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## APPENDIX A

### CBSC Decision 12/13-0985 Sun News Network re *The Source* (Idle No More)

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*The Source with Ezra Levant* is a political discussion program. Levant provides his opinions on various news stories, political events and current affairs; he also frequently has guests on to discuss the issues with him. The program airs weekdays from 5:00-6:00 pm Eastern.

On January 19, 2013 supporters of the First Nations protest movement Idle No More protested outside the Toronto offices of Sun Media complaining about Sun's coverage of the movement. Ezra Levant discussed this event on his *The Source* program on January 23. The following is a transcript and description of the relevant portions of that episode.

Levant: I had a lot of fun talking to the protestors with Idle No More who came to visit me at the Sun on Saturday afternoon. [caption "The Faces of Idle No More"] Even though they swore at me a fair bit, they were more polite to me than the police were who physically pushed me down the sidewalk. And when I asked the cops what offence I'd committed to warrant that treatment, they told me I was irritating. Which is surely true, but it's not a crime. At least not to professional, impartial police forces. Now I recognized a number of the protestors and some of them recognized me. I mean, it took me a few seconds, but I recognized this girl. [footage of Levant talking to protestors, one young woman in particular] She was the screaming Afghan who disrupted the Remembrance Day ceremonies last November in Toronto, interrupting the veterans, shrieking at them, claiming that Canada is actually trying to colonize Afghanistan or some whacko thing [footage of video from YouTube of two young women on street yelling & gesturing]. What a loser. Now she was there. We know the whole thing was organized and promoted by Syd Ryan of the Ontario Federation of Labour. He even tweeted about it to get turnout [image of OFL Tweet: "Join First Nations protest of @SunMedia racism: Sat, Jan.19 @ 2 pm (333 King St.E) Facebook: ow.ly/gRV28#IdleNoMore"]. There were guys who told me they saw me at the Occupy Toronto protest a year ago. My point is many of these folks weren't even Indian. They were the professional protestors, the rent-a-mob, the who-are-we-shouting-at-this-week crowd. They were just taking advantage of all the public good will towards Indians and hijacking Idle No More just to be their typical Marxist selves on the street. I mean, some keen-eyed viewers contacted me after the show to tell me that they recognized some of the folks who were there. For example, [S. S] and [D. M.].

[caption changes to "Familiar Faces"; video clip of Levant talking to protestors on street:

Levant [carrying microphone, goes up to man]: Hi, what's your name?

man: I'm not talking to you, bud.

Levant: You're not talking to me?

man: No.

Levant: How come?

man: Because you're a clown and you distort everything and I don't respect anything that you do. Everything that you stand for is disgusting and I have no interest in, in answering your questions. And that's as much as I'll say.

end of clip]

Levant: Now he's not Indian. But he is a professional disrupter and law-breaker. Uh, here's a picture of him and, uh, his lovely wife, uh, at, on the official Facebook page of the blockade up in Sarnia, blocking the CN Railway tracks. [scroll image of Facebook page; phrase "The Indignants" visible in upper-left corner; photos of tree branches, railway tracks, homemade signs that read "Idle No More" & "Harper Valley of Death"; click to enlarge photo of young man & woman sitting outside under tarp near pile of chopped wood] They're up there breaking the law. They're not Indian. They're professional saboteurs. [caption changes to "Profiling Protesters"] They just use Indians as a front, as an excuse, as a cover to make their ruckus. And, and they were at the rally at the Toronto Sun on the weekend. Of course they were. It's their job to make a fuss. And remember this guy? [caption changes back to "Familiar Faces"]

[videoclip of Levant talking to protestors:

man holding sign: Why do you cut down Theresa Spence all the time? How is that not racist?

Levant: Well, because it has to do with her mismanagement of band funds. Do you think she's a good manager?

man: I want to know why you don't honour the fact that she's on a hunger strike. You refuse to say "hunger strike".

Levant: Well, 'cause she weighs as much as me.

man: Why do you say that she's overweight and is on a liquid diet? That's offensive. If you look up "hunger strike" on Wikipedia, she's on a hunger strike.

Levant: Is, is that more important than the fact that she squandered the band's money?

crowd in background chanting: Ezra is a racist! Ezra is a racist!

man: Why do you keep changing the subject? I want to know why you won't say that she's on a hunger strike? Because of you, now much of the media is calling this a "liquid diet".

Levant: Is that more important to you than –

man: Why is her weight such an issue to you?

Levant: [talking to someone behind him] Come here, come on.

man: Why is Chief Spence's weight such an issue to you?

Levant: Because I think it's a distraction from her manage, her mismanagement of the money.

man: You talking about a liquid diet is a distraction! [Levant walks away with microphone].

end of clip]

Levant: Did you notice he used the word "honour" there? I'll mention that in a moment. He was super mad that I kept asking him about Attawapiskat, that I don't believe that the chief up there, Theresa Spence, is really on a hunger strike. Now, of course, she's not. She admits that she has moose soup and other soup and tea and things, but I bet there's even more than that given that she positively looks like she's *gained* weight over the last six weeks. But this guy was super mad that I dared to point that out. Almost like he thought it might make Spence look untrustworthy or something. Well, a keen-eyed viewer identified that protestor invoking my honour as Pastor [K. S.] [close-up photo of man]. Well he's a child predator who went on the internet and started chatting up someone he thought was a 12-year-old girl. The chats over time became increasingly sexual and then [S.] arranged to meet the 12-year-old girl in person. Now, lucky for us, it was police pretending to be the little girl and they arrested the perv. He was convicted of attempting to lure a child for a sexual liaison. And he served time in jail for his crime. Now, I don't know if the other people at the protest on Saturday knew who the pervy guy shouting at me about honour was. I doubt [K. S.] told people about his conviction when he showed up [replay of footage of Levant talking to man presumably the man he is referring to]. But it goes to my point that this wasn't a real Aboriginal rights protest or about policy or ideas at all. It was the rabble. The odds and ends including some obvious street people, frankly. [caption changes to "The Faces of Idle No More"] Some people high on drugs, frankly. And some people who were, well, in one case, a convicted sex criminal. Now talk about a good reason to keep your kids away from these leftists protests, my friends! But [K. S.] and [M.] and the other protestors, they didn't break the law on the weekend. Not that I saw. No one was violent. The person who was the most offensive, actually, was a lady policeman named Nancy McLean. Remember her?

[videoclip of protest outside Sun offices:

McLean: [in yellow jacket, talking to Levant as other officers look on] Obviously, clearly, based on ...

Levant: I don't, I don't want to leave the area here.

McLean: I know. But what we're trying to do here is create this, a little more safer environment.

Levant: Right.

McLean: Clearly whatever you –

Levant: But why are you taking me away 'cause I, my hands were in my pockets. I'm not shouting at anyone. How come I'm being taken away?

McLean: [patting Levant on shoulder] Clearly, your engagement with the people here –

Levant: Mm hm.

McLean: – that are protesting –

Levant: I'm the lawful one, though, aren't I?

McLean: I, well, I think at this moment, everyone is lawful. But what's happening here, clearly, you're agitating a lot of people. There are a lot of people upset with you.

Levant: So if I got more, if I got more upset, would you take them away?

McLean: Um, well, you are one. And that makes this –

Levant: Easier for you. So this is about what's easy for you.

McLean: Well, it's easier for society, right? We want, we all want to get along.

Levant: Well, it's not easier for our, for my freedom of speech, though, is it?

McLean: Well, no, it isn't. But when you're going to aggravate a group of people like that –

Levant: So we're giving –

McLean: We're going to ask you, ask you politely.

Levant: We're giving a veto to the, to the angry people.

McLean: No, don't put words in my mouth. We're going to ask you politely –

Levant: Mm.

McLean: -- to just move on. Have your ways of speaking.

Levant: And if I don't, will you arrest me?

McLean: Have your ways of speaking, but don't aggravate a hundred people.

Levant: Will you arrest me if I don't?

McLean: Is that what you're choosing?

Levant: I'm –

McLean: You're choosing to stay here and aggravate these people?

Levant: I'm asking –

McLean: I put that back to you, sir. Is this what you're choosing?

Levant: [sighs heavily] You know what? I –

McLean: I'm putting it back to you, sir. Let's, let's all think with a clear head. You're aggravating a lot of people. It's getting very heated. And that becomes a problem for us.

Levant: But that's not the test. It's not against the law to be aggravating, is it?

McLean: The test, the test is –

Levant: Thank god.

McLean: The test is when you aggravate a lot of people and then it does become unlawful.

Levant: Really? Is aggravating against the law?

McLean: Sir, lookit. Everybody's upset.

Levant: What section of the *Criminal Code*?

McLean: Sir, everybody's upset. We don't need a quiz on the sidewalk. Clearly, we're, we're going to talk –

Levant: If you're going to arrest me, go ahead and arrest me.

McLean: [??] form of communicating.

Levant: No, seriously, go ahead and arrest me.

end of clip]

Levant: So it's against the law to irritate the lady policeman. I mean, she's pretty irritating too, I must say. She must've said the word "clearly, clearly" 17 times. And she must've touched me about 34 times. Not in a pervy [K. S.] way, but still. But this isn't the first time that lady policeman, Nancy McLean, thought she was an empress or something more than a cop. Look at this video sent in by a keen-eyed viewer through Twitter. It's McLean, the lady policeman, tackling someone who just wanted to go into a park wearing a backpack. Look at this.

[video of 4 officers talking to a young man in a park:

man: You're illegally checking my bag.

McLean: [???]. We're giving you an explanation. I know it's not one [??]

man: But it's an illegal explanation!

McLean: Sir, it's not negociable.

man: It's illegal.

McLean: It's not negociable.

man: Oh, so you're going to violate my rights.

McLean: That's your opinion.

man: No, it's not my opinion, it's the law. And you are supposed to be understanding this!

McLean: As I said, it's not debatable. And that is your opinion.

man: My opinion?!

McLean: To get into this, into this –

man: These are not my opinions!

McLean: Okay.

man: These are everybody's rights! And if I want to, to enter a public place, you have to detain me or arrest me to search my bag.

McLean: Sir, with all due respect –

end of clip]

Levant: Yeah, that cop, warrantless search. That's not how the law works. When police read the riot act or when Marshall Law is declared, then, yeah, sure, some of our civil liberties are suspended, but not all of our civil liberties, even then. But there was no riot act being read there, no Marshall Law in effect. That was a park and some guy wanted to go in, but McLean was writing her own laws without any reasonable suspicion, without a search warrant. She plain old demanded to look into that guy's backpack while he was going through a park. Sorry, that's illegal. That is an illegal search. And, later on, they just grabbed it off him and we stopped the clip. When police conduct themselves illegally, it is no different than when you or I do. When you or I stop someone wrongfully, take his bag, look through it – that's how that clip ends – that's assault, battery, false imprisonment, mischief. Theft if they keep anything. Now I don't know whether that guy with the backpack was charged or convicted of a crime. That's not really relevant. Sorry, just because you have a badge, doesn't mean you can break the law. Or write your own law. I met a lot of creeps downtown on Saturday, but you wouldn't know it from the media party's love-in coverage of Idle No More. And the police who condone it, would you?

On the January 24 episode, there was no mention of the protest outside Sun Media or the specific protestors, but Levant did discuss Idle No More and Aboriginal issues.

Levant: Tonight on *The Source*. How much money is actually being poured into Indian reserves? We add up the costs of Canada's First Nations. [...] But first, Chief Snacks-a-Lot ends her diet. Did it accomplish anything other than actually gaining a few pounds? That's all ahead on *The Source*.

- intro

Levant: Chief Theresa Spence called a big press conference in Ottawa today to announce the end of her hunger strike. Of course, it wasn't actually a hunger strike. A hunger strike means you stop eating. It really means you're committing suicide in slow motion and you won't stop until your opponents do something very specific, usually political. A hunger strike is actually a compliment to your opponents because it shows you're willing to bet your life that in the end your opponents will do the right thing to enable you to spare your life. A hunger strike actually wouldn't work against someone truly evil like Adolf Hitler or Joseph Stalin. They would say "great, you're saving us a bullet". A hunger strike wouldn't work anywhere where there isn't a free press. The real power of a hunger strike comes when the media becomes convinced beyond a shadow of a doubt that you genuinely are killing yourself because of political sacrifice. That's when the media realizes they've found the rarest sort of person, someone willing to make the ultimate sacrifice to save the world. So it's a shocking discovery is deeply [*sic*] troubling to anyone and to journalists it turns the hunger strike into a grave and momentous story. Real journalists don't believe hunger strikers until they actually have a close look at their bodies. I mean, Mohandas Gandhi allowed medical inspections

and full-length photographs. I mean, seeing is believing. It was the media's horror-filled reports of Gandhi's hunger strikes that led them to political reform in India. And even though the IRA hunger strikers in prison in Northern Ireland 30 years ago did not succeed in their ultimate demands and they ultimately did in fact die, they galvanized their movement through their supreme sacrifice. In fact, in the middle of his hunger strike, Bobby Sands, an IRA prisoner on a hunger strike, he actually won a by-election and was elected to become a member of Parliament in the United Kingdom. That's how powerful his story was. Of course, he died less than a month after that election. Now, a hunger striker does not actually want to die. He wants to change the world. He's hoping his demands are met and then he'll go back to eat. If he just wanted to commit suicide, he could do so in a moment. No, no, no. He wants to drag it out to achieve a political outcome. That outcome has to be precise, by the way, so that his opponents know exactly what they have to do to get the hunger strike called off. And so, his supporters know too. So the media knows it's not just a vague stunt. Now that's what a real hunger strike is like. It's shocking, it's grave, it's utterly uncynical. It's idealistic, actually. It's counting on the morality of your opponents, counting on the press to be so moved by an act of authenticity and sacrifice in a world full of spin. How different that is from Theresa Spence's six-week reality TV show in Ottawa, that the media party was only too happy to play along with. [caption at bottom of screen "Spence's Hunger Games"] It was not a hunger strike. Sure, she may have lost a few pounds on her fish soup and moose soup diet. But she was hardly wasting away. She was not making a sacrifice. She decamped to a luxury hotel in Ottawa to be with her family. She did not prove her authenticity to reporters. She did not demonstrate her seriousness. When reporters actually started to ask questions, she shut them out and barred them. She was not serious about her ultimate sacrifice of suicide. She wasn't, uh, about any sacrifice at all, of course, not even the loss of an ounce of comfort. [image of website post by Stephen Taylor entitled "Canadian Press photographer who snapped Spence replies to my inquiry: 'it is definitely the big, full tint Hummer!'" ] I mean, she tooled around Ottawa in a luxury limousine, giant Hummer H2, you can see at the bottom of the screen there with flat-panelled TVs in the headrests like some sort of rap star. But most of all, her list of demands were unserious and unmeetable. Gandhi had very clear, very specific demands that could be measured as a yes or no, did you do it or not? They were real demands like ending political segregation, like getting the British Empire out of India. Bobby Sands of the IRA had smaller, but specific demands. In prison, he wanted to be deemed a political prisoner, not a criminal terrorist, so his demands were actually simple, like not having to wear a prison uniform or the right to get a parcel of mail each week. They were small but symbolic. Worth dying over? Well, he thought so because to him it was about whether or not he was a freedom fighter or a terrorist. But they were very real demands. Now Theresa Spence by comparison. What a clown. I mean, she demanded a meeting with the prime minister. Just a meeting. I mean, who would commit suicide for that? Well, she wouldn't, of course. But, and when the prime minister agreed to that meeting, well, she refused him! And then she demanded a meeting with the governor-general. Well, he agreed. And she attended the meeting and accomplished nothing, raised no points that we know about and after the meeting she kept up her fake hunger strike. I mean, she is a clown. There are lots of clowns in politics, but this particular clown wears an Indian headdress and has the political title of "chief". [caption changes to "Political Suicide"] So the media party listened to her every word and take her seriously. Case in point: the CBC, as recently as this morning, still insisted on calling her a hunger striker. Look.

[montage of video clips from CBC broadcasts in which announcers use phrase "hunger strike" to describe Spence's actions]

Levant: Now, either they're stupid or they think you're stupid. Or maybe a bit of both. It is the CBC. Now, Spence was going to have that press conference today. I was planning to go to it in Ottawa, but to attend, the Sun Media group had to put down my name on the list with the Parliamentary Press Gallery, you know, to get credentials to check in? No problem, our

Ottawa bureau put my name on the list. I was going to ask Chief Snacks-a-Lot a question. Not about her fake hunger strike. I mean, I don't care about that. We already know the truth about that. Not about how evil Stephen Harper is or some boring rant like that. I was going to ask her a real question, like, say, "Hey, Chief Spence, the Deloitte audit of your Indian band shows millions of dollars spent on real estate deals, but with, uh, no information, not even addresses." Now, the band already owns all the property on the Indian reserve, so where were those real estate purchases? Were they off reserve? What did the band buy? And that should have been an easy question to answer. I mean, no one buys million-dollar properties and forgets about them or doesn't have paperwork. And it's actually extremely relevant, isn't it? Was the Attawapiskat band buying houses in Timmins or even in Florida instead of fixing their own leaky houses in the community? So, like I say, a real question that no media reporter, media party reporter would dare ask because, as you can see, it's so clearly a racist question. Anyways, shortly after the Parliamentary Press Gallery was advised of my intention to attend to press conference, guess what? Chief Spence announced that she was [fake coughs], sniffles, too sick to attend her own press conference. Oh, there's a shocker. But she did issue a new list of demands. Thirteen of them, that she expects the world to comply with now. It's an ever-changing list, isn't it. [photo of Spence & list of demands on screen] She wants an immediate meeting between the Crown, the federal-provincial governments and all Indian chiefs. So, by my counting, that's 647 people in a room plus [makes air quotes] "the Crown". I'm not sure who she means. Maybe she thinks there will be a crown in the room. Maybe she means Queen Elizabeth, maybe the governor-general even though they've already met, as I mentioned. She wants to discuss the Indian treaties at this meeting. Now, I think there's a germ of a good idea there. I think we should talk about the Indian treaties. But I think Chief Spence should start by reading the treaty herself. Now, her treaty for her band is called Treaty 9. [image of document] You can see it here. I highly recommend you read it. It's really quick to find using Google. Now let me help you with it. [caption changes to "Respecting Treaties"] The word "surrender" appears 22 times in the Treaty. Yeah. Let me give you an example of how it's used. Let me quote from Treaty 9. [words appear on screen] "... the said Indians do hereby cede, release, surrender and yield up to the government of the Dominion of Canada, for His Majesty the King and His successors for ever, all their rights titles and privileges whatsoever, to the lands." It's pretty plain English. Let me be clear: the Indians gave up any of their rights for all time. The Treaty uses the word "forever". The Treaty gives the Indians a reserve. Not to exceed one square mile per family of five people. The Indians have no rights outside the reserves except this: quote, "... to pursue their usual vocations of hunting, trapping and fishing ...", unquote. So the Treaty specifically says that hunting and trapping can't get in the way of other activities, though. Hunting can happen on land, and I quote from the Treaty again, "... saving and excepting such tracts as may be required or taken up from time to time for settlement, mining, lumbering, trading or other purposes", unquote. So basically, the Queen has all the rights. I won't go on. It's not a long treaty. But it could not be clearer. Indian bands who signed the treaties, like Attawapiskat, agreed to become loyal subjects of the King and his successors. That would mean the Queen today. These Indians bands give up any sovereignty. Now, in return, they get towns called "reserves" and some money. In Treaty 9, that's eight dollars plus four dollars in perpetuity plus a school. Now, we can adjust those dollar amounts for inflation. Sorry, that's about it. You can read the Treaty for yourself. Spence has a few more demands besides chewing over the treaties, which she clearly hasn't read. She wants plans to deal with the Indian housing crisis. Funny, but that's her job, isn't it? Instead she bought secret real estate that we don't know where it is. She wants a new land claims policy, but she has no land claim. The Treaty met her claim. Uh, Theresa Spence wants resource sharing. Well, you saw the Treaty. They get hunting and trapping and fishing. And that's it. Now, lucky for her, the nearby diamond mine at Attawapiskat has hired a hundred men from her reserve to work in the mine. And they've actually poured 325 million bucks into the reserve over the past five years, but that's by choice. That is not her sovereign right as a First Nation. Now I won't even go through all the rest of her demands.



They're so vague and unserious and uninformed and greedy. Money, money, money, isn't it always the way with her? This is from the woman who, upon becoming chief, immediately got a 31 percent pay raise and then her boyfriend was hired as the band's financial manager for 850 bucks a day. Theresa Spence is a joke. Her fake hunger strike was a joke. She has run her town into the ground, which would be a joke were it not for the people suffering up there because of her mismanagement. The media party's coverage of her has been a joke, right up to today's credulous coverage of the [makes air quotes] "hunger strike". And the fact that so many Indians have invested their hopes in Spence as some sort of heroine, some sort of leader, well, I hate to say it, the joke's on them. Canadian Indians need a leader! They don't actually need a Gandhi. They need someone honest, though, and competent who lives in reality, not some fantasy land about what First Nations mean. Theresa Spence is not that person. And shame on the media party for trying to make her that.

Coming up, we'll set the record straight on the so-called sovereignty of Canada's First Nations. That's after the break on *The Source*.

- commercial break

video clip of press conference

Manitoba Aboriginal elder Raymond Robinson: We smoked a pipe to symbolize the relationship we wanted to forge with you. Government to government, nation to nation. One sovereign nation to another sovereign nation. One country to another country.

[caption: "Aboriginal Sovereignty"]

Levant: That's the fellow who showed up in place of Theresa Spence at the press conference today. You heard him. He regards Attawapiskat as a nation, as a country, as a sovereign place. Well, that's one opinion. Let's talk to another fella with a different opinion. His name is Dr. Barry Cooper. He's a professor of political science at the University of Calgary. Hey, Professor Cooper, welcome to the show.

Cooper: Good to be here, Ezra.

Levant: Now, I mean, when a fella shows up at a press conference in Ottawa, like that, uh, chief did and dresses in traditional garb and maybe wears a headdress and speaks in a circum-, circumlocutory way, rambling, talking about elders and traditions, reporters have a very quick choice to make. Do they call BS on it, as if, you know, say, a white Christian politician started talking about the Bible and religion, or do they run with it and take their properly assigned role in *Dances with Wolves* and say "This is very romantic. Yeah, it's BS, but I don't want to be the one racist in the room"? And they run with it! And, and I think that the media party is so afraid of calling BS on guys like this that they run with it even though they know it's BS!

Cooper: They, uh, I think have, uh, have bought into the mythology that, uh, it's not just, uh, the, uh, Indian leaders that have been saying this, it's their lawyers, uh, it's, uh, a whole bunch of academics that, uh, one would've hoped would know better. Uh, and a lot of it I think is, is basically, uh, driven by, uh, the, the very difficult problems that, uh, Indian communities have. And the fact that a lot of, uh, non-Indians feel guilty about it. Uh, so they, uh, you know, cut 'em some slack, give 'em a break, um, drink the Kool-Aid. But it's, it's complete mythology. It has absolutely no historical basis, uh, in reality and, uh, you know, somebody's gotta say it.

Levant: Now, I, earlier in the show, I quoted different excerpts from Treaty 9. I chose that treaty because it's the one that covers Attawapiskat. The word "surrender" is there 22 times. I'm guessin' that's more times than when Japan surrendered after the A-bomb. I mean, these were not nation to nation. This was Indian bands saying "We are loyal subjects to his majesty, the king and all his successors." I mean, these treaties extinguished sovereignty. But here you have a fellow saying "No, nation to nation. Sovereign country to sovereign country." Do you think he believes that? Do you think he's actually read his own treaty, Dr. Cooper? Or do you think he, he doesn't care because he knows he'll get away with it?

Cooper: Well, I think it's pretty much, he probably has never read the, read the documents and he really doesn't care what the documents say. I mean, the latest version is we have to update the documents so that they reflect this, uh, mythical reality of nation to nation and so on. [black & white historical photographs of groups of First Nations people] I mean, sovereignty is something that, that, uh, no, uh, no Indian, no in-, indigenous, uh, group of people has, has ever been, uh, allowed to claim, uh, like in the history of exploration going, you know, going back to the 15<sup>th</sup> century [caption changes to "Nation to Nation?"]. I mean, this was just not in the cards. It's a European concept. Uh, there has to be accommodation and it's pragmatic and so on, but it, sovereignty just was never there. These are not states. Uh, states are the only thing that can be sovereign and, uh, so the rest of it's just, uh, uh, it's just myth. Just made-up, whole-cloth myth.

Levant: I mean, the history of the world is that one group or tribe conquers or takes over another. I mean, to be modern about it, the Brits beat the French at the Battle of the Plains of Abraham. I suppose Quebec could say "Hey, we want a do-over, sovereign nation to sovereign nation" and I think the rest of us would chuckle and say "Yeah, you're actually Canadian now." Well, Indians are Canadian. Now granted, they didn't have full rights to vote until more recently, but in those treaties they swore they would be loyal and peaceful subjects of the queen. [caption changes to "Myths of Sovereignty"] How, is anyone reminding anyone of this? I mean, do you think Stephen Harper, Dr. Cooper, do you think he's read these treaties and knows what they really stand for? [photos of Harper interacting with aboriginal individuals & groups]

Cooper: Well, I know that some of his advisors in Indian Affairs have. I mean, it's their job. Uh, they have, uh, I would say, a fairly cynical view because, precisely because a lot of the historical facts are simply, uh, not out there. So they look at how they're going to manage, uh, an intractable, uh, problem, uh, not how they're going to solve it. And, uh, I mean, we see the results on the reserves every day. I mean, these are not, uh, very happy places to be. Uh, and that also makes a certain amount of demoralization of the bureaucrats in, in DIAND. Uh, and in the column I said they're basically in the business of managing misery. Which is, you know, it's a terrible place for them to be. But if no one is going to, is, is going to make any reference to, uh, to things that happened, that really happened, then, uh, they haven't got much choice. I mean, they're just bureaucrats.

Levant: Dr. Barry Cooper's, uh, talking with us. Stay with us, Dr. Cooper. After the break, I want to talk to you about the difference between managing misery and solving misery. That's all ahead on *The Source* [caption changes to "Mistaken Nation"].

- commercial break

video clip interview with Pam Palmater, Idle No More spokesperson: I don't believe in voting, um, or putting any of my focus or energy on another state's governing organization. Um, to me, all of my focus and effort has to be on participating in the governance structures of our own First Nations. Resist the ongoing colonization. There's Bill C-38, Bill C-10 and six

other pieces of legislation that's specific to First Nations that they're imposing on us against our near-unanimous will. That's colonization at its, its most aggressive form.

[caption: "Aboriginal Sovereignty"]

Levant: That's Pam Palmater. She lost the race to be the boss of the Assembly of First Nations, has been undermining Chief, uh, Shawn Atleo ever since. And she's hijacked the Idle No More movement to solve that. But what caught my ear was she doesn't think she's a Canadian. She says that's another state. She assumes that she's, she, she lives in Toronto, by the way, not on any Indian reserve. But she talks about this fantasy world where maybe the great Mi'kmaq or Iroquois empires would rise again. Let's talk to Dr. Barry Cooper who's still with us on the line from Calgary. Dr. Cooper, it seems to me there's two approaches to Indian affairs. One is this radical, utopian dream world that Pam Palmater's in, that she thinks that if she just throws off the yoke of these settlers, some great new age of Eden will be, I don't even know what it is. But let's call them the extremist, radical dreamers. And on the other hand is someone who might say "Hey, let's get some hammers and nails and fix the leaky roofs up in Otta-, Attawapiskat if that's not too boring for you fancy-pants professors." So, I mean, to me, those are the two sides in Indian affairs. You've got your Shawn Atleos, who wants to actually sit down with Stephen Harper and fix something. And then you've got your Pam Palmaters, who wants a revolution.

Cooper: Well, and I think it's significant that she is also an academic. I mean, most of the goofy ideas in the world come out of the academy. Uh, you know, this has been a part, uh, a problem, uh, that we, uh, certainly not in the political science department at the University of Calgary, but, but in a lot of other very strange places. Uh, people dream these kinds of dreams that have absolutely nothing to do with, with common sense reality and they go out and they say and they talk as if this is an actual possibility [caption changes to "Aboriginal Sovereignty"]. Uh, there is a third option, um, that is not just fixing the, the, uh, you know, the roof in some of these, uh, rather, un-, unpleasant, uh, places to live. Uh, and that is allowing the, uh, the mining companies in Ontario, uh, the, the oil and gas, uh, companies, uh, in Western Canada and even pipelines, uh, through BC to make deals with the, uh, with the Indian communities, uh, directly. And it seems to me that that is a way that, uh, would, would get around the, the real difficulties that the bureaucrats have in Ottawa, to say nothing of, of, uh, the lunatic fringe, uh, of these so-called, uh, leaders, uh, who are basically, let's say, disconnected academics mostly.

Levant: You know, it reminds me of when I went to law school at the University of Alberta. I was in the class with the quota students who were Aboriginal. And in constitutional law, we were taught all these bizarre things about the Iroquois wampum belt being the source of the Constitution. All these things that I knew were false. And I kept questioning the professor on his BS, but I was told "Don't you take away their, their hopes and their pride." And I thought we are training a generation of Indian lawyers not to actually go out there and get real law jobs, but to be, to live in this myth world. I think the, I call it the "Indian industry". Uh, professors, consultants, high-priced folks who are actually living off the misery. We only have time for one more question, Doctor, and that is do you think Stephen Harper is going to stay the course or do you think he will have to cave in because you've got this nationwide, uh, unrest? Do you think he will throw a bone to the Theresa Spences and the Pam Palmaters or will he try and stay the course with businesslike Indians like Shawn Atleo?

Cooper: Well, quite frankly, I think he'll, he'll deal with people who have, uh, at least a shred of common sense, which is Shawn Atleo. And remember, he's from BC and there is a fairly deep divide between the, between Plains Indians, including the ones in Ontario, uh, or, you know, the treaty Indians and the Indians in BC. I mean, the guys in BC have had a lot of independence that, uh, that the Indians in the, in the treaty part of the country haven't.

There's a huge amount of internal politics and it would take somebody that, that knows these personalities a lot better than I do to be able to really sort it out. But I think he'll probably stay the course because he's got somebody that is, you know, reasonably sensible that he can deal with.

Levant: Hm, I hope so. This is an incredible story. I really appreciate you coming on the show. I say again, folks, if you have a moment, just google an Indian treaty. Start with Treaty 9. Just google Treaty 9 Indian treaty and read it yourself. You'll be shocked, uh, at what you don't hear from the media party. Professor, stay in touch. Thanks for being on the show. Coming up, how much are Canada's Indian bands costing the federal government. We'll break out those spending habits next, on *The Source* [caption "Reserved Spending"]

- commercial break

Levant: Theresa Spence wants more money. Of course she does. I mean, those highlights and designer glasses don't come cheap, nor does her Cadillac Escalade. [caption: "First Nations Mess"] But how about money going to actual members of her reserve? Joining me now from Edmonton is Sun Media's columnist Lorne Gunter. Hey, Lorne, welcome to the show.

Gunter: Thank you very much.

Levant: Now you've done some math. I mean, Department of Indian Affairs, that's just one department. That's about what, seven and a half billion dollars a year? But almost every government department has a special line item for Indian, uh, uh, affairs or, or reserves or things like that, right?

Gunter: Absolutely. There are, uh, 30 different government department and agencies that have some line item spending on on-reserve Aboriginals. There's about four hundred thousand. A little bit, fewer than four hundred thousand, uh, on-reserve Aboriginals in Canada and, uh, be-, between all of these 30 gov-, federal government departments, uh, they spend about ten billion dollars. So it works out to about 25 thousand dollars per man, woman and child on a reserve. [photos of Aboriginals]

Levant: And here's the crazy thing. Uh, despite all that overspending, they're actually economically poorer off than Indians who aren't on reserve. That, that's so paradoxical, but, but so obvious at the same time, isn't it?

Gunter: Absolutely. And it's because of the, the governance model. It's because of the dependency that this creates. I mean, as you have pointed out so many times quite correctly, what has happened here is that Aboriginals in too many cases – not in every case, thankfully – but in too many cases have come to see, uh, whatever is prob-, problem in their lives, in their reserves as somebody else's fault. And so they, their, their chosen solution is to sit and wait for somebody else to come in and solve the problem. If, you know, they've got a lot of money coming in, but they see things getting worse on their reserves so therefore the conclusion has to be that more money is needed. Because it's almost like a cultish mentality, this idea that, you know, the, the desired goal didn't happen, that's proof we didn't believe strongly enough, so therefore we need to show our beliefs are even stronger by adding in more of what was causing the problem in the first place. It's, it really is a downward spiral from which there is, uh, no escape until people take ownership of the-, of their own problems.

Levant: You know, I think there's another problem in the rest of Canada and that is most Canadians don't know anything about Indians, uh, other than maybe *Dances with Wolves* and what they see, Theresa Spence [caption changes to "Improving First Nations"]. I mean, like,

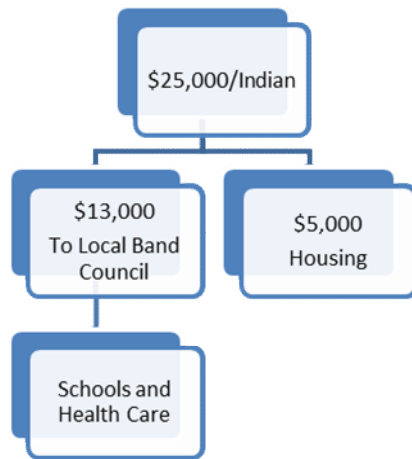
so many city slickers really have no contact with Indians so they just think “Indian”, it’s a big monolithic thing. It’s almost like the, the ridiculous phrase “there’s an African proverb”, as if all of Africa is homogeneous. As if there’s not, uh, a thousand different cultures within Africa. Same thing with First Nations. There’s 633 of them. And there’s politics within politics within politics and, but, but to white folks it’s just “Indians”. And I think we don’t even see that there’s, that there’s different approaches and that this whole Idle No More thing is really just a, an attempted coup within the Assembly of First Nations.

[photos & video clips of Aboriginals]

Gunter: Right. I mean, most people in, in Canada who, who, particularly in Central Canada, who live in cities have very little if any contact at all with First Nations or First Nations people. Uh, and so the only times they see First Nations is when, uh, there’s a, an E. coli outbreak at Kashechewan. Or, or when there’s, uh, you know, bad housing at Attawapiskat and, and, you know, there’re evacuations that are planned from some northern reserve because the sewage system is backed up and everyone’s going to get sick. [caption changes to “Idle No More”] So they say, oh, you know, “Look at the destitution. How could they be neglected?” But the, the key, I think, spending figure to keep in mind is, as I said, Ottawa, amongst 30 different departments and agencies, spends 25 thousand dollars per Aboriginal per year and Ottawa’s spending on all the rest of the country is about 78 hundred per person per year.

Levant: I think we’ve got a graphic of that. I mean, it’s, it’s amazing. If, if the Canadian government spent this much on the rest of us, our budget would be what, four times or five times larger than it is? We would have a, a trillion dollar budget in Canada. Am I right?

[graphic on screen: Federal Spending on Indians]



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[caption changes to “First Nations Financial Mess”]

Gunter: Absolutely. We’d have a budget almost the same size as the United States and they have 310 million people to our 38 million, 36 million. So, you know, it is not a matter of underfunding. There must be some other problem. And the other problem is the government’s model that the *Indian Act* forces on, uh, Ottawa and the First Nations.

Levant: Yep.

Gunter: Uh, you know, there's, there's an awful lot of incompetence and corruption on far too many reserves. That is a huge problem. But think about this.

Levant: Go ahead.

[video footage of poor living conditions]

Gunter: The income for everyone on a reserve, the housing decisions for everyone on the reserve, where are you going to live and whether or not your house gets repaired, that's all made by the chief and the band council. Whether your kids get tuition to go to university, that's made by the chief and the band council. Who gets a job, that's made by the chief and the band council. If everything in non-Aboriginal communities was determined by the mayor and the town council, there would be as much corruption as there is on reserves. Or as much incompetence. This is simply a recipe for failure. It's set up that way and so it shouldn't really surprise us that, at any one time, of the 630 or so reserves in the country, one quarter are under administration either by a federal bureaucrat or an outside auditor. And that probably means that half of them should be.

Levant: Yeah.

Gunter: Because Ottawa is u-, is very reluctant to step in and appoint an administrator. So this is a huge problem and, in fact, I've got a three-part series coming out, Friday, Saturday and Sunday in the *Sun* papers, uh, enumerating all the benefits that go to Aboriginals, all of the legal framework that's involved and pointing out on Sunday, uh, many of the reserves that have broken out of this downward spiral and through their own good sense have, uh, have come up with solutions that are slowly but surely digging their, their reserves out of this mire.

Levant: Huh. You know, sometimes when I hear Canadians mocking the United States, uh, urban ghettos and, and slums and public housing and the violence and crime and poverty there, I think, Yeah, you know what? We shouldn't be so self-righteous. We have our own ghettos. Instead of in the downtowns of cities, we push them out in the country and we call them reserves. But a lot of the same pathologies –

Gunter: Absolutely.

Levant: – rooted, I mean, mainly in no-property-rights ownership, no ownership of your own house and huge government spending. I think it's actually a mirror image. I mean, high, uh, violence, uh, high social ills, uh, low education, high poverty, high unemployment. Our urban ghettos, our Harlems are in our reserves. So city folks can pretend they don't exist 'cause we don't see them driving downtown every day. Last word to you.

Gunter: Yeah, it's a very good parallel. I mean, I mean, the, the dropout rate among, uh, Aboriginal youth is about three times higher than the national average. And that, I think, is actually kind of a fudged number. Drug addiction, uh, spousal abuse, all of the problems that we, you know, we, we identify in our own communities are much, much worse in many Aboriginal communities. And the reasons are the same pathologies that have led to horrible situations in public housing complexes in the United States. It's just, it's too much money and not enough responsibility.

Levant: Well, we've got to end it there. Thanks a million. And hey, folks, as Lorne said, for more on First Nations spending and mismanagement issues, the *Sun* newspaper chain is running Lorne's special series over the next few days, analyzing the major issues. Uh, you can check out Lorne's work online and in your local paper Friday to Sunday. Thanks, Lorne.

On February 8, Levant made the following announcement at the end of the program:

Levant: I'd like to make a correction today. Remember the episode we did when we tried to identify some of the angry, left-wing activists who were protesting outside the Sun's office last month? [clips of that episode playing on television set in background] Well, we thought that a couple of the activists outside were the husband and wife team of protestors named [S. S.] and [D. M.]. They've got a history of protesting. For example, they were down at the illegal blockade of a rail line during the Idle No More protests in Sarnia. Well, [S.] wrote to us saying that her and her husband were not in fact at the protest at the *Toronto Sun*. They weren't even in Toronto. We originally compared other photos of them to our footage and believed it was them, but I'll take [S.]'s word for it. She says she wasn't there and that's good enough for me. Folks, I'm Ezra Levant, fighting for freedom every day. We'll see you tomorrow. Bye-bye.