

They Have Always Been Military: On So-Called Militarized Policing in Canada

Jeff Shantz*

Over the last few years there has been growing attention to and discussion of the so-called militarization of policing. Unfortunately, much of this discussion poses the militarization of policing as a recent phenomenon. This paper examines policing in Canada within the context of an ongoing military practice. It shows that policing was founded on a military basis and continues to be carried out on a military basis as exemplified in the more recent developments that have raised alarm about militarization. It raises the need for a re-theorization of policing within the context of capitalist social struggles and highlights some instructive recent theoretical developments toward that end. Properly understanding the police in Canada can help to contextualize and challenge current responses that are limited to reforms for police (de-militarization, de-escalation, improved training, non-lethal weaponry, etc.) or which even allow for the expansion of policing (community policing, drones, etc.). [*Article copies available for a fee from The Transformative Studies Institute. E-mail address: journal@transformativestudies.org Website: <http://www.transformativestudies.org> ©2016 by The Transformative Studies Institute. All rights reserved.*]

KEYWORDS: Canada, Colonialism, Militarization, Policing, Protest, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Settler States, War.

* **Jeff Shantz** is an anarchist writer, poet, photographer, artist, and activist who has decades of community organizing experience within social movements. He currently teaches critical theory and community advocacy at Kwantlen Polytechnic University in Metro Vancouver, Canada. Shantz is the author of numerous books, including *Crisis States: Governance, Resistance, and Precarious Capitalism* (Punctum 2016), *Commonist Tendencies: Mutual Aid beyond Communism* (Punctum, 2013), *Green Syndicalism: An Alternative Red/Green Vision* (Syracuse University Press, 2012), and *Constructive Anarchy: Building Infrastructures of Resistance* (Ashgate, 2010). Shantz is co-founder of the Critical Criminology Working Group (<http://www.radicalcriminology.org/>) and founding editor of the journal *Radical Criminology* (<http://journal.radicalcriminology.org/index.php/rc>). Samples of his writings can be found at jeffshantz.ca. Follow on twitter @critcrim. Address correspondence to: Jeff Shantz, e-mail: der_einzige@hotmail.com.

Over the last few years there has been growing attention to and discussion of the so-called militarization of policing. Interest in this issue is reflected in popular media accounts including notable books such as *The Rise of the Warrior Cop* by Radley Balko and *Police State* by Gerry Spence. In addition to popular discussion there has also emerged a growing body of academic works (see Hinton 2016; Leonard 2015 as examples). In the Canadian context the militarization of police has been discussed by Lesley Wood in *Crisis and Control* (2014). Unfortunately, much of this discussion poses the militarization of policing as a recent phenomenon, at the earliest developing with the formation of SWAT and ERT forces since the 1970s.

Otherwise informed commentators like legal expert Michael Spratt, who is one of the few to write on militarized policing in Canada, speak of “the creeping militarization of Canada's police forces” (Spratt 2014b). Even critical academics like University of Winnipeg professor Kevin Walby resort to the term “creeping militarization” (quoted in Csanady 2014).

This presentation of militarized policing as a recent, even twenty-first century phenomenon misstates actual histories of policing within liberal democracies like Canada. Such accounts overlook or distort or falsify actual histories of policing. A deeper more critical examination of policing in a liberal democracy like Canada shows that in fact policing has always already been military. Policing in Canada, particularly in the form of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, which is a force that operates at all levels, federal, provincial, and municipal, has been and remains military in structure and purpose on an ongoing basis.

The discourse on the militarization of police in the Canadian context as a recent phenomenon has troubling implications for social analysis and social movement practice. On the one hand, a significant outcome is overlooking the settler colonial military aspects of policing in Canada leads to a mythologizing of policing, a presentation of policing that is ahistorical and inaccurate. More importantly it leads to a misanalysis of the nature of the Canadian state and state violence (both historically and in the current context). On one hand it gives the sense that policing in Canada has been less violent than it has been. It reinforces a false narrative that policing in Canada has been community based oriented toward public service.

Hijal De Sarkar of the *Huffington Post* puts the mainstream view of policing in straightforward terms: “All of this is a major problem because a free and democratic society demands a clear separation between the

military and your local police department in order to function and to safeguard the liberty we take for granted” (2016). In this regard a recent discussion by Postmedia’s Ashley Csanady is typical of the hegemonic framing of policing in Canada. According to Csanady:

Police in Canada do have a different approach than their American counterparts and are far less likely to bust out the big guns or sound cannons — officially known as Long Range Acoustic Devices (LRADs). Most Canadian police employ a community-based model that dates to 19th-century England and Sir Robert Peel. The Ontario Association of Chiefs of Police (OACP) updated its community policing model in 2013 and it emphasizes de-escalation. (2014)

Beyond the inaccurate portrayal of the development and current practices of policing in Canada it misrepresents the relationship of policing to historic, and ongoing, processes of settler colonialism, dispossession, displacement, and genocide that are at the heart of the Canadian state and state development. It also obscures the class bases of policing and state violence.

A proper understanding of the histories of policing in Canada contributes to a needed recentering of policing in Canada as ongoing settler colonial violence. In effect, policing in Canada has been, literally, a military occupation. This is particularly clear in the context of provincial policing by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (formerly North West Mounted Police) in what is called British Columbia. This policing occurs on territory most of which has never been ceded by indigenous communities there.

Opponents of state violence must be clear on this yet often are not. Failure to understand policing in liberal democracies like Canada can have devastating effects for oppositional movements. In the aftermath of the widespread police violence against community members during the G20 meetings in Toronto in 2010 prominent activists Naomi Klein and Judy Rebick both called on police to crack down on militant activists while laying off of so-called peaceful protesters. Rebick explicitly called for police to arrest black bloc militants prior to the protests (so they could presumably be the domain of peaceful protesters alone). Klein went so far as to call on police, during a prominent rally speech, to “do your goddamn jobs” and police in a targeted manner (see Shantz 2010). But police in Toronto were doing exactly that. Understanding military policing also helps to properly situate responses to and perceptions of social movement aggression like black bloc actions for example.

Properly situating police violence within a context of the institution's ongoing military character also helps to explain why mechanization and police expenditures on military technologies, training, and tactical alliances are increasing in a particularly notable way in an era in which crime rates have actually been declining for decades. Indeed this is a question that commentators and police reformers often ask. Understanding the military character of policing, at its core not as a recent development, helps to answer this question. Policing in Canada has not been about addressing crime rates. Rather it has been about state violence as a settler colonial arrangement. So while crime may be declining movements against settler capitalism are growing in strength and influence.

A disproportionate part of discussions of militarization of policing are focused almost exclusively on equipment or materials as discussed below. This is a mistaken emphasis that is really about equipmentization rather than militarization. The present work shifts focus to look at structures and functions of a police force, specifically the RCMP, in historical and social context. This work is not about the current equipment regimes, though it discusses that. By examining the RCMP one can see policing at all levels as militarized in Canada because the force operates at federal (national), provincial, and municipal levels in Canada. In 2012 there were 5,117 Mounties at municipal levels; 6,830 at provincial levels; and 4,447 at federal levels (Statistics Canada 2012).

The point here is that one cannot and should not understand militarization through a primary or sole focus on equipmentization. It is not about (or solely or even mostly) about the guns, armor, vehicles, technology, etc. used by police forces. The number or type of equipment used by the force at any given time does not make it militarized, does not change its nature as a militarized force, unless one comes to talk explicitly about an unarmed or decommissioned force. Focus on equipment can mystify discussions of militarized policing.

This paper examines policing in Canada within the context of an ongoing military practice. It shows that policing was founded on a military basis and continues to be carried out on a military basis as exemplified in the more recent developments that have raised alarm about militarization. It raises the need for a re-theorization of policing within the context of capitalist social struggles and highlights some instructive recent theoretical developments toward that end.

The article proceeds by examining recent discussions of the so-called militarization of policing and aspects focused on in that work. It then discusses analyses of colonialism and militarized policing before looking in detail at historical manifestations of the military character of policing in

Canada through examples in the development of the NWMP/RCMP. The article then give attention to recent theorizing on social war to provide a more substantial analysis for understanding militarized policing. It also looks at recent forms of militarized policing by the RCMP in suburban Canada.

RECENT AND RECOGNIZABLE MANIFESTATIONS OF MILITARY POLICING

Many commentators and analysts, even critical ones raise concerns about the supposedly recent militarization of police because, in their view, among other things, it erodes what they perceive to be the fundamental function of police departments, “serving and protecting” the community (De Sarkar 2016). This is understood to be a function distinct from the role of national security or defense of sovereignty presumably tasked to the military alone.

Within liberal approaches the distinction between military and police is significant, even central. The military and the local police departments are posited as serving entirely different and distinct roles (De Sarkar 2016). Indeed this is held to be a key feature of liberal democratic governance. As public commentator Hijal De Sarkar puts it: “In an expensive race towards increasingly invasive and threatening policing methods, it has never been more important to remember that fundamental ideal” (De Sarkar 2016). This is the dominant thinking among liberal theorists and commentators as well as among a significant portion of critical analysts, reformers, and activists.

Speaking about the apparent militarization of policing in Canada lawyer Michael Spratt concludes:

[T]here’s no question that Canadian police sometimes look more like post-apocalyptic military mercenaries than protectors of the peace. Our police services have been acquiring more and more military toys — a dangerous trend that’s gotten little in the way of critical analysis in the mainstream media. (2014a)

These are the recent manifestations of what are historic, systemic, forms of military policing of civilians in civilian settings. Significantly, in a period of austerity and social spending cuts for programs that might benefit the working class and poor, police budgets are increasing with billions of dollars provided to municipal police by supposedly belt-tightening governments at all levels for the machinery of war.

One of the most visible and common signs of militarized policing in Canada has been the acquisition of armored vehicles by urban and suburban forces across the country. The Ottawa Police Service purchased a Lenco G3 BearCat armored personnel carrier in 2010 at a cost of \$340,000 (Spratt 2014b). The specifications for the BearCat are imposing. This vehicle patrolling numerous sub/urban spaces in Canada has "half-inch-thick military steel armoured bodywork, .50 caliber-rated ballistic glass, blast-resistant floors, custom-designed gun ports and... a roof turret" (Spratt 2014b).

As recently as January of this year it was announced that the Toronto Police Service would have new C8 carbine semi-automatic assault rifles for use by regular police officers by May. The assault rifles are produced by arms manufacturer Colt Canada primarily for military use in the Canadian Armed Forces. Coming at a cost of \$2,500 each, the assault weapons are described on the City's website as "battle proven in harsh combat environments" (De Sakar 2106). This will presumably come in hand in the harsh environs of Toronto.

In 2015 Winnipeg police purchased a Gurka MPV armored personnel carrier at the cost of \$400,000. Complete with eight gun ports the 14,000 pound, blast proof tactical vehicle will surely, according to the manufacturer's video, "make a statement" (De Sakar 2016).

In reviewing this latest military purchase Hijal De Sakar rightly suggests that the statement being made is not about public safety or serving and protecting but rather about a show of state force and authority in occupied sub/urban environments. In his query: "Indeed, I have to wonder if that's what these purchases are all about -- making a bold statement about who makes the orders and who follows them" (De Sakar 2016). Again this message finds a particularly pointed avenue for reinforcement in the context of protest events and demonstrations of dissent when people are questioning and opposing structures of command.

Over the last few years the hosting of large scale spectacles, the Winter Olympics in Vancouver, the G20 meetings in Toronto, has been used as the justification for the provision of new military equipment to local police forces. Among the central events for analysts of police militarization in the Canadian context was the G20 meetings and protests in Toronto in 2010. The technologies, techniques, and strategies used by police forces in the city as well as the use of arcane wartime laws provided powerful demonstrations of a militarization of policing in Canada akin to examples witnessed in the United States in contexts of political protests.

Included among the military equipment used by police in Toronto during the G20 protests was the sound cannon, or LRAD. As De Sakar

notes, the LRAD, sound cannon “was developed by the U.S. military to fight Somali pirates and Iraqi insurgents. It is powerful enough to make human bones vibrate, and it was used against Canadian citizens” (2016). As in other cases in which such equipment has been secured on the bases of an exceptional need during times of mass events or globally oriented spectacles being hosted in a Canadian city, the LRAD has not been returned once the exceptional event has passed. Six years after the G20 meetings the Toronto police still possess the LRAD among their, now unexceptional, equipment.

Notably, as criminologists have pointed out some of the most significant developments in this regard do not involve machinery or equipment but rather strategies and tactics (see Shantz 2011; 2012). According to Kevin Walby, an assistant professor of criminal justice at the University of Winnipeg, “the more interesting aspect of the militarization of the police is actually on the strategy side” (quoted in Csanady 2014). Police forces are “increasingly training with military-style tacticians, especially when it comes to situations like crowd control and, increasingly, surveillance” (quoted in Csanady 2014). This is one reason that protest policing has become so central within contemporary urban policing practice. The point is not that protests pose any particular imminent threat of uprising or revolt, and certainly not because they give rise to criminal activity. The real point and great significance of street protests for police, typically overlooked by criminologists and public commentators alike, is that they provide among the few real world practice cases for military maneuvers in the actual streets and roadways, alleys, and parks of sub/urban environments within liberal democracies. Protests offer police the conditions for live experimentation in military practice in the actual setting of social war.

Ahead of the 2010 Winter Olympics in Vancouver the Vancouver Police Department formed a Military Liaison Unit supposedly to coordinate security for the Games with the Canadian Forces and the US military. Six years after the conclusion of the Games the Military Liaison Unit continues undisclosed operations in a secretive manner. As De Sarkar describes it:

The unit travels four to six times a year to a base in Washington state to train with U.S. Army and National Guard personnel, in effect receiving military training. Vancouver's MLU (there are others across the country) has seemingly no oversight or public accountability. In fact, even finding information on its existence is tough. (2016)

Once the event is over, however, the police have held onto the machinery and resources supposedly transferred to them specifically for

the mass event. Tools and technologies are not returned and agency relationships are not ended.

While these developments are disturbing and have propelled new and renewed attention to police armaments, strategies and tactics they are only the most recent chapters in an ongoing (if overlooked or forgotten) story rather than the story itself. In fact there has never been a period in which militarized policing has not been deployed against subject communities in the Canadian state context. It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the entirety of a history that includes the history of settler colonialism, the police murders of union activists (in numerous cases), the repression of oppositional movements, and beyond. Names such as Ginger Goodwin, the Winnipeg General Strike, the Estevan Massacre, the Regina Riot Gustafsen Lake, and Ipperwash evoke some of these histories which are perhaps best known among the Canadian public.

In fact discussions on militarization in most liberal democratic contexts, certainly in Canada and the United States, have focused on equipment for their emphasis. Yet the municipal police in the United States are not typically militarized in terms of command structure, training, or deployment as is in fact the case with the RCMP. Thus this discussion resituates militarization analysis away from more superficial issues such as equipment and equipmentization to look at policing histories, structures, and functions.

This work looks instead at militarized policing through the structures and functions of a force that operates at all levels, federal, provincial, municipal, in Canada—the RCMP. Aspects of the underlying histories of military policing and social war in the Canadian state follow.

A SETTLER COLONIAL MILITARIZED POLICE FORCE

This is not a comparative work but scholars such as Andrew Graybill (2007) have noted similarities between the RCMP and the Texas Rangers. Graybill argues that both forces protected the dominant state capitalist order by dispossessing, displacing, and confining Indigenous communities and by regulating mixed communities. Graybill also notes that both forces assisted major settler ranchers in succeeding against small-scale ranchers and farmers. Notably both forces were used to bust unions in emerging industries (Graybill 2007). Nettelbeck and Smandych (2010) have done comparative analysis of the NWMP in Canada and the mounted police in settler state Australia. Their extensive research suggests: “In both jurisdictions, colonial governments relied upon mounted police forces to facilitate Indigenous people’s subjugation to colonial law and aid the

establishment of agricultural and early industrial capitalist economies through land acquisition and settlement” (2010, 356). Yet their work has not looked specifically at issues of militarization in policing.

Numerous scholars have examined the “colonial present,” the ongoing nature of colonialism in the Canadian state context (Alfred 2009; Coulthard 2014; Monchalain 2016). These analyses position Canada as a settler colonial state maintained through practices of colonization that are ongoing, continuous. The Canadian state is understood then in terms of conquest rather than other terms such as migration (Dhillon 2015, 6). The notion of terra nullius in Canada as in Australia has served to provide the rationalizations for the legal dispossession and forced assimilation of indigenous peoples (Dhillon 2015, 6). And this conquest has been carried out fundamentally on military terms. But in Canada the military force has been a police force, the NWMP/RCMP.

The RCMP policing practices have been guided by Ottawa’s “policy of coerced assimilation” (Dhillon 2015, 8). The Mounties were founded and deployed to “ensure the negation of Indigenous sovereignty and to implement effective policies of containment and surveillance” (Nettlebeck and Smandych 2010, 356). The RCMP were specifically structured as a militarized force to carry this out. As Dhillon notes: “Ottawa had invested in them the power to arrest, prosecute, judge, and sentence offenders, making any notion of the legal protection of Indigenous people under the British Crown a complete illusion” (2015, 8). This conclusion is shared by other researchers including Graybill (2007) and Nettlebeck and Smandych (2010).

The enclosure, dispossession, displacement of Indigenous peoples and lands has been carried out through legal means on legal policing grounds. Mainstream criminological scholarship has legitimized the RCMP by under-researching and under-theorizing its colonial foundations. As Jaskiran Dhillon notes: “Repositioned through the channels of settler colonial social and political histories, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (previously the North-West Mounted Police) can be viewed as a constitutive entity designed to carry out genocidal extermination, subjugation, and physical containment of Indigenous communities” (2015, 8). Settler state policing is a nationalist project. And a project of state capitalist development. The current practices of militarized policing in Canada involves surveillance and criminalization of Indigenous people on behalf of extractives industries and resource development companies (Shantz 2015).

The ongoing impacts of policing and colonialism in Canada are clear and stark. While Indigenous people comprised around 4% of the

population in Canada, as of February 2013, 23.2% of the federal prison population is Indigenous (First Nation, Métis, or Inuit) (OCI 2013). According to the Office of the Correctional Investigator (2013), in 2013 there were almost 3,400 Indigenous offenders in federal penitentiaries, approximately 71% of whom were First Nation, 24% Métis and 5% Inuit (OCI 2013). The Office of the Correctional Investigator reports that the incarceration rate for Indigenous adults in Canada, in 2010–2011, was roughly 10 times higher than the incarceration rate of non-Indigenous adults which is at 140 per 100,000 adults. This over-representation of Indigenous people in the correctional system in Canada continues to grow. Since 2000-2001, the federal Indigenous inmate population has increased by a stunning 56.2 percent (CIC 2013). Since 2005-2006, there has been an increase of 43.5 percent in the number of federal Indigenous prisoners, compared with a 9.6 percent increase in non-Indigenous prisoners (CIC 2013). The highest rates of Indigenous incarceration in Canada are in jurisdictions policed by the RCMP, particularly the Prairies (Neve and Pate 2005).

Clearly Indigenous communities are less confused about the militarized nature of policing, and conquest, in Canada. As Dhillon notes with regard to experiences of policing in Canada: “Policing is an essential state vehicle through which conquest becomes inscribed on the ground. Indigenous peoples, thus, experience policing itself as a colonial force, an apparatus of capture imposed externally by a government they have not authorized and do not have effective participation within—one of the indicators of militarized surveillance and discipline” (2015, 8). The RCMP must be positioned in relation to social histories of military conquest in Canada to properly and adequately begin to understand militarized policing in the current context.

Everyday police militarization is invisible to the not oppressed because it provides the background for habitual relations and structures of domination in Canada. We are confronted on a regular basis with the “happy stories that the settler state tells about itself” (Belcourt 2015) that project the security and wellbeing of all citizens served and protected by police (Dhillon 2015). These stories do not allow for focus on ongoing histories of conquest, displacement, terror enacted through police force. Indeed, notions of militarization of policing in Canada suggest that these histories do not exist and that the problems have only come recently. These approaches suggest that the military character of policing in Canada has only been a development of recent times rather than being an ongoing and originary feature of policing in Canada. In this way everyday structural violence is actually transformed into expressions of moral worth” as

Scheper-Hughes and Bourgeois (2004) argue in *Violence and War and Peace*.

The work represented in this article is crucial, yet still largely absent in the Canadian context. As Dhillon writes: “The (ongoing) need for positioning encounters between Indigenous peoples and the criminal justice system, including the police, within the larger context of settler colonialism is as urgent as it ever was. As a nation, we are masters of historical erasure, experts of institutional cover up” (2015, 5). The current work is a contribution to this effort to disrupt institutional cover up and erasure.

ALWAYS A MILITARY POLICE FORCE: THE MOUNTIES AND COLONIZATION IN THE WEST

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (as a historic force including predecessors from the Northwest Mounted Police on) are a highly mythologized institution in the Canadian state context. As a key part of the Canadian conscience collective the mythologies of the RCMP are a regular part of the elementary and secondary school systems, popular media, cinematic works (documentary and fictional), literature, and public ceremony and celebration.

Canada secured its standing as a nation-state in 1867 with the passage of the *British North America Act*, ending its formal status as a British colony. At that time it was left with little military capacity yet holding a desire for westward expansion and colonization of the resource rich Rupert’s Lands which were transferred from the Hudson’s Bay Company in 1869. The North West Mounted Police, later RCMP, would provide the force needed by the young state to pursue its colonial aspirations.

The original name for the new police force was the “North West Mounted Rifles.” This name was changed out of concern over US objections to having an obviously military force on their border as well as sense that indigenous groups would view this as an open provocation of war (Rebiere 2012).

When Lieutenant Colonel French took his Mounted Police westward with 287 men, 41 of them had regular military service, 14 had served with the Royal Irish Constabulary, 32 had been members of the Canadian Artillery, and 87 had served with the Canadian Militia. Adding to their military might the force included two nine-pounder field guns. This was the militarization of policing circa 1874.

The NWMP were organized along military lines complete with military ranks, uniforms, and weaponry. Recruitment and training were both

carried out on a military program. The RCMP has maintained a military structure of rank, obedience, and internal discipline (it is not subject to civilian courts as is also the case with the traditional military). Members of the force are prohibited from raising complaints externally, and this includes taking complaints to elected members of federal parliament. Grievances can be raised only to a superior officer.

The top officers of the original NWMP were almost all people who had military career histories. They clearly understood the force to be explicitly and unequivocally a military force (Brown and Brown 1978, 3). Since its founding the majority of commissioners for the RCMP have been taken directly from careers in the military or have received military training prior to their appointment.

The Mounties were explicitly modelled after another colonial force the Royal Irish Constabulary. Established by the British to undertake counter-insurgency in Ireland, the RIC would gain infamy under its more familiar name the Royal Ulster Constabulary, which became its name from 1920. The Royal Irish Constabulary provided a model for other British colonial forces in India and Africa.

The Mounted Police offered a reasonable option for the young Canadian state which could not immediately afford to raise and mobilize a standard military force. The young state could manage a smaller mobile force which also suited its purposes of occupying and policing indigenous lands. They provided an armed anchor to pave the way for further settlement and expansion while removing indigenous communities to reserves. All of this would allow for the development of the transnational railway and agricultural and resource settlements and markets which would spur further development. None of this could happen without securing and patrolling key lands of the Northwest and imposing colonial law and property relations. In the words of one account:

When the Mounted Police first arrived in the West, their goal was to police the process of settling the Indians on the reserves. That accomplished, the Force was tasked with patrolling the line of construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway to protect the project from disruption. (Beahen and Horrall 1998, 14)

To be sure the Canadian Pacific Railway, another central symbol of the Canadian conscience collective was finally funded largely on the state's recognized need to move troops to the West more quickly. This need was made apparent with the defeats state forces by Métis and indigenous communities in the Red River Rebellion of 1869.

Indeed the railway would soon prove its worth to the colonial state as NWMP reinforced by the militia would provide the essential force in

putting down the uprising of Métis and indigenous communities in the Northwest Rebellion of 1885. The CPR proved decisive in mobilizing troops for warfare (though this dubious history is usually kept out of national mythologizing and folk songs dedicated to the CPR).

The role of the NWMP/RCMP in securing and policing the West has been central to the projects of settler colonial war and occupation. According to a regional newspaper account published in 1897 in the *Macleod Gazette*:

It is only the presence of large numbers of police in the country which keep the Indians in order... They remain submissive simply because they have the sense enough to know that in the presence of a large armed force, any other attitude would be disastrous to them. (quoted in Beahen and Horrall 1998, 70)

It was precisely in the early period of the NWMP formation, between 1873 and 1885, that the position of indigenous people in the Canadian context declined from one of equals to one of being subordinate (Brown and Brown 1978, 18). The NWMP were the primary instruments of that decline. They were the agents of state policy in the North West. After putting down the North West Rebellion in 1885 the NWMP were given responsibility for forcing indigenous people to reserves and containing them there. This included overseeing a pass system for movement to or from the reserves by indigenous people. It also included one-sided administration of treaties. Rebel leaders Luis Riel, Ikta, Little Bea, Wandering Spirit, Round-the-Sky, Miserable Man, Bad Arrow, Man-Without-Blood, and Iron Body, were publicly executed at the Mounted Police stockade at Battleford in Saskatchewan (Brown and Brown 1978, 21).

These are distinctly military endeavors. They are the historic processes of capitalist development and social war—primitive accumulation, dispossession, and displacement. Toward dependency on the capitalist labor market and state. The force was actively involved in dismantling indigenous economies and destroying indigenous cultures.

While much is made of the fact that Canadian state occupation of the West was much less bloodthirsty and violent than the example of the US massacres of indigenous communities this is only part of the story. In fact the young Canadian state benefitted greatly from the decimation of nations of the Plains through open warfare and the slaughter of Buffalo carried out by the US Army. Thus the Canadian state was spared having to engage in the same level of extensive warfare in pursuit of its similar ends of

conquest, occupation, and takeover.

NOT ONLY DOMESTIC FORCE: THE BOER WAR AND OTHER IMPERIAL DEPLOYMENTS

The Boer War (also called the South African War) saw the first official deployment of Canadian state troops of any type for overseas military service. Notably it was not the regular army that provided most of the mounted troops for service in the Boer War but instead the supposed police force the Northwest Mounted Police. Members and ex-members of the NWMP provided about 40 percent of the Canadian Mounted Rifles, which would serve in overseas conflicts. In 1900, Commissioner L.W. Herchimer, in command of the Mounted Rifle Regiment, was given military rank and sent to Cape Town. Also in 1900 Lord Strathcona, the Canadian High Commissioner to the United Kingdom, used his own resources to raise a regiment, Strathcona's Horse. While it served as part of the British Army, the regiment was raised in Western Canada and as a result it was composed of many members of the NWMP. Its commanding officer was Superintendent Sam Steele.

The Boer War was strictly an imperialist adventure involving Britain efforts to conquer southern Africa partly through war against two small republics, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. This was viewed by imperialists as a war of the entire British Empire and forces were mobilized accordingly. It was as a recognition of the distinguished service provided, from the imperialists' perspective that force's name was changed from the North West Mounted Police to the Royal North West Mounted Police by King Edward VII in 1904.

On the whole 256 members of the NWMP served in South Africa during the Boer War providing an important force for imperialist efforts there. Indeed this was a brutal imperialist military affair that the NWMP were engaged in. It was in the Boer War that British imperialists experimented with the first concentration camps against Boers and Africans. Many NWMP members, including Superintendent Sam Steele, remained in South Africa after the war to contribute to the formation of the South African Constabulary, founded in 1900, another military police force that ruthlessly policed the conquered areas.

The RNWMP Squadron B served as part of the Canadian Siberian Expeditionary force which invaded and occupied Russia in immediate response to the Russian Revolution. The expedition which lasted from 1918 to 1919 was an explicitly imperialist military adventure designed both to oppose and help put down the uprising of workers, soldiers, sailors,

and peasants that had resulted in revolution and movements for communism as well as an effort to keep Russia engaged in the war against Germany on behalf of Allied interests. The expedition consisted of 4,192 members of who 14 were killed in action.

The Canadian Siberian Expeditionary Force, and RNMWP involvement in it was viewed by the Canadian state, and particularly Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden as a central move in securing full independence as a sovereign and budding imperial state. As one historian, P. Whitney Lackenbauer, suggests the expedition "had little to do with Siberia per se, and much to do with adding to the British government's sense of obligation to their imperial junior partner" (1998). Another historian, Gaddis Smith, Canadian intervention:

represents the initial episode in the Canadian struggle for complete control over her foreign policy after World War I. As such, it illustrates the changing relationships within the British Empire more realistically than the scores of constitutional documents that the Commonwealth statesmen self-consciously drafted between 1917 and 1931. (1959, 866)

The force was conceived of and sold to the public explicitly as an agent of capitalist expansion. The government communicated to the public that the expedition was about securing opportunities for the young Canadian nation for trade and economic development. It was also posed as showing the young state as a reliable and contributing emerging imperialist force to be respected by more powerful imperialist countries (and potential allies). Notably, and as if emphasizing the anti-communist, market aspects of the NWMP as a military force in social war, while Mounties were fighting against the revolution in Siberia their brothers in arms were engaged in domestic battle putting down the Winnipeg General Strike in 1919 through the killing of several strikers.

The RCMP involvement in international, external military mobilizations did not end there and has included involvement in World War Two and numerous United Nations campaigns since the 1980s through to the present. Again the point here is not to provide an exhaustive accounting of such activities. A couple do bear some notice, however.

From 2007 the RCMP provided members for service in the war and occupation in Afghanistan. They continued to provide service with the Canadian Forces as well as providing training for the Afghan National Police (Rebiere 2012). The RCMP have also been actively involved with members serving in support of the occupation following the illegal

invasion of Iraq by the United States and allies in 2003. This despite the fact that the Canadian government did not formally or officially decide to join the invasion and occupation. As recently as this year RCMP have undertaken commitments in Iraq of one year in service. Notably the Community Outreach Officer for the RCMP in Surrey, British Columbia, a position created with much fanfare to build community cooperation and compliance (including snitch networks) in the city, under the guise of fighting crime, is deploying for Iraq for 2016 to 2017. Even more this officer has secured a teaching position at a city university allowing the force an opportunity to recruit officers and community contacts. Here again a municipal force, and a member teaching youth in a highly criminalized, poor and racialized community, is actively involved in military initiatives in the context of an illegal war and occupation.

SOCIAL WAR IN THE SUBURBS

In numerous provinces, including British Columbia, Alberta, and Manitoba, the RCMP serve not only as the federal force but as the provincial police as well as municipal forces. The Mounties gain a large degree of their revenue from contracts with provinces and with rural municipalities, towns, small cities, and suburbs in provinces outside Ontario and Québec. As a federal agency, the RCMP in these contractual agreements are not subject to any provincial Police Act. This means that they do not take their orders from, and are not overseen by, the provincial or municipal governments with which they have contracts and where they operate. Their responsibility is to the Commissioner in Ottawa. This even further gives the sense and structure of the RCMP as an external occupying force with minimal accountability to the local populations that they police and, in fact, govern. It is a continued colonial relationship. It also renders the RCMP something of a for-profit mercenary force.

As a municipal force the RCMP currently runs its maneuvers in racialized, largely immigrant urban and suburban neighborhoods like Surrey, British Columbia and in rural areas with indigenous residents. These maneuvers include regular flights of the police helicopter using spotlights to cover neighborhoods that have been targeted for intensive policing. Surrey is known predominantly as Metro Vancouver's most infamous, and toughest, suburb. Its reputation has become well known both locally as well as across the country. In the Canadian context, Surrey is the closest referent to Detroit. Despite its standing as a suburban area, Surrey is the second largest city in British Columbia. It is one of the fastest growing cities in Canada. In Surrey, in the 2006 census, the foreign-born

population was 150,235, making up 30.3 percent of the city's population. Visible minorities were recorded as 181,005 people, or 46.1 percent of the population, while Indigenous people constitute 1.9 percent of the population in Surrey (Statistic Canada 2010).

Surrey is the site of the largest municipal RCMP force in Canada. In Surrey, in 2013, with a population of 504, 932, there were 748 people per officer (Government of British Columbia 2013). Surrey is policed from a perspective of social war. Residents, particularly in the lower cost, blue collar northern part of the city, are subjected to nightly helicopter patrols that surveill neighborhoods from above with spotlights shone into backyards and balconies. A Bearcat armored personnel vehicle is run on maneuvers up and down King George Boulevard, the main artery connecting northern and southern parts of the city. More recently, and with no fanfare, police have begun experimenting with drones in Surrey. The drone flights are less discussed and little is known about the full extent of deployment or the main purposes for deployment. But this is military machinery being used for everyday policing in a major sub/urban center.

Notably the migrant populations of Surrey, with among the largest immigrant and refugee populations in Canada, are largely from countries in which the Canadian military has some involvement or interest. In addition Surrey is a focal point for RCMP anti-terror operations particularly targeting Muslim people and communities.

Beyond open displays of military machinery and maneuvers, police in Canada target poor, racialized, migrant communities for recruitment. This includes working to place officers as instructors in college and university Criminology and Criminal Justice programs. It also includes research alliances with academics on projects such as gang research in which students are used to interview members of their communities to glean information on gang involvement or connections. This is unethical research in which the autonomy and safety of neither student researchers, supervised by active gang squad officers, nor respondents, whose information will be accessible to gang squad officers, can be assured.

This becomes an organized effort not only to recruit future officers from among students, but also to build surveillance networks within the policed communities (getting Honours program and graduate students to do research into gang connected community members, for example). This is the cultivation and nurturance of a snitch culture within policed communities. It follows lines of militarism and colonial occupation as outlined by commentators like Franz Fanon.

As Vince Montes (in press) suggests, this serves to separate working class community members from their class or community connections

(family, co-workers, etc.) and shift their commitment instead to authorities. This is a rather classic colonial practice as outlined by Fanon in works such as *A Dying Colonialism* and *Wretched of the Earth*. It is part of management systems of control building allegiance first and foremost to authorities, either formally or informally.

THEORIZING MILITARIZED POLICING IN THE CURRENT WARS OF CAPITAL

The theorization of policing, particularly in terms of political economy, has been largely underdeveloped outside of a few notable works. Most analysis of policing has been done, not surprisingly, by criminologists. Yet the theorization provided by criminologists has been generally lacking and even somewhat superficial.

Policing has too often been regarded as a service in the maintenance of peace. Thus notions of peace officers, for example. This is one reason that the so-called militarization of policing, as a recent phenomenon, has been so perplexing for many, theorists and activists alike. Policing, however, should be properly understood as the maintenance, the carrying out, of war at the level of society. Recently however, specifically in response to and as part of movements like Black Lives Matter and Idle No More, analysis of policing has gained greater significance.

In my view policing should be placed at the center of political economic analysis in the present period. And there should be a rethinking of policing in the context of contemporary social crises. And more, these crises need to be restored to their proper place of analysis as social wars. Policing, and police, are continuous with militarism, and the military under capitalism. To understand militarized policing it is important to recenter the relations between capitalism and war. This means not only military wars but those social wars related to class, race, gender, sexuality, etc.

Thankfully there has begun a renewal of thinking about social wars in the present period particularly from theorists coming from autonomist and heterodox Marxist approaches. There has also, finally, been a serious rethinking of policing in the context of war and pacification from within criminology proper, as exemplified in the works of Mark Neocleous especially.

Among the most interesting work is represented in the recent theorizing undertaken by Maurizio Lazzarato. According to Lazzarato we are currently in a period of civil wars and the production of war machines. Lazzarato's analysis, along with others like Eric Alliez and Christian Marazzi, relates wars to financial capitalism and the debt economy

particularly in the current period. Lazzarato notes that in Athens over the weekend of July 11–12, 2015, during protests against austerity erupting across Greece, people in the streets said, “It’s like war” (2016). In this they were referring especially to the use of debt mechanisms to expand civil warfare in the country.

This approach emphasizes the continuation between war, economy, and politics. There is a recognition of the extension of the fields of warfare. This is both horizontal (extensions of power) and vertical (the concentration of decision-making as in the hands of investors, for example) (Lazzarato 2016). The state sustains both financial regulation and the means of occupation and war.

Coming from a quite different, more orthodox Marxist perspective, David McNally agrees that finance and war police the global market. For McNally, a critical moment is seen in 1694 with the founding of the Bank of England to sell debt to finance war. This is a constitutive moment for capitalism. This sparks a period of wars that continue unabated for 100 years after the founding of the Bank of England. Colonization, national debt, taxation, national protection, advance in this context on the back of slavery and violence against indigenous people. These are reproduced in and through the other.

The development of capital and capitalism flows through the state. Only the state is able to undertake expropriation, centralization, institutionalization of the feudal war machine with a new war machine characterized as the monopoly on the legitimate force of violence (Lazzarato 2016). From the 1870s through the two world wars, capital did not simply manage its alliance with the state, it merged with its functions. Under contemporary conditions of neoliberalism, capturing the state and the war machine is fully accomplished. The world wars established the complete subsumption, or subjection, of society and its productive forces to the war economy (Lazzarato 2016).

War is a constitutive force of capitalism. Economy does not replace war, economy continues war through other means. Capital rather than structure or system is recognized as a machine—a war machine. In it the economy, state, media, are specific articulations at strategic intersections (Lazzarato 2016). The logic of capitalist development is one of an infinite valorization that includes the accumulation of a power that is not only economic—but also related to specific strategic powers and knowledge of the strengths and weaknesses of the classes in conflict (Lazzarato 2016).

Almost all contemporary technologies have been made possible by the two total wars and the cold war. General intellect, as Marx discussed, is an instrument for command and control of the world economy.

Warfare anticipated and prepared welfare, particularly through statist regimes of taxation. In Lazzarato's terms, militarization which transformed the internationalist worker of the turn of the century into the nationalist soldier, was "democratically" territorialized by welfare regimes. And this includes the development of policing as part of it.

For Lazzarato, to speak only of a singular war is to speak from the perspective of the state. Over the history of capitalism there have always been multiple, rather than singular, wars—class wars, race wars, wars of civilization, civil wars (2016). Wars are organizing principles of capitalist societies. They are founding principles of internal and external orders. They are, even more, an integral part of the definition of capital (Lazzarato 2016).

Power does not have the governance of populations as its goal, as Foucault suggests, but rather its division. Capitalism is a model of society founded on divisions, dominations, and exploitations. Marx called the double colonization of capital development (wars against colonized people and internal wars against poor people in Europe, for example) as primitive accumulation. One of the main functions of the state was the centralized and institutionalized forceful expropriation of local populations.

The neo-colonial war, as in the present period, occurs not only at borders, but crossing through the center—on immigrants, refugees, poor people, precarious workers, radical Islamist migrants, etc. And, we might add, in the settler colonial states like Canada, against indigenous communities (as has always been the case within the development of settler state capitalism). The stage of war today inherited the form it had in the colonies. And, indeed, indigenous resistance is understood in art as the refusal of labor—standing against the order of employment.

The new paradigm of war has been described as "war in the midst of the population" (Smith 2005). The population is the field of battle inside of which operations are now conducted. This is the field of social war exemplified in police helicopter flyovers, drone surveillance, and Bearcat runs in municipalities like Surrey. But this is, in fact, not so new, as our discussion of the RCMP histories of settler colonialism suggest most forcefully. As an aside, we might well remember that for Foucault, from 1971 to 1976, war was central to social analysis. He talked of social relationships through war. In *Society Must Be Defended* we see Foucault trace the development, from the 1700s of a new understanding of war. This understanding poses war as a permanent but hidden presence within society providing the bases of all institutions of power. As Lazzarato suggests, Foucault's early understanding of governmentality was actually a theory of governmentality of war.

War today is less an inter-state phenomenon than a war against populations. Colonial war has never been a war between states but a war in and against the population in which distinctions between war and peace, civilians and military, economics, politics and military, combatants and non-combatants has ever had much meaning. Colonial war is since the 1970s the model of war unleashed by financial capital. It is transversal in taking place simultaneously at micro and macro levels—at the levels of the civil and the military. It is also fractal in producing itself indefinitely (Lazzarato 2016).

The notion of war *within* populations says a lot about the movements emerging today. It helps to situate and more fully understand the real significance of movements like Black Lives Matter, Idle No More, and the new poor peoples' movements in suburbs from Surrey to Paris. These movements earlier and better than many social theorists and commentators recognized and understood the character of social war under contemporary conditions of neoliberal capitalist austerity and crisis. It is not at all coincidental that the sites of repression are giving rise to deeper analyses of policing.

In the present period the critique of militarization, at all levels, must come together with the critique of political economy and the state. The rethinking of policing helps to situate techniques and strategies of pacification which are taken from military approaches but exerted through the police forces. The pacification analysis as developed by theorists like Mark Neocleous and George Rigakos and others associated with the pacification studies network shift conceptual emphasis away from the occasional and momentary exercise of political policing, typically identified as the criminalization of dissent, and shift it toward understanding and delineating ongoing strategies and tactics of pacification drawn from and deployed in military fashion. The exercise of pacification is understood fundamentally as a process of social war against the poor, immigrants, indigenous communities, and, to be sure, organized dissent. It has always been essential in the processes of dispossession and exploitation endemic to capitalist social relations.

DIFFERENT TAKES

The fact is that most members of Canadian society have had, and will have, minimal or no contact with the RCMP. This includes most academics who will have had little direct contact with the force in the day to day carrying out of their duties. Sure, some will work with or study the force. Few will have felt its policing functions directly. Such is not the

case for indigenous people or Black Canadians or the poor, unemployed, or homeless. The differences of experience are reflected in the views held by different social sectors regarding police in Canada.

Given the differential experiences of police violence and abuse on historic and ongoing bases in the Canadian state context, it should not be surprising that the most pressing, and rich with possibility, movements against policing as an institution in Canada have come from indigenous movements and Black community groups. Most notable among these have been the Warrior Societies and more recently Idle No More in indigenous communities and groups like the Black Action Defence Committee and more recently Black Lives Matter.

That these movements have challenged policing and state violence on more fundamental levels shows the great significance in having a proper understanding of policing institutions in Canada, beyond a liberal sense that poses militarization as a uniquely recent phenomenon. An understanding of policing as settler colonial military operation (ongoing) shifts analysis toward continuing means of social war (against specific communities) rather than as public service (that occasionally goes awry or off track). Indigenous movements in particular have tended to raise prospects for alternatives to statist policing rather than the more typical calls for reform that come from middle strata activists.

Properly situating policing in Canada as an occupying settler colonial force helps to dispel notions of police deviance as system failure. Rather it contextualizes the sorts of violence inflicted especially on indigenous communities as the force in question doing precisely what it was designed to do—far from going wrong or somehow abusing its authority. That is the very nature of its authority.

Some recent social justice activists have suggested that the criminal justice system has broken down. From the perspective offered here it is not broken at all. It is operating precisely as intended.

CONCLUSION

In the Canadian context there has never been a period in which policing has not been military (not only *militarized*). Military policing is an ongoing everyday occurrence in poor neighborhoods and racialized communities. And it has been for generations. In those communities there is not a sense that militarization is recent or unique. And the same force, and the same members, that polices Canadian municipalities also polices imperialist occupations in Afghanistan and Iraq.

In a period of capitalist crisis and state transformation, experiences of

precarity and vulnerability, it is likely that political militancy and insurgency will increase. The forces of resistance have already shown important manifestations in Black Lives Matter and Idle No More in the Canadian context. So too have direct action environmental movements in the face of climate crisis.

The actions of police over the last few years at protest events like the 2010 Winter Olympics and the G20 meetings in Toronto in 2010 suggest police and governments are creating a climate for public acceptance of politicized policing and a clampdown on dissent more broadly. Understanding the character of policing will be crucial in countering attempts to expand political policing in Canada.

From this perspective it is incorrect and inaccurate to discuss the militarization of policing as if this is something recent, new, or unique. The view presented in this article suggests that the police in the settler Canadian state context has always been military already. Current militarization tendencies are reflective of what and who the police in Canada represent and what they have always represented in the Canadian state context.

Properly understanding the police in Canada can help to contextualize and challenge current responses that are limited to reforms for police (demilitarization, de-escalation, improved training, non-lethal weaponry, etc.) or which even allow for the expansion of policing (community policing, drones, etc.). Without adequately understanding the nature and histories of state violence and the repressive apparatus in Canada it is difficult to situate more recent developments in ongoing relationships of power or, as importantly, to develop appropriate strategies for challenging that repressive apparatus.

REFERENCES

- Alfred, Taiake. 2009. "Colonialism and State Dependency." *Journal of Aboriginal Health*. 5(2): 42–60.
- Balko, Radley. 2014. *The Rise of the Warrior Cop: The Militarization of America's Police Forces*. New York: Public Affairs.
- Beahen, William and Stan Horrall. 1998. *Red Coats on the Prairies: the Northwest Mounted Police 1886-1900*. Regina: Centrax Books.
- Belcourt, Billy-Ray. 2015. "Queer Indigenous Poltergeists." Paper presented at NAISA Conference, Washington, DC, May.
- Brown, Lorne and Caroline Brown. 1978. *An Unauthorized History of the RCMP*. Toronto: James Lorimer and Company.

- Coulthard, Glen. 2014. *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. <https://doi.org/10.5749/minnesota/9780816679645.001.0001>
- Csanady, Ashley. 2014. "Police Militarization is Already in Canada as Surveillance on the Rise." *Canada.com*. August 15. <http://o.canada.com/news/police-militarization-is-already-in-canada-as-surveillance-on-the-rise>
- Denny, Sir Cecil E. 1939. *The Law Marches West*. Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons.
- Dhillon, Jaskiran K. 2015. "Indigenous Girls and the Violence of Settler Colonial Policing." *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education and Society*. 4(2): 1–31.
- Fanon, Frantz. 1963. *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove.
- Fanon, Frantz. 1965. *A Dying Colonialism*. New York: Grove.
- Graybill, Andrew. 2007. *Policing the Great Plains: Rangers, Mounties, and the North American Frontier*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Hinton, Elizabeth. 2016. *From the War on Poverty to the War on Crime: The Making of Mass Incarceration in America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Lackenbauer, P. Whitney. 1998. "Why Siberia? Canadian Foreign Policy and Siberian Intervention 1918–1919." *Canadian Military Heritage Project*. http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~canmil/siberia/siberia3.htm?cj=1&o_xid=0001091115&o_lid=0001091115
- Lazzarato, Maurizio. 2016. "Financialization and War: Race, Class, Gender, and Subjectivity." Paper presented at Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, British Columbia. April 29, 2016.
- Leonard, Eileen B. 2015. *Crime, Inequality, and Power*. New York: Routledge.
- McNally, David. 1990. *Political Economy and the Rise of Capitalism: A Reinterpretation*. Berkeley: California University Press.
- Monchalin, Lisa. 2016. *The Colonial Problem: An Indigenous Perspective on Crime and Injustice in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Montes, Vince. In press. "Coercive Occupations as State Facilitation: Understanding the U.S. State's Strategy of Control." *Radical Criminology*.
- Morgan, E.C. 1970. *The North West Mounted Police 1873–1883*. Unpublished M.A. Thesis. University of Regina.

- Nettelbeck, Amada and Russell Smandych. 2010. "Policing Indigenous Peoples on Two Colonial Frontiers: Australia's Mounted Police and Canada's North-West Mounted Police." *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*. 4(2): 356–375. <https://doi.org/10.1375/acri.43.2.356>
- Neve, L. and K. Pate. 2005. "Challenging the Criminalization of Women Who Resist." In *Global Lockdown: Race, Gender, and the Prison Industrial Complex*, J. Sudbury (ed.). New York: Routledge, 19–34.
- OCI. 2013. "Background: Aboriginal Offenders—A Critical Situation." Office of the Correctional Investigator. Government of Canada. <http://www.oci-bec.gc.ca/cnt/rpt/oth-aut/oth-aut20121022info-eng.aspx>
- Province of British Columbia. 2013. "Police Resources in British Columbia." <http://www2.gov.bc.ca/assets/gov/law-crime-and-justice/criminal-justice/police/publications/statistics/2013-police-resources.pdf>
- Rebiere, 2012. "Military History of the RCMP." <http://csat.top-talk.net/t3347p15-military-rcmp-history-topics-posted-articles>
- Rigakos, George. 2016. *Security/Capital: A General Theory of Pacification*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Scheper-Hughes, N. and P. Bourgeois. 2004. *Violence in War and Peace*. Malden: Blackwell.
- Shantz, Jeff. 2015. "Canada's New Anti-Terrorism Act and the 'Green Syndicalist Menace.'" *Anarcho-Syndicalist Review*. Summer.
- Shantz, Jeff. 2011. *Law against Liberty: The Criminalization of Dissent*. Lake Mary, Florida: Vandeplass.
- Shantz, Jeff. 2010. "They *Were* Doing Their G-D Jobs." *Toronto Media Co-op*. <http://jeffshantz.ca/node/17>
- Smith, Gaddis. 1959. "Canada and the Siberian Intervention 1918–1919." *The American Historical Review*. 64(4): 866–877. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1905120>
- Spence, Gerry. 2014. *Police State: How America's Cops Get Away with Murder*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Spratt, Michael. 2014a. "The Creeping Militarization of the Police." *iPolitics*. August 15. <http://ipolitics.ca/2014/08/15/the-creeping-militarization-of-the-police/>
- Spratt, Michael. 2014b. "Canadian Police Militarization." *Michael Spratt Law Blog*. August 27. <http://www.michaelspratt.com/law-blog/police-militarization>
- Statistics Canada. 2012. "Police Resources in Canada—2012." <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-225-x/2012000/t002-eng.pdf>

- Statistics Canada. 2010. "Community Profiles from the 2006 Census, Statistics Canada—Census Subdivision."
<http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-591/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CSD&Code1=5915004&Geo2=PR&Code2=59&Data=Count&SearchText=Surrey&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=59&B1=All&Custom=>
- Wood, Lesley J. 2014. *Crisis and Control: The Militarization of Protest Policing*. Toronto: Between the Lines.