THE ROOT CAUSE THEORY OF INSURGENCY AND THE FUTURE OF ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS IN CANADA
“You cannot exercise your powers to the point of humiliation for the others. And that is want the Western world ... has to realize. Because they [the downtrodden] are human beings too. If the gap between rich and poor continues to grow, there will be long-term consequences within a few decades.

... [and] necessarily we’re looked upon as being arrogant, self-satisfied, greedy and with no limits. And 11\textsuperscript{th} of September is an occasion for me to realize it even more.”

Jean Chretien

CBC News: First Anniversary of 9/11
“There is a direct relationship between the roots of terror and the existence of poverty and despair... I don’t think there’s much disputing that.”

Joe Clark
September 2002
ABORIGINAL POPULATION - GENERAL

• 1, 172,790 – 4% of Canadian Population

• 700,000 – First Nations [730,000 est. 2021]

• 389, 785 – Métis

• 50, 485 – Inuit
ABORIGINAL POPULATION

1996-06 – aboriginal population growth – 45%

1996-06 – non-aboriginal growth – 8%

By 2017 percent of all people in their 20s who are aboriginal:

• Sask. 30%; Man. 24%; YT 48%; NWT 58%; Nunavut 80%. 
DISTRIBUTION OF THE TOTAL ABORIGINAL POPULATION 1

- Atlantic Canada       67,000 (approx)   2%
- Quebec                108,430 (actual)  9%
- Ontario               242,495            21%
- Manitoba             175,395            15%
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saskatchewan</td>
<td>141,890</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberta</td>
<td>188,365</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Columbia</td>
<td>196,075</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yukon/NWT/</td>
<td>53,000 (approx)</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nunavut</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FIRST NATIONS POPULATIONS - 1

- **615** – number of First Nations (FN) across Canada
- **2,720** – number of reserves across Canada
- “On-reserve”: 40% of the total FN population live on Reserves
- “Off-reserve”: 55% of the total FN population live on non-reserve land or in cities

(Figures are contested)
FIRST NATIONS POPULATION

- Median Age – 25
- Non-Aboriginal Median Age – 40
- Children: under 14 YOA – 34%
- Population 15-24 YOA – 20%
- Population 15-54 YOA – 397,085
- Males between 15-34 YOA – 180,000
  (traditional ‘warrior cohort’ in societies)
**FIRST NATIONS POPULATIONS**

“On-reserves”: 40% of the total FN population lives on Reserves

“Off-reserves”: 55% of the total FN population live on non-Reserve lands or in cities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Distribution</th>
<th>On-reserve</th>
<th>Off-reserve</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-14</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-24</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-54</td>
<td>(39) – 36</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-64</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65–over</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*(Figures are contested)*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>First Nations</th>
<th>Total Aboriginal pop.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Winnipeg</td>
<td>25,900</td>
<td>68,380 – 10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmonton</td>
<td>22,440</td>
<td>52,100 – 0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td>23,151</td>
<td>40,310 – 0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td>17,275</td>
<td>26,575 – 0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City</td>
<td>First Nations</td>
<td>Total Aboriginal pop.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calgary</td>
<td>10,875</td>
<td>26,575 – 0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saskatoon</td>
<td>11,510</td>
<td>21,535 – 0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regina</td>
<td>9,495</td>
<td>17,105 – 0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montreal</td>
<td>10,130</td>
<td>17,865 – 0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City</td>
<td>Total Aboriginal pop.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince Albert</td>
<td>6,715 – 34%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thompson</td>
<td>3,300 – 24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince Rupert</td>
<td>4,195 – 32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Tuque, P.Q.</td>
<td>3,200 – 21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Battleford</td>
<td>2,250 – 13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept-Îles</td>
<td>2,905 – 11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SOCIAL STATISTICS – 1

Education

Less than 24% of the 15-24 YOA aboriginal cohort completes high school.

84% – non-aboriginal 15-24 YOA cohort completes high school.

Post-secondary education enrolment low but improving:

“The Leadership Paradox”
SOCIAL STATISTICS – 2

Employment

28% – on-reserve unemployed
16% – off-reserve unemployed
8% – national average unemployed (2008)

15-24 YOA

40.1% – aboriginals unemployed
9.2% – non-aboriginals unemployed
SOCIAL STATISTICS – 3

11% — aboriginals living in ‘crowded homes’

3% — non-aboriginals living in ‘crowded homes’

25% — aboriginal homes requiring ‘major repairs’

7% — non-aboriginals homes requiring ‘major repairs’

44% — on-reserve homes requiring ‘major repairs’
# VICTIMS OF CRIME

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Aboriginal</th>
<th>Non-Aboriginal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Violent Crimes</td>
<td>319/1,000 pop</td>
<td>1/1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homicide</td>
<td>8.8/100,000</td>
<td>1.3/100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victims 15-34</td>
<td>461/1,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victims over 34</td>
<td>192/1,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spousal Violence</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INCARCERATION RATES FOR ABORIGINALS (2007-08)

17% of male admissions to provincial/territorial custody

24% of female admissions to provincial/territorial custody

18% of male admissions to federal custody

25% of female admissions to federal custody

Manitoba .......... 71% of all ‘held in custody’ out of 15% of pop.

Alberta ............ 79% out of 15%

Saskatchewan ... 80% out of 11%
THE EVOLUTION OF AN INSURGENCY

First Generation – “young thugs”

Second Generation – “in the business” (Cartels)

Third Generation – “the political character of gangsterism”
= Criminal Insurgencies
Aboriginal-Based Organized Crime (ABOC)

West – “young natives 15-24 YOA drifting into the cities ... armed, young, and ruthless, band-oriented gangs dealing in drugs, sex, intimidation, other criminal acts and random violence.”

Main Gangs:
Alberta – Red Alert, Indian Posse, and Alberta Warriors
Saskatchewan – Native Syndicate [Regina] & Indian Posse [Saskatoon]
Manitoba – Manitoba Warriors, Indian Posse, and the Native Syndicate

East (Ont. And PQ) “More like conventional organized crime, smuggling of anything and everything.”

Main Gang: The Warrior Society [CCIS]
THIRD GENERATION GANGS
THE UNDERPINNINGS OF A CRIMINAL INSURGENCY

Occupy or created “ungoverned spaces” and “contested areas”

Establish trained, armed, paramilitary units

Establish political dominance of “contested areas” – the new sovereign

Expand and protect areas thorough violence, bribery, or ‘political alliances’
Gangs II

• Create functional hierarchies of leaders and followers in cells and units

• Create successor mechanisms – organizational defence in depth

• Encourage the ‘Robin Hood effect’
TYPICAL CANADIAN CONTESTED AREAS

**Inner cities:** Winnipeg and Saskatoon

**Reserves** across the country

**Border areas** in Quebec
CONTESTED AREAS II

- **Waterways** on the St. Lawrence and in Lake Ontario

- Federal and Provincial **prisons and detention centres** –

- “... the community colleges for the gangs, especially in the west.” (RCMP)
Tangible Grievances: poverty; lack of opportunity; miserable living conditions; unequal access to government services [health, education, welfare].

Subjective Grievances: ['characteristic of a political subject']: land claims; treaty rights; application of post-treaty rights displayed in Canadian policies (HST); criminal justice system; reparations for resource and land ‘exploitation’.
Root Cause or Feasibility?

Paul Collier [Oxford] Author: *The Bottom Billion*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>50M</td>
<td>50M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Territory</td>
<td>small</td>
<td>large</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrain</td>
<td>flat</td>
<td>rugged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Men</td>
<td>50% below norm</td>
<td>100% above norm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diversity</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary – Commodities</td>
<td>no exports</td>
<td>25% of exports</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Feasibility of Insurrection**

Low  | High
## FEASIBILITY PROFILE II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>Canada / Aboriginal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>50M</td>
<td>50M</td>
<td>1.7M, isolated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Territory</td>
<td>small</td>
<td>large</td>
<td>immense – low pop.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrain</td>
<td>flat</td>
<td>rugged</td>
<td>Indefensible and thus vulnerable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Men</td>
<td>50% below norm</td>
<td>100% above norm</td>
<td>Young males – 50% pop.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Age 20-34: 121,615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Age 15-34: 181,865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary – Commodity</td>
<td>no exports</td>
<td>25% of exports</td>
<td>petro/electric 20.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## FEASIBILITY OF INSURRECTION

- LOW
- HIGH
- HIGH
The Focus: Vulnerabilities not Threats

(StatsCan & Brian Macdonald - CDAI)
ENERGY PRODUCTION: $86.6B (7% of GDP)

OIL & GAS – $42.1 (49%)

• ELECTRIC -- $26.0 (30%)

• PIPELINES – $4.9 (4%)

• 73% (80.4) PETRO AND GAS IS based in ALBERTA
DIRECT ENERGY RELATED EMPLOYMENT

- PETRO PRODUCTS: 272,072 [1.9% of total CANADIAN EMPLOYMENT]

- SERVICE STATIONS AND WHOLESALE TRADE: 101,505 [0.7%]
CANADIAN TOTAL MERCHANDISE EXPORTS: 20.5%
NEW CAPITAL INVESTMENT

• 21.4% of Total National Investment
FRIENDLY FORCES

Canadian Forces (approximate)
- Eastern Canada - 40K
- Western Canada - 30K
- Outside Canada - 10K

Royal Canadian Mounted Police
- North West Region (Man., Sask., Alb.)

Police patrol officers Total: 4,100
RCMP DIVISION D - MANITOBA

Aboriginal pop. 175,395

Northern Service District: 19 Dets, 210 pers

East Service District: 15 Dets, 250 pers

Patrol area: 33 aboriginal communities

West Service District: 13 Dets, 250 pers

“How many RCMP officers would be availability?”

“In an emergency, minus absentees? Well, about 600, if we’re lucky.” (RCMP)
A TYPICAL MANITOBA DETACHMENT

Flin Flon, 650 Km NW of Winnipeg:

A Staff Sergeant, a Sergeant, and eight constables in an isolated detachment of lightly armed constables trained for customary police duties responsible for police services to a population of 10,000.

The Tactical Problem: widely scattered detachments; north-south highway patterns; surrounded by large native reserves.

Nearest RCMP reinforcements:

The Pas: 120 km: 17 pers
Cranberry Portage: 60 km: 4 pers

“In an emergency, we [RCMP] would expect the army to rescue us not the other way around!”
“There are only two ways of dealing with the white man . . . either you pick up the gun or you stand between him and his money.”

Chief Terrance Nelson
Roseau River First Nations, Manitoba
CTV News, May 15, 2007

[Nominee for Grand Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, 2009]
“It’s time to quit being loyal Canadians ... we don’t need the white man’s money. We need a share of our own wealth.”

Chief Terrance Nelson

CTV News. May 15, 2007
“We have a right to be frustrated, concerned, angry – an anger that’s growing, building and building.”

Chief Phil Fontaine
Grand Chief of the Assembly of First Nations
CTV News, May 15, 2007
“The question of whether or not there are going to be blockades this coming year is going to be answered by the Government of Canada ...”

Chief Terry Nelson
AFN Meeting in Ottawa
10 December 2009
“The frustration level is mounting and people feel that this government has no desire to work with them ... [the chiefs] told the minister that he will have to work with the people ...(or) they will do it. There will be roadblocks, and other things.”

Bill Erasmus  
AFN Regional Chief  
Northwest Territories  
10 December 2009
Tecumseh’s Vision

“MY HEART IS A STONE, HEAVY WITH THE SADNESS FOR MY PEOPLE: cold with the knowledge that NO TREATY will keep the whites out of our land; hard with determination to resist as long as I live and breathe. But Hear Me: a single twig breaks, but the bundle of twigs is strong. Someday I will embrace our brother tribes and draw them into a bundle and together we will win our country back from the whites.”

Shawnee Chief

circa 1795

Headline Quotation on the website of The Assembly of First Nations

[Emphasis added by the AFN]
“We have heard about the Aboriginal Day of Action. Is the internal security risk rising as the youth see themselves more and more disenfranchised? In fact, if they ever coalesced, could they not bring this country to a standstill?”

Senator Romeo Dalliare
Senate Committee on Aboriginal Peoples
Ottawa, April 8, 2008
The Right Honourable Paul Martin
ing response to Senator Dallaire’s question:

“My answer, and the only one we all have, is we would hope not.”

Senate Committee on Aboriginal Peoples
Ottawa, April 8, 2008
THE RECIPE FOR AN INSURGENCY

ROOT CAUSES – REAL OR PERCEIVED

+ 

FEASIBILITY – a divided society; youth; large rugged territory; & a national economy dependence on exports thorough this territory

+ 

An Accident or Policy Error

Leading to

Aboriginal Unity Under a Charismatic Leader
THE FIRST NATIONS’ MASS RALLY IN WINNIPEG

“There is a new way. A way free from the oppression of the white capitalist, free from the white pretence of self-government, free from ‘the Ottawa Men’, free from native leaders on the take ....

“We will not negotiate. We have no need to negotiate. We have a true and just way sitting right in front of us. And with it we will rebuild the rightful heritage of our people; chase the intruding settlers from the land they stole from us; provide for the people the gifts the spirits gave us.

“We will simply pick up the gun and take back the land! Then and only then will the People be masters in their ancient home.”

Molly Grace
Leader of the Native People’s Movement and Commander of the Native People’s Army