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### Publisher's Message for TIME BOMB

Time Bomb: Canada and the First Nations (Point of View)

Today's cultural, social, economic, and political issues are shaping the world we Canadians will encounter in the future.

To shed light on these vital topics, Dundurn's *Point of View* books offer readers the informed opinions of knowledgeable individuals who are directly immersed in them. Our goal is to illuminate the choices before us.

We are committed to framing the hard choices facing Canadians and spurring democratic debate within our country. For over forty years our publishing house has been defining Canada for Canadians. Our *Point of View* books now take us further along this journey.

Each author of a *Point of View* book has Time Bomb: Canada and the First Nations (Point of View) an important case to make, with a definite perspective about the issue under examination. Some *Point of View* books are manifestos for action. Others shed light on a crucial subject from an alternative perspective. All are intended to challenge and refresh the thinking of Canadians engaging issues that matter to us as citizens.

*Time Bomb* by Douglas Bland brings into focus the urgency of addressing the rising combativeness of a growing cadre of First Nations militants who are discontented with the status quo and capable of taking direct action to change it. This reality has long been, in the author's own words, "a toxic topic in Ottawa." Silence hardly seems a solution for a democratic country.

*J. Kirk Howard*

President

### A Note from the General Editor

In 2010 Douglas Bland sought to warn and instruct Time Bomb: Canada and the First Nations (Point of View) Canadians about the risks to our highly vulnerable country from militant First Nations groups who are well armed, aggrieved, and angry. He said "another scholarly paper about the critical situation Time Bomb: Canada and the First Nations (Point of View) would end up just like other reports that nobody reads." So instead, he wrote a fast-paced work of fiction.

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Setting *Uprising* in a near Canadian future “to reach as wide an audience as possible,” he succeeded. As an internationally acknowledged authority on insurgency, Bland’s compelling story became widely reported, including by Al Jazeera, which viewed the warning soberly. *Uprising* was well reviewed by critics. It became the subject of conference presentations. A paperback edition was published. The novel was translated by Governor General Award-winning Michelle Tisseyre and published as *Soulèvement* in a French-language edition. Now it is the subject *Time Bomb: Canada and the First Nations (Point of View)* of a television series in development.

Lieutenant-Colonel Bland, free to speak as someone retired from military life, brings to this study his decades of service in the *Time Bomb: Canada and the First Nations (Point of View)* Canadian Forces, combined with his years as professor of security studies at Queen’s University, *Time Bomb: Canada and the First Nations (Point of View)* his studies of First Nations conditions in Canada, advanced research into what triggers an uprising, and his understanding of the hard lessons about just how devastatingly effective a small band of determined and well-led rebels can be. Fearing many Canadians would dismiss armed insurrection here as implausible, I worked with Douglas Bland to create a *Time Bomb: Canada and the First Nations (Point of View)* website called “A Newsmakers Guide to *Uprising*.” We filled it with extensive compilations of information across such categories as Housing, Employment, Education, Land Claims, Poverty, Literacy, Suicides, Protests, Demographics, and dozens more. The statistics, cases, and quotes came from authoritative reports by First Nations organizations, royal commissions, parliamentary studies, journalists, academic researchers, and judicial inquiries. Cumulatively, these factual reports on First Nations issues flashed like a red warning light.

This stunning composite about a Canadian reality proved that the issues Douglas Bland was identifying, and the catalogue of accumulated grievances by Canada’s widespread and diverse First Nations peoples that he portrayed, are not fictional, even though in a novel. They are the real laboratory for something explosive.

Now, for Dundurn’s new *Point of View* books, Douglas Bland crafts this shorter, *non-fiction* version of the compelling story all Canadians need to understand. As he said about *Uprising*, “If people do not like the way this turns out, then now is the time to act.”

*Time Bomb* makes clear why time for curative action is on a short fuse.

*J. Patrick Boyer*

General Editor

*Point of View* books

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*This Time Bomb: Canada and the First Nations (Point of View) book is dedicated to Dr. Cori Schroder, my wife and companion, for her patience and assistance in driving this project to completion and also for her many insightful explanations of the realities of life on-reserve gained from those years of Time Bomb: Canada and the First Nations (Point of View) her profession life spent living among the First Nations people in Northern Ontario.*

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## **FOREWORD**

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In this much-needed examination, Douglas Bland's *Time Bomb* brings a new perspective of the increasingly fractionalized relationship between First Nations and non-Aboriginal Canadians. *Time Bomb* explores the historic development of this relationship and its current manifestation as a "First Time Bomb: Canada and the First Nations (Point of View) Nations society within a larger Canadian society," within the context of current global and policy trends. The current relationship is no longer sustainable, in particular for the First Nations, who have experienced demonstrable social and economic disadvantage relative to the non-Aboriginal population. The First Nations and the Canadian government have reached an impasse, however, on how to transform the relationship, with First Nations calling for recognition of their inherent right to self-government, while the government is unwilling to cede sovereignty to First Nations. The impasse is such that *Time Bomb: Canada and the First Nations (Point of View)* even solutions, such as the proposed 2014 act on Aboriginal education, have themselves generated new grievances. Reliance on political willingness to consult with First Nations and on the Supreme Court of Canada have largely proven to be ineffective in moving the relationship between First Nations and non-Aboriginal Canadians forward from dialogue towards a truly integrated and productive relationship.

Not only is this fractionalized relationship worsening, but emerging economic trends and policies beyond the relationship itself, such as the current Canadian push for increased natural resource extraction and trade, are converging and may act as catalysts to generate a tipping point within the relationship. Jurisdictional control of the land remains largely undetermined and at issue. Canada's transportation and energy infrastructure — the backbone of the country's natural resources trade — overlays or borders on many of these Aboriginal and disputed lands. With Canadian natural resource development, extraction, and trade representing 25 percent of Canadian GDP, the security of transportation and energy infrastructure is critical. Canada's transportation and energy infrastructure has considerable vulnerabilities: it covers vast distances, has limited redundancy and multiple choke-points, and is susceptible to cascading effects should disruptions be sustained or widespread. Its vulnerability and *Time Bomb: Canada and the First Nations (Point of View)* the resulting risk to the Canadian economy is significant, and sustained disruption would have catastrophic effects within a matter of weeks.

*Time Bomb* proposes that *Time Bomb: Canada and the First Nations (Point of View)* the motivation-focused lens of greed and grievance theory that has been favoured by policymakers and *Time Bomb: Canada and the First Nations (Point of View)* academics, and in military and security doctrine, may no longer be the best fit for the First Nations-Canadian relationship, as motivations have become increasingly blurred by outside special interest groups. Cambridge academic Paul Collier's Feasibility Theory is proposed as a new lens through which to approach the relationship. In this approach, the focus is more on risks and vulnerabilities than on motivations. Feasibility Theory highlights five determinants that, if present, could *Time Bomb: Canada and the First Nations (Point of View)* support conflict within a state. Bland suggests that all five determinants are present within the Canadian context, and that the Canadian government has some measure of control over only three of them, and therefore, improving the relationship with First Nations should be urgently prioritized.

Bland argues that as peaceful calls for transformation from First Nations continue to yield little

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in the way of results, and as the federal government and law enforcement agencies continue to monitor the situation with watchful restraint, there is an increasing openness to non-formal means of protest and negotiation among Aboriginal communities. *Time Bomb* Time Bomb: Canada and the First Nations (Point of View) suggests that there is a small but critical window of opportunity for both sides to defuse and de-escalate tension within the relationship, through reducing First Nations grievances, minimizing Canadian economic and infrastructure vulnerabilities, closing the social and economic gap between First Nations and non-Aboriginals, and engaging in a focused, strategically-flexible effort toward achieving a negotiated solution prior to violence erupting.

**Bonnie Butlin** is an expert in security and intelligence. Co-founder of the Security Partners' Forum, she is also the managing director of the Canadian Security Executive Forum. Voted "one of the most influential people in security" by Security Magazine in 2013, Butlin will be inducted into the International Women in Homeland Security and Emergency Management Hall of Fame in November 2014. Bonnie lives in Ottawa.

## A NOTE TO THE READER

Broad studies of "the Aboriginal in Canada" can be found in other sources, though there is much concerning Aboriginal legal and social issues that still needs to be researched. This examination of *Time Bomb: Canada and the First Nations (Point of View)* Canadian-First Nations relations will touch here and there on "Aboriginal affairs" and generalized Aboriginal statistics to make, for instance, comparisons between the distinct Aboriginal communities. Most often, the references to the circumstances in the Métis and Inuit and Innu communities in the context of broader Aboriginal issues and policies occurs simply because the federal government and other sources often provide only consolidated information on Aboriginal affairs and policies. In some cases, I have relied on generalized Aboriginal information and statistics because statistical data specific to the First Nations and the factors important to this study were not otherwise available.

## Time Bomb Canada And The First Nations Point Of View

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