.

This includes the SCC test for the **Crown’s Duty to Consult**, which is tied to “*strength of claim*” (burden of proof) evidence assessed by federal and provincial government departments to determine a “*depth of consultation*” assessment, if it is determined by a Crown government there is a weak “*strength of claim*” from a First Nation, then **just a notice is required** to be sent to the First Nation that a Crown proposed project or activity will proceed on traditional lands, or if there is evidence of a strong “*strength of*

'Decoding Carney' continued from page 2

claim", then discussion of **project or activity accommodations with a First Nation will occur**.

Even the term "*strength of claim*" indicates the operating assumption of the court is First Nations have "*unproven rights*" until proven by meeting the court imposed, costly, legal burden of proof.

This SCC legal test for the **Crown's Duty to Consult** is embedded in all federal, provincial and territorial governments consultation policies, and in my experience most First Nation Bands do not have sufficient evidence collected in community archives or databases to meet the legal burden of proof, while federal, provincial, territorial governments and often industry have archives and databases with counter research on First Nation communities where projects or activities are proposed for traditional First Nations territories.

In terms of 2) implementation of the **United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples**, the Carney government's electoral platform includes the commitment to "*Implement the **United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act** and the Action Plan*".

This Carney commitment refers to the federal **United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act** (Bill C-15), which replaces the **UNDRIP** international minimum standards with the federal domestic interpretation of **UNDRIP** through the existing federal "*Rights Recognition Framework*", based on its 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*".

The SCC has ruled that "*Indianess*" in section 91.24 of the **Constitution Act 1867**, now includes the Inuit and Metis Peoples, hence the use of the term "*Indigenous Peoples*" in federal policies and legislation.

Recent Federal Legislation Passed Using Section 91.24 Constitutional Authority

- *First Nations Land Management Act*
- *First Nations Fiscal Management Act*
- *Additions of Lands to Reserves and Reserve Creation Act*
- *First Nations Commercial and Industrial Development Act*
- *First Nations Elections Act*
- *Indigenous Languages Act*
- *Indigenous Child & Family Services Act*
- *An Act to implement certain provisions of the budget tabled in Parliament on March 19, 2019 and other measures – DIVISION 25, Various*



1867 British North America Colonizers

"The SCC has ruled that "*Indianess*" in section 91.24 of the **Constitution Act 1867**, now includes the Inuit and Metis Peoples, hence the use of the term "*Indigenous Peoples*" in federal policies and legislation"





“the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act, there are National Action-Plan Measures in the First Nations Chapter of the National Plan, including the planned repeal of the Indian Act, because the federal government has determined the Indian Act is inconsistent with the federal interpretation of UNDRIP, and as legally required by Bill C-15, the National Action Plan was tabled in Parliament on June 20, 2023”



Mary Simon, Inuk Governor-General

‘Decoding Carney’ continued from page 3

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 on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act

As for the last law listed above, the **United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act**, there are **National Action-Plan Measures** in the **First Nations Chapter** of the **National Plan**, including the planned repeal of the **Indian Act**, because the federal government has determined the **Indian Act** is inconsistent with the federal interpretation of **UNDRIP**, and as legally required by **Bill C-15**, the **National Action Plan** was tabled in Parliament on June 20, 2023.

The rest of the **Carney Liberal Platform commitments** are listed below with **FNSB comments** where the **Platform Commitments** impact First Nations rights and interests:

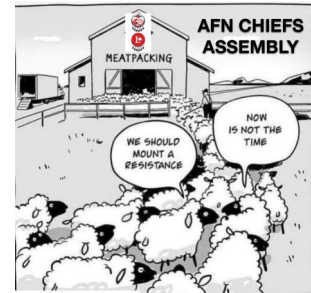
A Mark Carney-led government will:

- **Work in full partnership with First Nation, Inuit, and Métis to advance and realize the rights of Indigenous Peoples through a distinctions-based approach.** [FNSB comment – The “*distinctions-based approach*” is a carry over from the Trudeau government and the record from the past Trudeau decade shows the federal “*Indigenous Reconciliation*” approach is a pan-Indigenous approach to the development of federal policy and legislation for Indigenous Peoples, to water down First Nations Treaty and Inherent Rights by merging First Nations in with other Indigenous Peoples (Inuit and Metis) as legislatively defined “*Indigenous Governing Bodies*” until transitioned into “*Indigenous Governments*” with the same legal status in Canadian law as municipalities and corporations.]
- **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.** [FNSB comment – This is NOT real self-determination; it is delegated federal authority to “*Indigenous Governing Bodies*” as the federal government off-loads programs and legal responsibilities onto First Nations as part of Indigenous Services Canada’s (ISC) “*Transfer Policy*” in preparation for First Nation communities transition into 4th level “*Indigenous Governments*” with municipal, corporate, legal status. The 10-year grants to **Indian Act** Bands is also part of the capacity building process to get First Nation Bands out of the **Indian Act** and into the federal “*Self-Government Fiscal Policy*” where federal funding is reduced as “*Indigenous Governments*”

‘Decoding Carney’ conclusion from page 4

use their own source revenues, including taxation, to cost-share “*Indigenous Governments*” operations and program delivery.]

- Work in partnership** on the implementation of treaties, land claim, and self-government agreements. [FNSB comment – This refers to the federal policy of implementing pre-confederation, post-confederation and modern treaties through “*Indigenous*” Self-Government Agreements, examples of this are the 1850 Robinson Huron Treaty Bands who signed onto the Anishinabek Nation Governance Agreement Act and the Treaty #6 Meadow Lake Tribal Council’s Memorandum of Understanding on “Reconciliation and Self-Determination” for “sector-specific Governance negotiations”. Also the term “*land claim*” refers to “*Comprehensive Land Claims*” (Modern Treaties) to extinguish (modify & release) Aboriginal Title and “*Specific Claims*”, which are to settle in a one-time cash payment the outstanding “*lawful obligations*” owed to “*Indians*” for Treaty Land Entitlements, Agricultural Benefits, Ammunition, Chiefs (Headmen) Suits of Clothing, illegal taking of Reserve Lands or Trust Funds, etc. These two “*land claim*” policies date back to 1973, when they were established by then Minister of Indian Affairs, Jean Chretien and Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau. As for implementation of “*self-government agreements*” the federal intent is to transfer ALL 600+ Indian Act Bands and their Reserves into self-government agreements transforming Bands/Reserves into Indigenous Governments with the same legal status as municipalities and corporations [according to a 2021 CIRNAC/ISC Briefing Note and an October 6, 2021, Joint Deck on “Moving away from the Indian Act” to Mary Simon, Governor-General] and as B.C. lawyer Ardith Walkem—now a B.C. Justice—has stated “*these corporate entities operate entirely within the Canadian legal system (with powers defined, limited and delegated by Canadian legislation)...[and] moves a step further from recognition of Indigenous Peoples nationhood.*”]
- 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.** [FNSB comment – This refers to the “*Permanent Bilateral Mechanisms*” (Joint Committees structure) created, funded and controlled by the Trudeau government though “*2017 Memorandums of Understanding on Joint Priorities*” with the Assembly of First Nations (Nation-to-Nation), the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (Inuit-Crown) and the Metis National Council (government-to-government). This indicates the Carney government will continue—like Trudeau—to use these three National Indigenous Or-



“the federal intent is to transfer ALL 600+ Indian Act Bands and their Reserves into self-government agreements transforming Bands/Reserves into Indigenous Governments with the same legal status as municipalities and corporations [according to a 2021 CIRNAC/ISC Briefing Note and an October 6, 2021, Joint Deck on “Moving away from the Indian Act” to Mary Simon, Governor-General]”





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

“Bill C-15 flips the requirement for making Canadian law’s subject to the articles of UNDRIP, to making UNDRIP subject to existing Canadian laws under Section 35 of the Constitution. Section 35 of the constitution has already been decided on by Canadian courts to give Canada control of Indigenous lands under the Doctrine of Discovery, and places severe limits on the right of self-determination, including defining Indigenous self-government as a 4th level municipality established through federal legislation”



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

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ganizations in a top-down federal approach to continue to “co-develop” policy and legislation in the federal pan-Indigenous approach to “*Indigenous Reconciliation*”.]

- ***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. [FNSB comment – Although vague, this indicates the Carney government may reconsider the Trudeau government decision to end funding to the “National Advisory Committee on Residential Schools Missing Children and Unmarked Burials”.]***
- ***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. [FNSB comment – Another vague commitment, the Trudeau government has been criticized by the Native Women’s organizations for not seriously responding to the final report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG) delivered to Prime Minister Justin Trudeau in a ceremony at the Canadian Museum of History in Gatineau, Que., on June 3, 2019. The Final Report concluded the MMIWG crisis amounts to a genocide. The Carney government will need to be watched to see if concrete actions are announced to implement the MMIWG Calls for Justice.]***
- ***Implement the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act and the Action Plan. [FNSB comment – The Trudeau government introduced the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act (Bill C-15) into Parliament on December 3, 2020, by the federal Minister of Justice & Attorney-General, David Lametti (who is now part of Candidate Carney’s transition team). It became federal law on June 21, 2021. Bill C-15 flips the requirement for making Canadian law’s subject to the articles of UNDRIP, to making UNDRIP subject to existing Canadian laws under Section 35 of the Constitution. Section 35 of the constitution has already been decided on by Canadian courts to give Canada control of Indigenous lands under the Doctrine of Discovery, and places severe limits on the right of self-determination, including defining Indigenous self-government as a 4th level municipality established through federal legislation. Bill C-15 National Action-Plan is a Pan-Indigenous 5-Year Plan (2023-2028), considered “evergreen” since it is to be renewed for years, likely decades. There are 5 chapters and 181 federal measures/actions included in the 5-***

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Year United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act (UNDRIPA) National Action-Plan, including "For Canada's laws to fulfill the UN Declaration, the Indian Act must be repealed" [First Nations Chapter, Action-Plan Measure #8] Chapter 1: Shared priorities (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 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.]

- Launch a new Indigenous Pathways to Prosperity Skills and Training Fund** which will support partnerships between First Nations, Inuit, and Métis communities and organizations, schools, training centres, and colleges to advance access to skills training and education opportunities. This will support the training of more First Nations, Inuit, and Métis doctors, teachers, and builders, amongst other priority areas identified by partners. **[FNSB comment – This commitment to education is badly needed, but the "Indigenous Pathways to Prosperity Skills and Training" will likely be interpreted by the Carney government as training an "Indigenous" labour force according to federal and industry priorities, which many will support, but in the face of the coming economic boom, there is also a need for federal support of skills training to support First Nations capacity building to meet the court imposed, legal burden of proof in the federal, provincial and territorial government's Duty to Consult processes for 1) cultural and historical research; 2) GIS Mapping; 3) Regional Land and Resource Planning over Aboriginal Title and historic Treaty Territories. The Carney government's priority is developing energy, mining and other natural resource extraction projects. Most First Nations do not have the internal capacity (skills & evidence) to meet the court imposed, Duty to Consult/Strength of Claim legal standard and will be at a disadvantage to identify and protect First Nations off-reserve access, values, needs and priorities, as resource extraction projects are planned by provinces and the government of Canada for First Nations off-reserve territories.]**
- Accelerate funding for access to post-secondary education so more First Nations, Inuit, and Métis students can go to school and invest in associated infrastructure. Cost should not be the barrier. We will also invest in Indigenous-led post-secondary education institutions such as**



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“Education is also part of the Trudeau government’s previous Sectoral and Service transfers from Indigenous Services Canada through 10-year funding agreements and could become Sectoral Self-Government Agreements like the “Mi’kmaq Education Agreement” and “Anishinabek Nation Education Agreement”, since a Carney government is continuing the Trudeau government’s approach to “Indigenous Reconciliation””



‘Decoding Carney’ continued from page 7

the Inuit Nunangat University and the First Nations University. [FNSB comment – This is a badly needed commitment as there has been a consistent rise in the First Nations post-secondary student population, although there are other First Nations Post-Secondary Institutions like Blue Quills in Alberta and Kiuna in Quebec that also need support. There are also important programs in Post-Secondary Education Institutions that slo need to be supported. Carney’s budget needs to be monitored to see how this commitment is implemented.]

- Protect K-12 education on-reserve so that more First Nations kids can go to school surrounded by their language, culture, and communities. [FNSB comment – This is a badly needed commitment and should be included in the Carney government’s first budget. However, it should be remembered that Education is also part of the Trudeau government’s previous Sectoral and Service transfers from Indigenous Services Canada through 10-year funding agreements and could become Sectoral Self-Government Agreements like the “Mi’kmaq Education Agreement” and “Anishinabek Nation Education Agreement”, since a Carney government is continuing the Trudeau government’s approach to “Indigenous Reconciliation”.]***
- Expand the Indigenous Loan Guarantee Program from \$5 billion to \$10 billion and increase the sectoral scope. This will enable a greater share in the benefits of natural resources and energy projects in Indigenous Peoples’ territories, on their own terms. And we will work with First Nations, Inuit, and Métis partners to improve accessibility. An expansion will create more space for more communities to access lower interest loans thus enabling greater opportunities for investment and profit from natural resources. [FNSB comment – This commitment is to expand the Trudeau government commitment of \$5 billion in loan guarantees for eligible Indigenous Peoples and Indigenous corporations to obtain affordable capital to \$10 billion. As part of “Economic Reconciliation”, the Carney government plans to “build baby build” in “nation-building” projects in new trade and energy corridors. This “Indigenous Loan Guarantee Program” continues the Trudeau government’s “Reconciliation” approach that started with the federal purchase of the Trans Mountain (TMX) Pipeline, and Natural Resources Canada in 2017, creating the “Indigenous Advisory and Monitoring Committee” with***

'Decoding Carney' continued from page 8

members of pro-pipeline/marine shipping Indigenous leaders, to work with the federal “Canada Energy Regulator” (formerly the National Energy Board), along with the Department of Finance’s “TMX Indigenous Forum” and the Department of Finance also named the “First Nations Major Projects Coalition” and a Kamloops-based company, “Four Directions Management Services”, as coordinators of a “Multilateral Phase” for determining “Indigenous Economic Participation in the Trans Mountain Pipeline Expansion Project” with **“OBJECTIVE 1: Build consensus on the form of economic participation in the Project preferred by participating Indigenous groups: equity and/or revenue sharing”** and **“OBJECTIVE 2: Identify or support formation of one or more entities to represent participating Indigenous groups in negotiations with Canada.”** This led to Natural Resources Canada’s “National Benefits Sharing Framework” and federal funding through programs like the “Indigenous Natural Resource Partnerships (INRP) Program”, which has contributed to the expansion of the “First Nations Major Projects Coalition” to over 170 members with a project portfolio of \$45 billion, contributing to equity ownership in projects like the B.C. LNG Pipeline (over the objections of the Wet’suwet’en Hereditary Chiefs and Clans) and other major infrastructure projects. Mark Carney’s Platform commitment to expand the \$5 billion in loan guarantees for eligible Indigenous Peoples and Indigenous corporations to \$10 billion will continue and expand the Trudeau government’s “National Benefits Sharing Framework” through the Trudeau government’s “New Fiscal Relationship” of federal funding through “Self-Government Fiscal Policy”, which has a funding formula of reduced federal transfer payments as “Indigenous governments” cost-share the costs of governance and program delivery through own source revenues—which according to a “2017 AFN-Canada Joint Report on Co-Development of a New Fiscal Relationship Between Canada & First Nations”—includes taxation as well as “Increasing economic development by growing First Nations businesses (Corporations created under Canadian laws); Resolving comprehensive and specific land claims and additions to reserve (involves agreement with province where jurisdiction is affected); Creating and increasing resource revenue sharing (involves provincial agreement); Increasing other forms of revenue sharing, such as gaming; (involves provincial agreement)”.]



“Natural Resources Canada’s “National Benefits Sharing Framework” and federal funding through programs like the “Indigenous Natural Resource Partnerships (INRP) Program”, which has contributed to the expansion of the “First Nations Major Projects Coalition” to over 170 members with a project portfolio of \$45 billion, contributing to equity ownership in projects like the B.C. LNG Pipeline (over the objections of the Wet’suwet’en Hereditary Chiefs and Clans) and other major infrastructure projects”





‘Decoding Carney’ continued from page 9

“These National Land, Fiscal and now Infrastructure Institutions, which were set up to assist Indian Act Bands/Reserves to prepare for federally defined and legislated “Indigenous Self-Government”, with the legal status and capacity of a “natural person”, the same as municipalities and corporations”

- **Build together *with First Nations, Inuit, and Métis communities* the critical infrastructure needed all across the country.** Predictable funding cycles and getting priority setting closer to community needs is critical to increasing the pace of work and the effectiveness of infrastructure funding. To accelerate this work, we will:
 - **Expand the kinds of projects the Canada Infrastructure Bank can support** to be more in line with First Nation, Inuit, and Métis priorities.
 - **Explore options for an Indigenous Infrastructure Bank** to address access to capital.
 - **Determine the best path forward towards First Nations 10-year infrastructure plans.**
 - **Realize First Nations control over First Nations infrastructure** wherever possible through models like the First Nations Atlantic Water Authority.
 - **Work in partnership with Indigenous communities and Indigenous housing providers** to directly support building housing including in urban, rural, and northern Indigenous communities. **[FNSB comment – After 149 years the colonial Indian Act has—for most Indian Bands/Reserves—led to the contemporary conditions of poverty, dependency and forced underdevelopment on-reserve, and since the 1984 Supreme Court of Canada’s *Guerin* decision, clarifying that Canada owes a fiduciary duty to manage “Indian lands and trusts” in a professional manner, the federal government has been trying to off-load its obligations and liabilities onto First Nations. The Mulroney government tried with a proposed “Chartered Land Act” and related legislation, the Chretien government built on the Mulroney government’s approach, with the “First Nations Land Management Act” and the “First Nations Fiscal Management Act”, which was amended in 2024, to add a “First Nations Infrastructure Institute” to work with the “First Nations Financial Management Board, the First Nations Finance Authority and the First Nations Tax Commission”. These National Land, Fiscal and now Infrastructure Institutions, which were set up to assist Indian Act Bands/Reserves to prepare for federally defined and legislated “Indigenous Self-Government”, with the legal status and capacity of a “natural person”, the same as municipalities and corporations. These vague Carney Platform commitments to “explore options” and “work in partnership” with the Carney government to “build together with First Nations, Inuit, and Métis communities the critical infrastructure needed all across the**



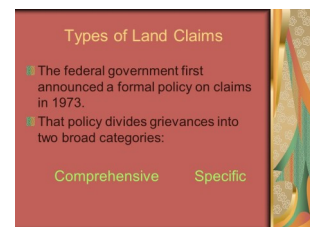
'Decoding Carney' conclusion from page 10

country", continues the Trudeau government's approach of off-loading the federal constitutional fiduciary obligations and responsibilities for "*Indians and lands reserved for the Indians*" onto the federally created, funded and controlled National Land, Fiscal and Infrastructure Institutions that promote land codes, taxation, loans and "*self-government arrangements*". After 149 years of Indian Act imposed poverty, dependency and underdevelopment on-reserve, what Carney's Platform commitments offer, is to expand the projects that the Canada Infrastructure Bank's "*Indigenous Community Infrastructure Initiative*" can support, through another loan funding program to "*reduce the infrastructure gap*" by providing loans to "*Indigenous communities, Indigenous economic development corporations, Indigenous organizations and/or industry sponsors, such as developers, contractors and/or operators of the project, with support of the Indigenous community or communities of interest, including First Nations, Métis and Inuit communities.*"

- **Increase lands added to reserves within the next four years and work with First Nations to accelerate additions to reserve. [FNSB comment – This Carney commitment is vague and refers to the Trudeau government's "Additions-to-Reserve Redesign Process" (ATR) currently underway by the federal bureaucracy and is part of the federal Bill C-15 National Action Plan Measure #5, page 50. The ATR Policy is also connected to the federal Specific Claims Policy, the Specific Claims Tribunal, which only compensates with money, not land, as well as the Comprehensive Land Claims Policy (Modern Treaties) Fee Simple lands. For some time now, the federal government has been implementing land management regimes to get away from the Indian Act Band and Reserve system and into the federal definition of "self-government". Indigenous Services Canada (ISC) has 3 land registries. The registries are maintained in Ottawa and are web-based. They are accessible to First Nations, ISC staff and the general public. 1) The Indian Land Registry System (ILRS) consists of documents related to and interests in reserve (and any surrendered) lands that are administered under the Indian Act; 2) The First Nations Land Registry System (FNLRS) is used for the land records of First Nations who operate under their own Land Code pursuant to the First Nations Land Management Act (FNLMA); 3) The Self-Governing First Nations Land Register (SGFNLR) is established in accordance with the terms of First Nations Self-Government Agreements (and Modern Treaties) and record documents that grant an interest in self-governed First Nation lands. So, as part of preparing to repeal the Indian**



"The ATR Policy is also connected to the federal Specific Claims Policy, the Specific Claims Tribunal, which only compensates with money, not land, as well as the Comprehensive Land Claims Policy (Modern Treaties) Fee Simple lands"





“This commitment indicates that the Carney government will re-introduce Bill C-61, the “First Nations Clean Water Act”, when Parliament re-starts, which is based on the federal municipal model of “Indigenous self-government” and denies First Nations rights to off-reserve sources of water, unless provinces agree, because Bill C-61 is part of a federal plan to use a suite of legislation along with “Sectoral and Service transfers from Indigenous Services Canada”, to facilitate the end of the Indian Act and convert all 600+ Indian Act Bands/Reserves into 4th level Pan-Indigenous (First Nations, Metis, Inuit) Self-Governing Municipalities ”

‘Decoding Carney’ continued from page 11

Act “Additions-to-Reserves” Policy is being transformed into “Additions-to-Lands” to include lands to be added to “Land Code Lands” and “Self-Government Lands” through Modern Treaties and Self-Government Arrangements. The Carney Platform commitment indicates a continuation of the Trudeau government’s approach to “ATR Redesign”.]

- **Immediately introduce and pass legislation affirming that First Nations have a human right to clean drinking water. [FNSB comment – This commitment indicates that the Carney government will re-introduce Bill C-61, the “First Nations Clean Water Act”, when Parliament re-starts, which is based on the federal municipal model of “Indigenous self-government” and denies First Nations rights to off-reserve sources of water, unless provinces agree, because Bill C-61 is part of a federal plan to use a suite of legislation along with “Sectoral and Service transfers from Indigenous Services Canada”, to facilitate the end of the Indian Act and convert all 600+ Indian Act Bands/Reserves into 4th level Pan-Indigenous (First Nations, Metis, Inuit) Self-Governing Municipalities [according to a 2021 CIRNAC/ISC Briefing Note and an October 6, 2021, Joint Deck on “Moving away from the Indian Act” to Mary Simon, Governor-General]. Also connected to the “First Nations Clean Water Act” is the review of the “Canada Water Act” with AFN and First Nations. So, this Carney commitment will happen in a broader legislative and policy context.]**
- **Revitalize Indigenous languages by supporting community-driven projects that restore, protect, and promote this important part of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis cultures and histories. [FNSB comment – [FNSB comment – This commitment will follow the Indigenous Languages Act (Bill C-91), which does not make Indigenous Languages Official Languages like French and the Trudeau government did not make budgetary commitments sufficient to support the survival of Indigenous languages that are on the verge of extinction. This Carney commitment will be a budget item in a federal budget. Indigenous Languages survival depends on a broader educational, cultural and social movement in the First Nation communities.]**
- **Increase investments for Indigenous mental health, healing and wellness centres, and friendship centres. [FNSB comment – This Carney commitment implies increased funding for “Indigenous mental health, healing and wellness centres, and friendship centres”, which is needed, but the Trudeau government’s “distinction’s based” approach to “Indigenous Reconciliation” has led to a focus on First Nations with Reserves/Land Codes/ Self-Government Land Base, and after 10 years, the Trudeau**



‘Decoding Carney’ continued from page 12

government has not developed a coherent “*Urban Indigenous*” Policy to address the large off-reserve urban Indigenous populations, even though the Indian Act and federal policies has contributed to the off-reserve migration into towns and cities, which arguably is part of the federal plan to end the Indian Act and Indian Reserves. This Carney commitment is focused on funding wellness centres and friendship centres as a budget issue not addressing the broader policy context of fiscally forced assimilation.]

- ***Co-develop evidence-based food security approaches to replace Nutrition North Canada with Inuit and Northern Indigenous leaders. The affordability crisis that all Canadians are feeling is even more extreme in Northern communities. Concrete action that brings real results must be taken to bring down prices and increase access. [This Carney commitment is vague and is really not a commitment, except to a discussion process.]***
- ***Double First Nation, Inuit, and Métis capacity funding to contribute to major project assessments for more consistent, fair, and meaningful consultations. [FNSB comment – This Carney commitment is connected to his government’s plan of “getting projects done faster and better”, as Carney’s Platform states “Investors are looking for certainty... It’s time for the government to commit its powers, policy instruments, and fiscal capacity to speed up the review process so we can build major projects in the national interest” in order to “Get big projects built quickly by establishing “One Window” project decisions through a Major Federal Project Office; Require the new Major Federal Project Office to render final decisions on projects on a maximum two-year timeline; Move forward with One Project, One Review; Advance Indigenous participation in major projects; Double capacity support so more Indigenous communities can take an active role in project decisions at various stages.” The Carney Platform commitment to “consistent, fair, and meaningful consultations” with First Nations will be an economic trade-off with the commitment for “Indigenous participation in major projects... Indigenous communities can take an active role in project decisions at various stages”. The Carney commitment to “Double First Nation, Inuit, and Métis capacity funding to contribute to major project assessments for more consistent, fair, and meaningful consultations”, means that federal consultation funding for First Nations will be limited to “major project assessments” in the federal “One Window” project decisions through a “Major Federal Project Office” with a 2-year time frame. This will put immense pressure on First Nations to accept limiting the scope of their rights and interests to the foot-***

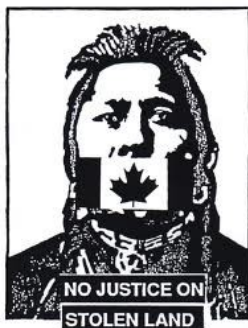


“federal consultation funding for First Nations will be limited to “major project assessments” in the federal “One Window” project decisions through a “Major Federal Project Office” with a 2-year time frame. This will put immense pressure on First Nations to accept limiting the scope of their rights and interests to the footprint of the proposed “Major Project” and not their whole off-reserve Aboriginal Title or historic Treaty territory”





“Under the federal and provincial duty to consult policies, the operating assumption is that First Nations have “unproven rights” that must be proved through “strength of claim” and “depth of consultation” assessments done unilaterally by federal and provincial government departments”



‘Decoding Carney’ continued from page 13

print of the proposed “*Major Project*” and not their whole off-reserve Aboriginal Title or historic Treaty territory. Moreover, the affected First Nation will have to meet the legal burden of proof/strength of claim to establish Aboriginal and/or Treaty rights and most First Nations generally do not have the cultural and historical information for off-reserve territorial planning, like current land-use and occupancy mapping; harvest studies; Toponym or Place-Name Studies; Indigenous Knowledge (IK) or Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) Studies; Documentation of Customary/Traditional Laws (and Treaties); Archaeology, written history and ethnography; Genealogy or an Alienation of Lands Study and a State of the Territory Report. Under the federal and provincial duty to consult policies, the operating assumption is that First Nations have “*unproven rights*” that must be proved through “*strength of claim*” and “*depth of consultation*” assessments done unilaterally by federal and provincial government departments. If it is determined a First Nation has a strong claim to a territory, the First Nation will have leverage to negotiate “*accommodations*” to a proposed “*Major Project*”, on the other hand, if a First Nation is determined to have a weak claim to the territory of a proposed “*Major Project*”, the First Nation will not have much leverage in negotiations and will likely submit to federal “*take it or leave it*” offers. This is how the B.C. “*Indigenous Advisory and Monitoring Committee*” began, by the Trudeau government identifying members of pro-pipeline/marine shipping Indigenous leaders, to work with the federal “*Canada Energy Regulator*” (formerly the National Energy Board), along with the Department of Finance’s “*TMX Indigenous Forum*” and this is how the Department of Finance identified the original members of the “*First Nations Major Projects Coalition*”, which has now grown—with the support of federal loans—to participate in “*Major Projects*” through equity investments with the help of the B.C. based, National Fiscal Institutions. According to the Carney Platform commitments, a Carney government will continue this model of economic development of taking advantage of First Nations poverty and dependency on federal funding by reducing First Nations into the legal status of corporations and as Adith Walkem, a First Nations lawyer, who is now a B.C. Justice has said, “*these corporate entities operate entirely within the Canadian legal system (with powers defined, limited and delegated by Canadian legislation)...[and] moves a step further from recognition of Indigenous Peoples nationhood*”. This federal approach of delegating federal tax powers and loans to desperate First Nations, has been successful as evidenced by the expansion of the “*First Nations Major Projects Coalition*” to over 170 members with a project portfolio of \$45 billion, contributing to equity ownership in projects like the B.C. LNG Pipeline and other major infrastructure projects. Mark Carney’s Platform commitment to expand

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the \$5 billion in loan guarantees for eligible Indigenous Peoples and Indigenous corporations to \$10 billion will continue and expand the Trudeau government’s “*Natural Benefits Sharing Framework*”. Carney’s “*Economic Reconciliation*” approach to consulting First Nations and their participating in “*Major Project*” assessments fits into the federal plan to replace the Indian Act Bands/Reserves with Indigenous Municipal Corporations on Fee Simple lands.]

- **Establish a new Indigenous Climate Readiness and Adaptation Fund and support Indigenous-led conservation initiatives** to safeguard forests, waterways, oceans and wildlife and to bolster disaster response activities. This ensures invaluable traditional knowledge is incorporated into how we protect nature and advances reconciliation. [FNSB comment – This Carney commitment is to create a new “*Indigenous Climate Readiness and Adaptation Fund*”. The Carney government will have to be monitored for details of the new fund.]
- **Work with First Nation, Inuit, and Métis peoples to advance economic reconciliation**, including reforms that enable Indigenous-led initiatives. This work will support Indigenous Peoples and communities in overcoming long-standing economic injustices and enable self-determination of their own economic futures. [FNSB comment – This is too vague a commitment to measure. This meaning of this commitment relates to other more detailed Carney “*Indigenous Reconciliation*” Platform commitments.
- **Continue to support Indigenous Early Learning and Child Care.** [FNSB comment – This Carney commitment will be part of the ongoing Sectoral and Service transfers from Indigenous Services Canada.]
- **Continue to partner with Inuit to eliminate tuberculosis in Inuit Nunangat by 2030.**
- **Continue to fund Jordan’s Principle.** [FNSB comment – This Carney commitment continues the Trudeau government’s Jordan Principle Policy “*The principle is intended to assure that First Nations children can access government-funded health, social or educational services regardless of where they live and without seeing their cases bogged down in jurisdictional disputes.*” As Indigenous Services Canada (ISC) describes it “*Jordan’s Principle is a human rights principle established by the Canadian Human Rights Tribunal (CHRT) to make sure that First Nations children*



“Mark Carney’s Platform commitment to expand the \$5 billion in loan guarantees for eligible Indigenous Peoples and Indigenous corporations to \$10 billion will continue and expand the Trudeau government’s “*Natural Benefits Sharing Framework*”. Carney’s “*Economic Reconciliation*” approach to consulting First Nations and their participating in “*Major Project*” assessments fits into the federal plan to replace the Indian Act Bands/Reserves with Indigenous Municipal Corporations on Fee Simple lands”



“This Carney commitment on child welfare reform is quite vague, but it indicates a Carney government will continue the Trudeau government’s policy of Transfer of programs and legal responsibilities to “Indigenous Governing Bodies” through Sectoral and Service transfers from Indigenous Services Canada”



‘Decoding Carney’ continued from page 15

do not face gaps, delays, or denials in accessing government services because of their identity as First Nations children...Jordan's Principle is named in memory of Jordan River Anderson. He was a young boy from Norway House Cree Nation in Manitoba.” Since the program was established in 2016, ISC Minister Patty Hajdu has said “More than \$8.9 million products, services, and supports have been approved”. Just before the federal election was announced, Minister Hajdu announced that Jordan’s Principle will be extended until 2026, without details on a Jordan’s Principle budget.]

- *Continue to fund Inuit Child First Initiative.*
- *Continue the work on child welfare reform. [FNSB comment – This Carney commitment on child welfare reform is quite vague, but it indicates a Carney government will continue the Trudeau government’s policy of Transfer of programs and legal responsibilities to “Indigenous Governing Bodies” through Sectoral and Service transfers from Indigenous Services Canada. The Indigenous Child & Family Services Act (Bill C-92) passed by Parliament in 2019, established national principles and minimum standards, Bill C-92 was then challenged by the Quebec government as being unconstitutional, because it breached the “constitutional architecture of Canada” (division of powers between federal & provincial governments) by encroaching on Quebec constitutional authority over child welfare. In 2024, the Supreme Court of Canada responded to the Quebec government’s appeal of Bill C-92 in a *Quebec Reference* case, and ruled the provinces don’t have jurisdiction over “Indigenous children” and—as lawyer Bruce McIvor points out—the SCC also ruled that “The Court did not confirm an Indigenous right to self-government protected by section 35 of the constitution... the Court decided that as part of exercising its authority over Indigenous people, the federal government could incorporate into federal law the laws written by Indigenous people, i.e. Indigenous laws could apply as if the federal government had written them... its decision is grounded in the longstanding, colonial legal principle [section 91.24 of Constitution Act 1867, giving federal Parliament authority for “Indians and lands reserved for the Indians”] that the federal government has the authority to pass laws that go to the very core of Indigenous peoples’ lives, culture and identity – the same principle used to enforce Canada’s past and current anti-Indigenous genocidal laws and policies.” Bill C-92 was introduced into Parliament with the support of AFN, in parallel to the Canadian Human Rights Tribunal orders to remove the discrimination against First Nations children through the inequitable funding*

‘Decoding Carney’ conclusion from page 16

of the federal “*First Nations Child and Family Services Program*”. In April 2023, a final settlement agreement on compensation was reached. On July 26, 2023, the Canadian Human Rights Tribunal confirmed that the final settlement agreement fully meets the Tribunal’s 2019 orders on compensation. The Federal Court of Canada approved it on October 24, 2023. That approval is now final. The First Nations Child and Family Services, Jordan’s Principle and Trout Class Settlement Agreement provides \$23.3 billion for: children who were removed from their homes under the First Nations Child and Family Services Program between April 1, 1991 and March 31, 2022; First Nations children who were impacted by the government’s narrow definition of Jordan’s Principle between December 12, 2007 and November 2, 2017; First Nations children who did not receive or were delayed in receiving an essential public service, product or support between April 1, 1991 and December 11, 2007; First Nations individuals living on-reserve or in the Yukon, while under the age of majority, who were, based on the involvement of a child welfare agency, sent off-reserve by a caregiving parent or caregiving grandparent to stay with a non-family member in a placement not funded by ISC, between April 1, 1991, and March 31, 2022; Some caregivers of the children above may also be eligible for compensation. The Carney Platform commitment doesn’t indicate how a Carney government will address the Trudeau government’s decision to sign an Ontario-specific version of a national agreement on the long-term reform of the “First Nations Child and Family Services Program” that was reached with the Assembly of First Nations, Chiefs of Ontario, and Nishnawbe Aski Nation in July 2024, on long-term reform of the “*First Nations Child and Family Services Program*” only in Ontario. A Carney government will have to decide if it will continue to exclude the AFN Regions outside of Ontario from long-term reform of the “*First Nations Child and Family Services Program*” as the Trudeau government has done. According to the federal government, the Ontario specific agreement on long-term reform “*includes funding for capital, post-majority support services, First Nation representative services, and prevention, all of which support the objective of keeping First Nations children and youth in the care of their loved ones. Also included in the agreement is \$258 million for First Nations to purchase, build, and renovate housing to prevent First Nations children from being taken into care and to support reunification efforts between children and their families.*”]

FNSB Concluding Comments

The Carney Platform commitments listed above, clearly indicate a Carney government will continue much of the Trudeau government’s top-down “*Indigenous Reconciliation*” approach, from the last decade—with a few new economic twists like “*One Window*” project decisions through a “*Major Federal Project Office*” with a two-year timeline to make decisions on “*Major Projects*”, with the “*One Project, One Review*” process, while supposedly advancing “*Indigenous participation in major projects*”, using Canada’s domestic interpretation of the **UNDRIP international minimum standards**, set out in the federal **United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples** (Bill C-15) and the Bill C-15, **National Action-Plan Measures** using the federal one-sided “*Rights Recognition Framework*”.



What Carney's Win means for Environment and Climate Issues in Canada

By Fatima Syed, Shannon Waters and Carl Meyer

April 28, 2025 (Updated April 29, 2025)

Mark Carney and the Liberal party have won the 2025 federal election. The party's platform promised to maintain the industrial carbon tax and impose a cap on oil and gas emissions.

Canada's 2025 federal election campaign started on the heels of a prime minister stepping down and a tariff war brewing across the border. The dramatic twists upended what was an assumed Conservative win to instead keep the Liberals in power for their fourth consecutive term.

Mark Carney — who took over as Liberal party leader after Justin Trudeau stepped down in January amid party infighting and tanking poll numbers — led the party to victory in an extremely tight election. The former central banker of both Canada and England and longtime advocate of climate action has presented himself as the guy best positioned to handle Canada's economic crisis, inflamed by U.S. President Donald Trump, a severe housing shortage and a slew of other pressures. The pitch worked as voters elected the man one supporter exuberantly dubbed "big daddy" at a rally in early April.

Making several references to deteriorating Canada-U.S. relations, freshly elected Prime Minister Mark Carney said "we are going to build — build, baby, build" — referencing the energy corridor the Liberals promised in their platform as leaders looked to less reliance on the U.S. for energy, and vowing to work in partnership with provinces, territories and Indigenous Peoples. "It's time to build Canada into an energy superpower in both clean and conventional energy," Carney said.

The Liberal win comes as a blow to the Conservatives led by Pierre Poilievre, which prior to Trudeau's resignation had led polls by huge margins. For the past year, Poilievre has been demanding an "axe the tax" election centred around the Liberals' price on carbon emissions, attacking Trudeau for exacerbating the cost-of-living crisis (and leaving out that rebates were sent to almost every household in Canada).

But nine days before the election campaign got into full swing, Carney killed the consumer carbon tax, while also designing a relief package for Canadian businesses threatened by U.S. tariffs. Along with Trudeau's departure, the moves seem to have hurt the federal Conservative party's chances of success.

Despite Poilievre's best efforts to repackage his motto to focus on the industrial carbon price with slogans like "scrap the Car(ney) tax," the Conservatives lost. The federal Tories remain in opposition.

Poilievre also lost his seat in the suburban Ottawa district of Carleton to Liberal Bruce Fanjoy, after holding it through seven elections dating back to 2004. The boundaries of the riding had been redrawn prior to this election, gaining rural communities along the Ottawa River while losing some territory to nearby Kanata.

Poilievre is the first Conservative leader to lose their seat since Kim Campbell in 1993.

"Making several references to deteriorating Canada-U.S. relations, freshly elected Prime Minister Mark Carney said "we are going to build — build, baby, build" — referencing the energy corridor the Liberals promised in their platform as leaders looked to less reliance on the U.S. for energy, and vowing to work in partnership with provinces, territories and Indigenous Peoples. "It's time to build Canada into an energy superpower in both clean and conventional energy," Carney said"



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However, at the time of this writing, the party was leading or elected in 144 ridings, which would grow their caucus by 24 seats. The Conservatives also grew their projected vote share, surging from 33 per cent in the 2021 election to about 41 per cent on Monday. Votes are still being counted, but as of Tuesday evening Elections Canada was reporting a voter turnout of 68.7 per cent — the highest for a federal election since 1993.

That also leaves the Liberals slightly shy of a majority that would allow the government to pass bills without requiring support from opposition members. When the Liberals won a majority under Justin Trudeau in 2015, the government was able to implement major climate policy, like the carbon pollution pricing system and regulations restricting methane. But the government was also pilloried for buying the Trans Mountain oil pipeline and its expansion project, following major Indigenous opposition and a bitter fight between the B.C. and Alberta governments.

During the minority government years that followed, the Liberal government was also able to achieve some climate goals, in part by persuading the NDP to sign an agreement that jointly committed the parties to a list of priorities.

Canada's sustainable jobs law came to fruition under this agreement, intended to create a plan for workers to find good jobs in a low-carbon economy, as part of a so-called "just transition." The Liberals promised the law in 2019, but two years later the NDP accused them of "empty words." It wasn't specifically mentioned in the 2021 throne speech, but it did appear as a priority in the NDP-Liberal agreement a few months later. The law was passed in 2024, over considerable Conservative opposition, and the NDP took credit for it.

Carney's Liberals will now have to navigate renewed tensions between economic and climate commitments, including building a national energy corridor and helping Canadians adapt to more extreme weather.

Here's what Prime Minister Mark Carney will mean for the environment.

What does a fourth Liberal term mean for natural resource projects — and the duty to consult Indigenous Peoples?

The Liberals' commitment to reducing greenhouse gas emissions has been overshadowed lately by the threat of Trump's tariffs. Carney's long track record as an international champion of action on climate change has also taken a back seat.

Before he became a politician, Carney repeatedly called for the world's remaining fossil fuel reserves to be left unburned in the ground to reduce the emissions that are leading to global warming and the increased risk of extreme weather that comes with it. But with trade with the U.S. increasingly tenuous, Carney's Liberals have promised to turn Canada into "a world leading superpower in both clean and conventional energy" to reduce reliance on our closest neighbour.

That includes creating an "energy corridor" to move natural resources across the country, and ease inter-provincial and territorial trade. It's not clear yet what combination of roads, rail and pipelines the Liberals intend to propose to meet this commitment.

Carney's superpower pledge also includes a commitment of federal support to streamline infrastructure and extraction projects, including towards the Ring of Fire in northern Ontario, a rich source of critical minerals that could be used for electric vehicles, batteries and other technology needed to transition away from fossil fuels. Such support extends to energy, rail and road projects in the Arctic, where the Liberals have also pledged to expand Canada's military presence.

While Carney repeatedly emphasized the urgency and importance of natural resource and energy projects on the campaign trail, he also said he would not force projects through against the will of Indigenous nations. How he will fast-track projects while fulfilling the constitutional duty to consult remains to be seen.

Advancing the Right of First Nations to Information

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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.

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Mark Carney’s Liberals promised to help Canadians cope with natural disasters and protect green spaces

Unlike the Conservatives, the Liberals used space in their platform to discuss how to help Canadians prepare for and cope with extreme weather, the risk of which is increasing as the climate changes. That includes increasing financial support for farmers and ranchers looking to buy “more efficient” equipment and permanently doubling revenue protection for farmers under the AgriStability Program, to buffer against tariffs, extreme weather events and other external shocks.

In response to last summer’s devastating fires in Jasper National Park, the party promised to improve Parks Canada’s disaster response capabilities, including additional training and equipment for wildfire response teams, improving evacuation plans and updating building codes for new buildings. The Liberals also said they would protect natural areas that help mitigate flood and extreme weather risk, funding it through “a mix of conservation funding, climate change adaptation funding and ... public private infrastructure investments.” The Liberals plan to pilot a Youth Climate Corps that would pay young people to learn to “respond to climate emergencies, support recovery and strengthen resilience.”

The re-elected Liberals also said they will create at least 10 new national parks and marine conservation areas, as well as 15 new urban parks. They say they will bolster Indigenous stewardship by establishing an Indigenous Guardians program in the Arctic and continuing to fund Indigenous-led conservation projects.

Carney’s biggest challenge will be proving to voters that a former central banker is the one to address the acute pocketbook challenges voters are worried about today — while manifesting these big environmental and energy proposals Canada needs to be ready for the future.

[This article is reprinted courtesy of The Narwhal, a B.C. based media platform]