

**IN THE SUPREME COURT OF CANADA  
(ON APPEAL FROM THE COURT OF APPEAL OF QUEBEC)**

BETWEEN:

**ATTORNEY GENERAL OF QUÉBEC**

**APPELLANT**

**-and-**

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QUEBEC-LABRADOR, FIRST NATIONS OF QUEBEC AND  
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MAKIVIK CORPORATION, ASSEMBLY OF FIRST NATIONS,  
ASENIWUCHE WINEWAK NATION OF CANADA, FIRST NATIONS  
CHILD AND FAMILY CARING SOCIETY OF CANADA**

**RESPONDENTS**

(CONTINUED)

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**(GRAND COUNCIL OF TREATY #3, INTERVENER)**

*(Pursuant to Rule 42 of the Rules of the Supreme Court of Canada)*

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>PART I – OVERVIEW AND STATEMENT OF FACTS</b> .....	1
<i>Overview</i> .....	1
<b>PART II – RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS IN ISSUE</b> .....	1
<b>PART III – ARGUMENT</b> .....	2
<i>Indigenous Self-Government is Not Limited to Section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982</i> .....	2
<i>Cooperative Federalism</i> .....	3
<i>Incorporation by Reference</i> .....	5
<i>The Advantages of Incorporation by Reference</i> .....	6
<i>Paramountcy and Incorporation by Reference</i> .....	9
<b>PART IV and V – COSTS AND ORDER REQUESTED</b> .....	10
<b>PART VI – TABLE OF AUTHORITIES</b> .....	12

## **PART I – OVERVIEW AND STATEMENT OF FACTS**

### ***Overview***

1. Canada's reconciliation with Indigenous people will not meaningfully advance until Indigenous governance institutions are restored to their rightful place in Canada's legal landscape. This goal is best achieved through political, diplomatic, and legislative engagement, negotiation, and implementation – an approach consistent with Canada's long history of cooperative federalism. Reconciliation will be frustrated if Indigenous people are required to advance their just claims for effective and paramount self-government by resolving conflicts through extended, costly, and uncertain s. 35 litigation. This case will largely determine whether the federal government's power to legislate on Indians and lands reserved for Indians provides an effective basis for the federal government to respectfully work with Indigenous Nations to implement self-government.
2. The Grand Council of Treaty 3 ("**Grand Council**") says that Parliament has the legislative jurisdiction and power to use the same tools at its disposal to implement Indigenous self-government as it has to implement provincial and territorial self-government. Those tools include the power to delegate law-making power and to incorporate Indigenous laws as federal law. This will ensure that Indigenous laws are effective and reflect Indigenous people's autonomy, as grounded in their own values, cultures, history, geography, and political choices. Further (and contrary to the holding of the Québec Court of Appeal), federally incorporated Indigenous laws are not second-class federal laws. Rather, they enjoy the same primacy over conflicting provincial laws as other federal laws. This is consistent with and reflects Canada's federal structure.

## **PART II – RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS IN ISSUE**

3. The Grand Council submits that since Indigenous self-government predates and is not limited to s. 35 of the *Constitution Act, 1982*, cooperative federalism principles and mechanisms, particularly referential incorporation, should be applied to resolve conflicts and inconsistencies between Indigenous laws and federal and provincial laws. This approach is more practical than s. 35 litigation and it better promotes reconciliation between Indigenous Nations and the federal and provincial governments of Canada.

### PART III – ARGUMENT

#### *Indigenous Self-Government is Not Limited to Section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982*

4. Indigenous self-government is an integral part of Indigenous autonomy. It reflects the fact that Indigenous Nations existed before the arrival of Europeans in Canada and continue to exist as autonomous political entities. For many generations, Indigenous people have maintained their own institutions, rules, customs, traditions, and practices – a body of laws and legal institutions – to make collective decisions and establish order within their Nations and with other Indigenous peoples. This pre-existing body of law was recognized in Canadian colonial law in *Connolly v. Woolwich*,<sup>1</sup> a decision that recognized the legitimacy of a spousal relationship established in Cree law. Similarly, pre-existing Indigenous laws with respect to matters such as adoption have been recognized in legislation such as British Columbia’s *Adoption Act*,<sup>2</sup> as described in the British Columbia Court of Appeal’s decision in *Casimel*.<sup>3</sup>
  
5. Section 35 of the *Constitution Act, 1982* provides protection to certain forms of self-government, including those that predate s. 35. Aboriginal self-government that meets the *Pamajewon*<sup>4</sup> test is **protected** but not **created** by s. 35, as it is rooted in and reflects the pre-contact self-government practices of Indigenous Nations. Similarly, the more general form of self-government described in *Delgamuukw*<sup>5</sup> and discussed in *Campbell*<sup>6</sup> – the collective ability of First Nations to make binding decisions about the use of their Aboriginal title lands – reflects Indigenous Nations’ territorial use and occupancy prior to the assertion of British sovereignty. In each case, s. 35 provided new constitutional protections for these rights against both colonial governments, but did not **create** the self-government rights. Both *Van der Peet*<sup>7</sup> (on Aboriginal Rights) and *Delgamuukw*<sup>8</sup> (on

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<sup>1</sup> *Connolly v. Woolrich* (1867), 1 CNLC 70, [1867] QJ No. 41, Book of Authorities [BOA], Tab 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Adoption Act*, [RSBC 1996, c. 5](#), s. 46.

<sup>3</sup> *Casimel v. Insurance Corp. of British Columbia* (1993), [82 BCLR \(2d\) 387 \(CA\)](#).

<sup>4</sup> *R. v. Pamajewon*, [\[1996\] 2 SCR 821](#).

<sup>5</sup> *Delgamuukw v. British Columbia*, [\[1997\] 3 SCR 1010](#) [*Delgamuukw*] at para 166.

<sup>6</sup> *Campbell et al v. AG BC/AG Cda & Nisga'a Nation et al*, [2000 BCSC 1123](#) [*Campbell*] at paras 129–136.

<sup>7</sup> *R. v. Van der Peet*, [\[1996\] 2 SCR 507](#) at paras 28–29.

<sup>8</sup> *Delgamuukw* at para 134

Aboriginal Title) emphasized that s. 35 recognizes pre-existing rights known to the common law.

6. Customary councils of Indian bands remain one of the most common and important forms of Indigenous self-governments. Under the *Indian Act*, unless the Minister acts to displace customary councils, these councils govern bands based on each Nation's customs. Customary councils are not frozen in the form the Nation's governance had either before the arrival of Europeans or at the time of the assertion of British sovereignty. Instead, each band can reform or even recreate its governing institutions with free and informed consensus.<sup>9</sup> This exemplifies Indigenous self-government rights in two ways: first, through the customary council (and the laws it enacts). Second, through the band's power to collectively reform or recreate its system of governance using another equally important form of self-government.<sup>10</sup> While these forms of self-government are often connected to post-sovereignty entities (i.e. Indian bands) or arose by post-contact self-determination, and as such often do not meet the strict criteria in *Pamajewon* or *Delgamuukw*, they are still important examples of self-governance.
  
7. Finally, it is important that Parliament and Indigenous peoples in Canada have for years been developing forms of self-government outside of the s. 35 framework. These include the bands' delegated power to make by-laws under the *Indian Act* and the *First Nations Land Management Act*, as well as more specialized instruments, such as the *Westbank Self-Government Agreement Act* and the *Sechelt Self-Government Agreement Act*. While these forms of self-government are not on their face inherent forms of self-government, the fact that delegated powers are provided through federal legislation does not preclude these entities from exercising inherent powers. These powers are then reinforced or given binding effect through federal legislation.

### ***Cooperative Federalism***

8. The Grand Council submits that cooperative federalism principles and practices should apply to the relationships between Indigenous and colonial governments and laws in the

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<sup>9</sup> *Francis v. Mohawk Council of Kanesatake*, [2003 FCT 115](#).

<sup>10</sup> *Campbell* at paras [100–103](#).

same way as between the provinces and federal government. This is respectful of the foundational constitutional position of Indigenous people and their legal orders within Canada and is a more practical and preferable approach over difficult, costly, protracted, and uncertain s. 35 and division of powers litigation.

9. In Canada's federal structure, it may be either impossible or uncertain for a single government to achieve a certain legislative goal alone. The courts have recognized that rather than resorting to litigation to resolve such jurisdictional questions, legal mechanisms should be created that encourage governments to work together to achieve desired outcomes. This broad principle (and the tools associated with it) is called "cooperative federalism" and (along with the double aspect doctrine) it is the preferred approach to resolving jurisdictional issues between different levels of government.<sup>11</sup> This approach allows governments to act jointly to legislate or regulate an undertaking or activity, and courts should refrain from blocking these cooperative arrangements.<sup>12</sup>
10. This type of cooperation is achieved using different tools. In its simplest form, one government's legislation can be made conditional on another government's legislative or administrative act. For example, the federal government criminalized gambling, but allowed provincial governments to determine that certain gaming is lawful, either directly through legislation or through administrative acts (e.g. s. 207 of the *Criminal Code*). Thus, even though criminal law is a subject matter under federal jurisdiction, Parliament has through legislation given provincial legislatures and executives broad powers to determine what types of gambling are legal or illegal.
11. A more sophisticated tool, which will be discussed further below, is incorporation by reference, which takes a provincial law that is potentially inoperative for division of powers reasons and incorporates it into federal law, thereby curing the potential defect in the provincial legislation. For instance, in s. 88 of the *Indian Act*, Parliament incorporated provincial laws to cure some of their potential inapplicability to matters falling within

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<sup>11</sup> *Canada (Attorney General) v. PHS Community Services Society*, [2011 SCC 44](#) [*PHS*] at para 70.

<sup>12</sup> *PHS* at para 63.

Parliament's jurisdiction over Indians and lands reserved for the Indians.<sup>13</sup> The implementation legislation for modern land claim agreements in British Columbia has adapted a similar approach to ensure that otherwise inapplicable provincial laws apply in the modern treaty context.<sup>14</sup>

12. Another example of a form of cooperative federalism is the regime under the *Greenhouse Gas Pollution Pricing Act*. This regime allows provinces to establish and apply a carbon tax (through referential incorporation) to federally regulated matters. If a province elects not to establish a carbon tax or an alternative approach that addresses the objectives of the federal legislation, then a federal tax is imposed as a backstop.<sup>15</sup> This allows Parliament to create a national framework dealing with a matter of national concern under the peace, order, and good government clause of s. 91 of the *Constitution Act, 1867*, while also leaving the provinces significant latitude to address the objectives of the legislation within their local political and economic cultures.
13. These examples highlight that while our constitutional framework does not allow different law-makers to act unilaterally outside of their normal jurisdiction, governments may coordinate the exercise of their powers to ensure that complex and difficult issues spanning multiple jurisdictions are effectively and clearly addressed. This approach to resolving jurisdictional uncertainties and difficulties is consistent with our constitutional framework and is preferable to litigation and confrontation.

### ***Incorporation by Reference***

14. Legislative or regulatory incorporation by reference furthers cooperative federalism and more generally enables legislators to incorporate other legislators, regulators, or authorities' decisions into the law.<sup>16</sup> As noted above, for Indigenous people, Parliament

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<sup>13</sup> *R. v. Dick*, [1985] 2 SCR 309 at 327.

<sup>14</sup> *Tsawwassen First Nation Final Agreement Act*, SC 2008, c 32, s. 15.

<sup>15</sup> *References re Greenhouse Gas Pollution Pricing Act*, 2021 SCC 11 at paras 30–35.

<sup>16</sup> The flexible and practical nature of incorporation by reference is described in John Mark Keyes, "Incorporation by Reference in Legislation" [2004] 25:3 Statute L Rev 180 [BOA, Tab 2].

has incorporated provincial laws to make them applicable to reserve land, status Indians, and s. 35 rights. Another more general example is Parliament's adoption of provincial laws of evidence into federal proceedings through s. 40 of the *Canada Evidence Act*.

15. Parliament is not limited to incorporating other Canadian legislation by reference. It can also incorporate non-legislative technical documents, for instance those prepared by expert groups, or even other countries' laws. For example, s. 4(2) of the *Aeronautics Act* incorporates the aeronautics laws of foreign states, in part by effectively criminalizing the breach of other jurisdictions' laws within Canada. Thus while Parliament ultimately determines the laws of Canada, it does not offend our constitutional structure to have other nations alter Canadian law through referential incorporation.
16. Sections 20(3) and 21(1) of the *Indigenous Child and Family Welfare Act* are examples of incorporation by reference. Together they identify certain Indigenous laws and give them effect as federal law. This is not a delegation of legislative power – the Indigenous Nation makes its laws using its inherent powers, and Canada (and if it chooses, any province) and the Indigenous Nation work together to coordinate the exercise of Indigenous law-making with other legislative powers. Only then does s. 21(1) work to incorporate the Indigenous law as federal law.

### ***The Advantages of Incorporation by Reference***

17. The use of incorporation by reference – particularly as implemented by this legislation – has a number of advantages. First, it respects all levels of government. It respects Indigenous law-making power by recognizing that in a subject matter of critical importance to Indigenous peoples – here, the protection, development, and care of Indigenous children and families – Indigenous people can and should govern themselves. This recognizes that Indigenous people continue to have self-government institutions and that part of the modern process of righting the wrongs of the past is for Parliament (and provincial legislatures) to work with Indigenous people to give Indigenous institutions an effective role in the government of Canada as a whole. It also respects the roles of the federal and

provincial governments by encouraging coordination and operating within the scope of federal legislative power (i.e. the civil rights of Indigenous people).<sup>17</sup>

18. Second, referential incorporation is practical, as it creates jurisdictional clarity and avoids the legislative vacuums that s. 35 litigation can cause. Section 35 jurisprudence has created great uncertainty around the lawfulness of any level of government's conduct.
19. When an Indigenous Nation exercises its powers of self-government, this immediately raises questions such as "does this power exist?" and "does this power fall within the scope of section 35?" It also raises questions such as "does some or all of a potentially conflicting provincial law infringe a s. 35 right?" and "if so, can this infringement be justified?" Further, given that the judicial application of s. 35 focuses on particular conflicts rather than on general systemic conflicts,<sup>18</sup> reliance on s. 35 can encourage ongoing rounds of litigation on rights conflicts involving self-government and potentially unlawful exercises of state power. This is particularly inappropriate here, as the immediate well-being of children and families may be at stake. These situations require immediate resolution, but litigation on s. 35 rights and the unlawful exercise of state power is notoriously slow and expensive. The legislative route is also reciprocal, in that it benefits both Indigenous governments and Crown governments by eliminating uncertainty about their respective jurisdictions and the lawfulness of their conduct.
20. Another practical aspect of referential incorporation is that it is by necessity built around cooperation and negotiation, which allows governments to deliberately coordinate their systems through democratic means (legislation, regulation, and policy change) to allow Indigenous self-government to operate. This also allows governments to experiment and adapt as experience grows. Judicial approaches to s. 35 rights simply do not have the same agility as processes rooted in negotiation, agreements, policies, and legislation – all of which can be much more easily and deliberately adjusted than court decisions. Section 35 decisions can clarify the existence of rights and the exercises of state power that offend

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<sup>17</sup> *Daniels v. Canada (Indian Affairs and Northern Development)*, [2016 SCC 12](#); *Attorney General of Canada et al. v. Canard*, [\[1976\] 1 SCR 170](#).

<sup>18</sup> *Mitchell v. M.N.R.*, [2001 SCC 33](#) at paras [15–18](#); *Ahousaht Indian Band and Nation v. Canada (Attorney General)*, [2021 BCCA 155](#) at paras [153–157](#).

those rights, but generally leave it to the parties to negotiate how to fill the gaps created by the courts' rulings.

21. Third, referential incorporation promotes reconciliation. As Binnie J observed in *Mikisew* (2005) colonial government indifference and lack of respect has been destructive to reconciliation. In *Haida*, McLachlin CJC observed that “the honour of the Crown requires negotiations leading to a just settlement of Aboriginal claims” and that the recognition of s. 35 rights and sovereignty are reconciled “through the process of honourable negotiation.”<sup>19</sup> While the court recognizes that litigation is one way of dealing with s. 35, “negotiation is a preferable way of reconciling state and Aboriginal interests.”<sup>20</sup> Much of the modern jurisprudence concerning s. 35 rights has emphasized that parties should move away from litigation as the preferred means of defining s. 35 rights. Engagement, discussion, negotiation, and diplomacy between Indigenous Nations and the Crown are more effective than litigation, which in this context is much like warfare in terms of its length, costs, and stakes. Indeed, in its original form, s. 37 of the *Constitution Act, 1982* contemplated a process of structured negotiations leading to agreements to implement s. 35 rights, including the right of self-government. Unfortunately this process did not lead to any agreements.<sup>21</sup> Our modern era of conflict and litigation has largely flowed from the failure of that diplomatic process.
22. Fourth, incorporation by reference through federal legislation is appropriate for practical reasons. As demonstrated by the circumstances of the Grand Council itself – which has territories in both Ontario and Manitoba – Indigenous Nations transcend provincial boundaries. This occurs in two ways: (1) their territories cross provincial borders,<sup>22</sup> and (2) their members are dispersed beyond reserve lands and communities, and members may

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<sup>19</sup> *Haida Nation v. British Columbia (Minister of Forests)*, [2004 SCC 73](#) [*Haida*] at para [20](#).

<sup>20</sup> *Haida* at para [14](#).

<sup>21</sup> Canadian Intergovernmental Conference Secretariat, First Ministers' Conferences 1906–2004, at 94-111, online: [https://scics.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/fmp\\_e.pdf](https://scics.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/fmp_e.pdf).

<sup>22</sup> See *Newfoundland and Labrador (Attorney General) v. Uashaunnuat (Innu of Uashat and of Mani-Utenam)*, [2020 SCC 4](#) for an example of the judicial issues created by transboundary nations.

live in many provinces. Federal implementation is the most practical way to approach this reality so that the interests of Indigenous Nations and their cultural, political, and social integrity is respected. Another principled reason for federal incorporation by reference is that Parliament and the Executive have primary jurisdiction over Indigenous peoples as a distinct subject matter within the Canadian constitution.<sup>23</sup>

23. Fifth, referential incorporation respects democracy and the separation of powers. As this court has pointed out in its recent jurisprudence, each branch of government has its appropriate role, and courts must be cautious to not improperly intrude into the other's role.<sup>24</sup> Parliament and the legislatures – not the courts – are charged with making laws on behalf of the Crown. Referential incorporation allows democratically elected governments to articulate the purposes and values of non-Indigenous Canadians (see ss. 8, 10, 11, and 20(2) of the legislation at issue) and fulfill them within an interdependent system grounded in shared values.<sup>25</sup> The courts have an important but secondary role in overseeing the implementation of legislation passed by the legislative branch and ensuring it is compliant with the Constitution. Centering s. 35 litigation as the preferred means of recognizing and implementing Indigenous self-government rights ignores these principles, and instead centers the courts in the law-making process. This is both anti-democratic and contrary to the normal separation of powers.

### ***Paramountcy and Incorporation by Reference***

24. When Parliament incorporates a law or instrument by reference, it has the same force as federal law and is as much a part of the federal law of Canada as if Parliament had simply re-created the text and reproduced it in the legislation. As such, the instrument or law incorporated by reference should be subject to the rules of paramountcy.
25. Since the decisions in *Canadian Western Bank*<sup>26</sup> and *LaFarge*,<sup>27</sup> this court has moved the division of powers jurisprudence away from watertight compartments and

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<sup>23</sup> *Constitution Act, 1867*, 30 & 31 Victoria, c 3 (UK), s. [91\(24\)](#).

<sup>24</sup> For example, see *Ontario v. Criminal Lawyers' Association of Ontario*, [2013 SCC 43](#).

<sup>25</sup> *Reference re Secession of Quebec*, [\[1998\] 2 SCR 217](#) at para [149](#).

<sup>26</sup> *Canadian Western Bank v. Alberta*, [2007 SCC 22](#).

<sup>27</sup> *British Columbia (Attorney General) v. Lafarge Canada Inc.*, [2007 SCC 23](#).

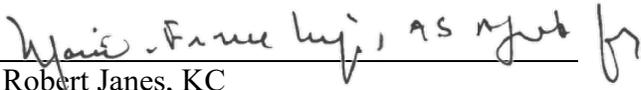
interjurisdictional immunity to rely instead on the doctrines of double aspect and paramountcy. This modern approach allows each level of government to operate within broadly defined heads of power, with conflicts only triggered and resolved when they are based on an exercise of otherwise valid legislative power. Rather than eliminating overlap in key areas of jurisdiction (i.e. interjurisdictional immunity) the preferred approach is to wait until there is an actual conflict between two pieces of legislation and resolve it using the doctrine of federal paramountcy (which does not engage the complex justificatory analysis of s. 35 claims).

26. Thus, federally incorporated Indigenous laws attract the doctrine of paramountcy due to basic constitutional principles rather than s. 22(3). This is suggested by the opening words of s. 22(3), “[f]or greater certainty,” a phrase often used when a provision is intended to clarify something already established. While s. 22(3) may seem redundant, it has a clarifying purpose given the two branches of the modern doctrine of paramountcy. One approach narrowly construes each conflict to operational conflicts, i.e. when compliance with both laws is impossible. The second approach applies paramountcy when applying the provincial law would frustrate the purpose or object of the federal law. Section 22(3) clarifies that Parliament intends for both branches of the paramountcy doctrine to apply in this case. Thus s. 22(3) is consistent with Canada’s constitutional structure and clarifies Parliament’s intention to have both paramountcy branches apply.
27. This approach furthers reconciliation, as it gives federally incorporated Indigenous laws the same status and respect as any other referentially incorporated law and reinforces that the laws should prevail to give effect to their purpose. The view that paramountcy should not apply to federally incorporated Indigenous laws suggests that these laws deserve second class status. This approach is unacceptable, as it is both inconsistent with Canada’s constitutional structure (which embeds the doctrine of paramountcy) and with reconciliation (which demands respect for Indigenous law-making).

#### **PART IV and V – COSTS AND ORDER REQUESTED**

28. The Intervener, Grand Council, does not seek costs and asks that no costs be awarded against it.

All of which is respectfully submitted this 11<sup>th</sup> day of November, 2022.

Handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Naomi Moses, as agent for".

Robert Janes, KC

Naomi Moses

**Counsel for the Intervener,  
Grand Council of Treaty #3**

## PART VI – TABLE OF AUTHORITIES

Case Law

<b>Description</b>	<b>Para References</b>
<i>Ahousaht Indian Band and Nation v. Canada (Attorney General)</i> , <a href="#">2021 BCCA 155</a>	19
<i>Attorney General of Canada et al. v. Canard</i> , <a href="#">[1976] 1 SCR 170</a>	19
<i>British Columbia (Attorney General) v. Lafarge Canada Inc.</i> , <a href="#">2007 SCC 23</a>	25
<i>Campbell et al v. AG BC/AG Cda &amp; Nisga'a Nation et al</i> , <a href="#">2000 BCSC 1123</a>	5, 6
<i>Canada (Attorney General) v. PHS Community Services Society</i> , <a href="#">2011 SCC 44</a>	9
<i>Canadian Western Bank v. Alberta</i> , <a href="#">2007 SCC 22</a>	25
<i>Casimel v. Insurance Corp. of British Columbia</i> (1993), <a href="#">82 BCLR (2d) 387 (CA)</a>	4
<i>Connolly v. Woolrich</i> (1867), 1 CNLC 70, [1867] QJ No. 1	4
<i>Daniels v. Canada (Indian Affairs and Northern Development)</i> , <a href="#">2016 SCC 12</a>	17
<i>Delgamuukw v. British Columbia</i> , <a href="#">[1997] 3 SCR 1010</a>	5,6
<i>Francis v. Mohawk Council of Kanesatake</i> , <a href="#">2003 FCT 115</a>	6
<i>Haida Nation v. British Columbia (Minister of Forests)</i> , <a href="#">2004 SCC 73</a>	21
<i>Mitchell v. M.N.R.</i> , <a href="#">2001 SCC 33</a>	19
<i>Newfoundland and Labrador (Attorney General) v. Uashaunnuat (Innu of Uashat and of Mani-Utenam)</i> , <a href="#">2020 SCC 4</a>	22
<i>Ontario v. Criminal Lawyers' Association of Ontario</i> , <a href="#">2013 SCC 43</a>	23
<i>R. v. Dick</i> , <a href="#">[1985] 2 SCR 309</a>	11
<i>R. v. Pamajewon</i> , <a href="#">[1996] 2 SCR 821</a>	5, 6
<i>R. v. Van der Peet</i> , <a href="#">[1996] 2 SCR 507</a>	5
<i>Reference re Secession of Quebec</i> , <a href="#">[1998] 2 SCR 217</a>	23
<i>References re Greenhouse Gas Pollution Pricing Act</i> , <a href="#">2021 SCC 11</a>	12

**Legislation**

<b>Description</b>	<b>Section(s)</b>
<i>Adoption Act</i> , RSBC 1996, c. 5	<a href="#">46</a>
<i>Aeronautics Act</i> , RSC 1985, c A-2 <i>Loi sur l'aéronautique</i> , LRC 1985, c A-2	<a href="#">4(2)</a> <a href="#">4(2)</a>
<i>An Act respecting First Nations, Inuit and Métis children, youth and families</i> , SC 2019, c 24 <i>Loi concernant les Enfants, les jeunes et les familles des Premières Nations, des Inuits et des Métis</i> , LC 2019, c 24	<a href="#">8</a> , <a href="#">10</a> , <a href="#">11</a> , <a href="#">20(2)</a> <a href="#">20(3)</a> , <a href="#">21(1)</a> , <a href="#">22(3)</a> <a href="#">8</a> , <a href="#">10</a> , <a href="#">11</a> , <a href="#">20(2)</a> <a href="#">20(3)</a> , <a href="#">21(1)</a> , <a href="#">22(3)</a>
<i>Canada Evidence Act</i> , RSC 1985, c C-5 <i>Loi sur la preuve au Canada</i> , LRC 1985, c C-5	<a href="#">40</a> <a href="#">40</a>
<i>Constitution Act, 1867</i> , 30 & 31 Victoria, c 3 (UK) <i>Loi constitutionnelle de 1867</i> , 30 & 31 Victoria, c 3	<a href="#">37</a> , <a href="#">91</a> <a href="#">37</a> , <a href="#">91</a>
<i>Constitution Act, 1982</i> , enacted as Schedule B to the Canada Act 1982, 1982, c. 11 (UK) <i>Loi constitutionnelle de 1982</i> , Annexe B de la Loi de 1982 sur le Canada (R-U), 1982, c 11	<a href="#">35</a> <a href="#">35</a>
<i>Criminal Code</i> , RSC 1985, c C-46 <i>Code criminel</i> , LRC 1985, c C-46	<a href="#">207</a> <a href="#">207</a>
<i>Greenhouse Gas Pollution Pricing Act</i> , <a href="#">SC 2018, c 12, s 186</a> <i>Loi sur la tarification de la pollution causée par les gaz à effet de serre</i> , <a href="#">LC 2018, c 12, art 186</a>	
<i>Indian Act</i> , RSC, 1985, c. I-5 <i>Loi sur les Indiens</i> , LRC 1985, c I-5	<a href="#">88</a> <a href="#">88</a>
<i>Tsawwassen First Nation Final Agreement Act</i> , SC 2008, c 32 <i>Loi sur l'accord définitif concernant la première nation de Tsawwassen</i> , LC 2008, c 32	<a href="#">15</a> <a href="#">15</a>

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John Mark Keyes, "Incorporation by Reference in Legislation" [2004] 25:3 Statute L Rev 180.	14