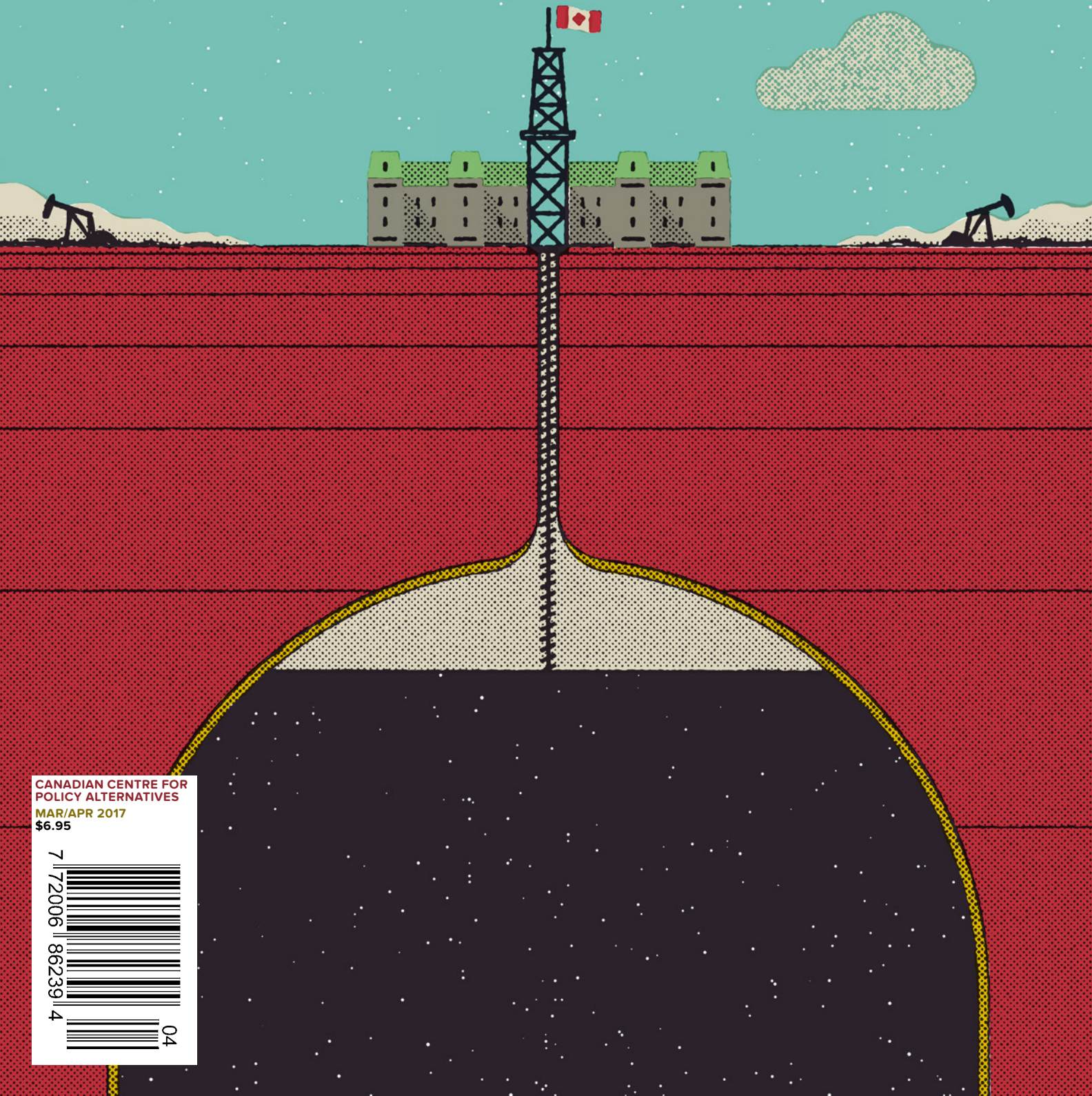


PROSPECTING THE DEPTHS  
OF OIL INDUSTRY POWER IN  
CANADA /18

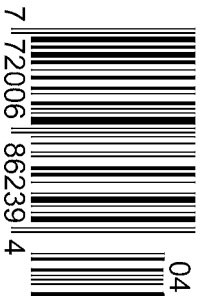
THE UNRULINESS OF LAW:  
CANADA'S EXTRADITION OF  
HASSAN DIAB /37

BOOKS: WHY TECHNOLOGY  
FAILS IN AN UNEQUAL  
WORLD /43

# MONITOR



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## MONITOR

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This issue's books section is curated by Octopus Books, a community-owned anti-oppressive bookstore in Ottawa.



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ON THE COVER

# The Corporate Mapping Project /18

A committed team of investigators, collaborators and advisors is shining a bright light on the fossil fuel industry and its links to power in Canada. Project co-directors Shannon Daub and Bill Carroll give us a snapshot of what they've uncovered, with articles by Marc Lee, Emily Eaton and Simon Enoch, Fiona MacPhail and Paul Bowles, Mike Lang and David Hughes.

**BEHIND THE NUMBERS****Right-wing populism at the B.C. polls**

Iglia Ivanova 5

**Time to tackle systemic racism in Quebec**

Julia Posca 6

**Manitoba needs more centre-based child care**

Susan Prentice

**NAFTA renegotiation and deregulation in Canada**

Bruce Campbell 9

**IN THE NEWS****Two views from the Women's Marches**

Kate McInturff and Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor 14

**FEATURES****Extradition and the security policy review: The sad case of Hassan Diab**

Matthew Behrens 37

**President Death: Duterte's murderous war on drugs in the Philippines**

Asad Ismi 41

**BOOKS****Bob Hughes on how technology "turns toxic" in an unequal world, and reviews of Maude Barlow's *Boiling Point* and Sarah Turnbull's *Parole in Canada*.** 43**PERSPECTIVES****We should be building a sustainable economy as if our survival depended on it**

Donald Shaver 47

Stuart Trew

# Path of least resistance

**THE WHEELS ARE** falling off the Trump bus and it hasn't even left the garage. Two weeks into his presidency, Trump's senior security advisor, Mike Flynn, was forced to step down for alleged security reasons. The administration's top choice for labour secretary, a fast-food CEO who opposes paid sick leave and the minimum wage, had to withdraw his nomination for lack of Republican support. Then, the second choice candidate to replace Flynn turned down the post citing "personal and private" reasons. This was just after Trump claimed his "administration is running like a fine-tuned machine" during an unusual solo press conference that one *Fox News* anchor referred to as "crazy."

We could chalk up the chaos to incompetence, pure and simple. But that would downplay the threat Trump poses (to his country and the world), and does not give credit where credit is due. Resistance—from the courts, lawmakers, journalists, from within the government, and most importantly on the street—has thrown Trump off kilter, to the point bookies were in mid-February offering 10/11 odds he will be impeached before his first term is up. Popular movements have responded with force, recognizing in Trump the same autocratic tendencies of a Viktor Orban, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Vladimir Putin or Rodrigo Duterte (see Asad Ismi on page 41).

The resistance is fuelled by a list of outrageous executive orders. One of them—a ban on entry to the U.S. for people from several majority-Muslim nations—triggered an immediate, powerful backlash. Judges led the legal charge, first by preventing the government from removing, then guaranteeing legal recourse for, immigrants detained as a result of the order, and finally by staying the order completely for seven days. Acting attorney general Sally Yates was fired for telling Justice Department lawyers not to defend Trump's travel

ban. Democratic checks and balances appeared to be working.

But as the *Economist* worried in early February, the courts can only do so much. The White House's army of lawyers ballooned under Obama's watch to include 50 people "whose task is to find legal cover for whatever the president wants to do." Ban Muslims? Make it look like a security measure. Make torture legitimate? If George W. Bush could do it, Trump will find a way. "If Mr. Trump assumes the right to order the execution of American citizens suspected of terrorism or to try someone on the basis of evidence that the state will not divulge, he will merely be following the example of his predecessors," the *Economist* wrote.

Thankfully, there is an even stronger check on executive overreach than the courts. Outside airports across the U.S., thousands of people protested the Muslim ban. On February 16, a general strike, called "A Day Without Immigrants," shut down businesses and emptied classrooms in what one organizer compared to a U.S. Arab Spring. On March 8, women will also go on strike as a follow-up to the 3.2 million-strong Women's Marches in January (see Kate McInturff and Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor on page 14). On April 22—Earth Day—scientists and "anyone who believes in empirical science" will march on the capital to protest Trump's denalist deregulation agenda.

This is where the real power lies—in the potential for coming together in a united front against racial, gender, environmental and economic injustice. It is possibly the only silver lining in an otherwise foreboding Trump era.

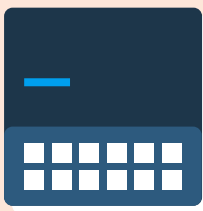
Prior to Prime Minister Trudeau's February trip to Washington, D.C., there were questions whether he would emulate Theresa May (flatter) or Angela Merkel (antagonize) in his dealings with Trump. The media consensus suggests Trudeau found a diplomatic middle ground—mature enough to not threaten the Canada-U.S. trade relationship, firm in asserting Canada's different val-

ues when it came to immigration. But does this appraisal let our government off too easy?

According to news reports, Trudeau and key ministers were prepared to offer support for the U.S. on missile defence and cybersecurity as payment for Trump leaving Canada-U.S. trade relations intact (see Bruce Campbell on page nine). Just before the meeting, Public Safety Minister Ralph Goodale introduced preclearance legislation (granted after years of negotiations with the Obama and Bush administrations) that will put gun-wielding Homeland Security agents in some Canadian train stations, with extraordinary rights to detain and question people. Defence Minister Harjit Sajjan has reportedly stalled a decision on where to deploy peacekeeping troops until he's had a chance to consult with U.S. officials. His parliamentary secretary, John McKay, told media "the voices of those who...want to see us more involved militarily are actually going to be respected" in the budget, suggesting a hike to military spending, as Trump has demanded of NATO allies.

While in Europe, immediately after his official visit to Washington, Prime Minister Trudeau was described (and framed his own government's priorities) as a counterpoint to Trump. It may look that way in Berlin or Brussels. But from this vantage point, the government appears to have fallen into a typical holding pattern for Canada: keep the wheels of the presidential bus moving—no matter the possible costs to privacy and human security—for the sake of business as usual at the border.

As Trump plans to deregulate Wall Street, repeal environmental checks on the oil and gas sector, lower corporate taxes and make immigration even more restrictive, Canada will need its own broad-based movement to stiffen the federal government's backbone, so that it might become a real counterpoint to Trump when and where resistance is needed. **M**



## Letters

### Not afraid of Clinton, but opposed

As a feminist I am sick and tired of being told that Hillary Clinton lost because she was a woman (“Who’s afraid of Hillary Clinton,” January-February 2017). Her lack of appeal to voters was not just “personal,” it was legitimate. This woman is a war-mongering, out-of-touch member of the neoliberal elite! She’d have out-Thatchered Thatcher!

Yes, I’d have preferred someone “nicer,” “more likable,” “more relatable” (of either sex). And of course they’d have to have more than just likability going for them. Clinton is no feminist. She fully backed her husband’s war on the poor, when “welfare as we know it” was eliminated in the U.S. Who needs welfare? Women and kids. That high-heeled cartoon mentioned in the *Monitor* article should have shown Clinton stomping on a mother and child.

In 2009, she told Egyptian media “I really consider President and Mrs. Mubarak to be friends of my family.” She laughed about Gadhafi’s gruesome death in a *Russia Today* interview (“we came, we saw, he died,” she said). At home she showed no empathy to people in the U.S. industrial

heartland who have lost their jobs or are threatened with job loss; she took these working class votes for granted in the election.

I am glad I did not have to make the choice between Clinton and Donald Trump. I think many people just didn’t vote or voted Green. Others may have voted for Trump as a protest vote, never dreaming he’d get in. Many black and Hispanic Americans had their right to vote stolen. Yes, it would be good to have a female president of the U.S.—just not this one!

Anne Miles, Gibsons, B.C.

### Tone down TPP rhetoric

I have just *tried* to read your cover feature, “A Look Inside the Trans-Pacific Partnership” (November-December 2016), and am finding that you spread too much worry, blame and anger. A recent article in the *Globe and Mail* [by Dr. Travis Bradberry] said this kind of thing is bad for our health, plus I think it leads to the election of people like Donald Trump. I think your excellent researchers should present both sides of an issue and then suggest win-win solutions.

Specifically, your presentation of the TPP issue was drama pure and simple. Please see how many emotional words are used. I am tired of terms like *elites*, *Big Pharma*, *big corporations*, *workers* (as opposed to *employees*) and *anti-democratic* being used like they establish some fact. From reading pages 15 to 22 I did not see that the TPP was “big, menacing and stands no chance of

improving the Canadian economy or sparking global growth.”

I think that you (the *Monitor*) are an important part of our democracy. I hope you will see the need to present less divisive writing.

Doug Malloch,  
Powell River, B.C.

### Liberalism and inequality

Your last issue was very good, with excellent articles on the current obscene level of inequality in Canada. You should always make clear that inequality of wealth and income is the direct result of economic liberalism, which causes a flow of wealth from the general population to the top 1% and especially the top 0.1%. This is a normal consequence of this ideology unless there are adequate redistribution systems to correct it.

In *The Spirit Level: Why More Equal Societies Almost Always Do Better*, Kate Pickett and Richard Wilkinson showed that it is the level of inequality, not the absolute level of prosperity, which correlated negatively with crime, health, violence, education, social mobility, etc. We need a policy of correcting inequality. The articles in the *Monitor* showed some methods of doing so: more progressive taxation, fewer loopholes, closing offshore escapes, establishing basic income, etc.

We need to ask why no one is doing enough to reverse inequality. Knowledge is not sufficient. I want a full

discussion of the obstacles and how to overcome them. Of course one obstacle is the control of the major parties by economic-elite lobby groups. Another is that most politicians believe in economic liberalism, and that GDP growth solves all problems. Even the NDP is afraid to tackle inequality directly due to an obsession with electoral success. There is some variation in the parties’ attitudes to civil liberties, but when it comes to economic beliefs they all have the same message.

Inequality is bad for everyone, including the 1%. It is also an obstacle to economic performance. It is the false consciousness of the wealthy (but don’t ask them to fix it). We need to advocate for a policy of reducing the obscene level of inequality and to describe practical means for correcting it. It may take a long time, but it must be done.

Don Kerr, Collingwood, Ont.

### A longer take on the idea of a basic income

In her article from the January-February issue of the *Monitor* on the idea of a basic income Armine Yalnizyan asks if we are better off when we have more income or need less of it. I think the answer is that it depends.

It depends on how much income a person has, how secure it is and how it’s delivered. “We” are not all in the same boat—some of us have good incomes and forms of basic income, others don’t.

Governments provide both income transfers and public services and there is no denying that public services are a bargain, for individuals and society. There is also no denying that there are problems in the way the market operates. This doesn't mean people need freedom from the market; we all need freedom to act *in* the market, to participate socially and economically, and to combine income with services to meet our daily and lifetime needs and priorities. The key is finding the combination that works for everyone in a rapidly evolving world. The status quo is a recipe for divisiveness and disaster.

People with insufficient income are excluded from most of what the market offers that enhances our lives. Further, not all income transfers are alike. Barriers to the market are extreme, with social assistance income that is too little and contingent on intrusive rules that constrain time and freedom. Meanwhile, people with poor, precarious employment get almost no income or service supports that some on social assistance can access. There is no service solution to these underlying problems in the structure of income *insecurity*. Broad-based public services are essential but not sufficient.

There is a threshold of income, security and dignity that must be met in order for public services to truly benefit all of us. That is why a basic income is foundational. It is well known that income, not health care, is the leading determinant of health and well-being. There

is also evidence that after reaching a level of affluence a great deal more income doesn't add much to well-being. Fairer distribution is what makes a difference.

Just as not all income transfers are alike, neither are all services. We have too many costly, overstretched downstream services that result from lack of income and the stress of insecurity. The list of government and non-government services ranges from food banks and emergency rooms to mental health services and countless small programs cobbled together through enormous amounts of time and administration to help those with miserly incomes. Yet the supply of services is still inadequate to match the need.

Every one of us manages complex needs and contingencies on a day-to-day basis for which services are not appropriate or feasible: lost gloves, stolen work tools, burnt meals, flat tires. When we have income, these kinds of things are annoying and inconvenient, but when we have insufficient income they can lead to crisis. Income stability helps us manage daily complexity, plan for the future and avert crises.

To explore how income and services could work together to achieve better outcomes we must look at the experience Canada already has with basic income—forms of income that are not conditional and judgmental. The CCPA's work highlights that annual basic income for a low-income senior is roughly

\$17,000; it's about \$15,000 for a lone parent with two children (through child benefits, a significant, partial basic income) and a mere \$500 for a single person aged 18 to 64. Meanwhile, abundant tax breaks flow to the wealthiest among us.

Seniors today are far better off than in earlier decades when destitution in old age was the norm. Evaluations of child benefits going to working-age parents also show good results in reduced incidence and depth of poverty, as well as positive health, education and employment outcomes. There is no indication that income increases to these families caused rents or other prices to rise such that the income left them no better off.

We have reasonable evidence, therefore, that expanding basic income makes sense from a pragmatic perspective. The Ontario pilot project Yalnizyan mentioned in her article will tell us more. The more glaring issue, however, is a moral one. What is the value basis of our society? Where are we going? How do we justify a wildly off-kilter pattern of income support that deems some people worthy of security, dignity and trust and enslaves others in misery?

My answer to whether we are better off when we have more income or need less of it is that *some of us* absolutely need more, and different, income. And *we*, then, will all be better off when we need less of it.

Basic income and public services are not alternatives to each other.

We must improve both and will be best served if they are mutually supportive.

**Sheila Regehr**,  
chair of the Basic Income Canada Network and a former executive director of the National Council of Welfare.

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## Unfair criticism

Asad Ismi's otherwise quite good look at Canada and the arms trade ("Does Canada really want to control its military exports?," January-February 2016) unfortunately picked up on Richard Sanders's mostly fictitious, but perpetual, critique that "the mainstream peace movement seems to want to shy away from this central issue [of Canadian exports to the United States]." I am unaware of much truth in this view or that many agree with it outside of Sanders's supporters.

The irony, of course, is that the two other quoted individuals are from two of the more prominent member groups of the Canadian peace movement (Ploughshares and Rideau Institute), which have thousands of supporters. If you want to know where the political voices of that movement sit, see the signatory list to the Defence Policy Review statement coproduced and published in November by Group of 78 and Rideau Institute, and signed by a number of recognizable groups.

**Robin Collins**, Ottawa

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Send us your feedback and commentary: [monitor@policyalternatives.ca](mailto:monitor@policyalternatives.ca)

# Behind the numbers

IGLIKA IVANOVA | BRITISH COLUMBIA

## Populism, jobs and the B.C. election

A provincial election is coming on May 9. Thankfully, we haven't heard the drumbeat of hate and bigotry that dominated recent elections in the U.S. and other western countries. But we are seeing another key strategy from the playbook of right-wing populism: the B.C. Liberal party is promising jobs and prosperity for working class and rural voters even while championing policies that enrich the few and leave the many struggling with economic insecurity.

Despite the name, the B.C. Liberals have no connection with, and are decidedly to the right of, the federal Liberal party. But both talk a good game on jobs and growth. The B.C. Liberals won a surprise fourth term in 2013, thanks in large part to Premier Christy Clark's promise of a jobs bonanza, especially in rural and resource-dependent regions struggling to recover from the 2008-09 recession and the decline in forestry. Much of Clark's plan hinged on resource extraction, namely the development of a new liquefied natural gas (LNG) export industry. LNG processing and export facilities were supposed to be built on the coast to sell fracked gas from B.C.'s northeast region to Asian markets—at premium prices.

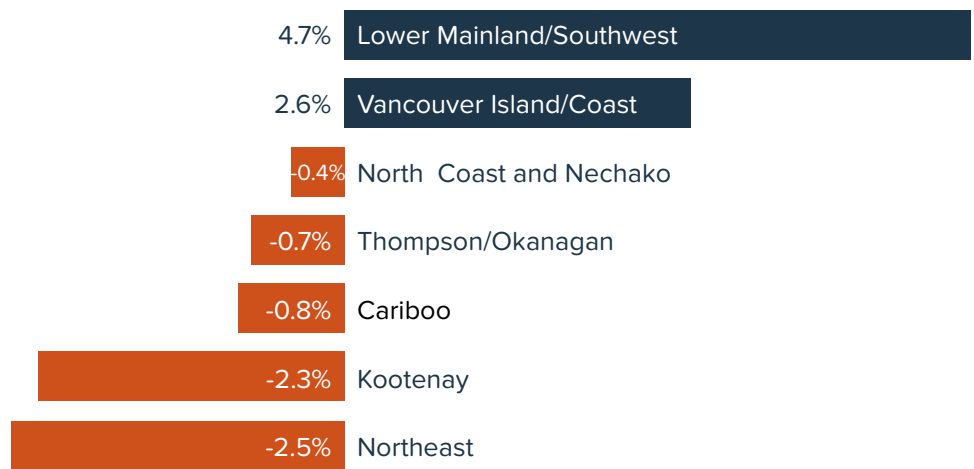
Even though the hoped-for investment in LNG did not materialize, the premier claims to have delivered on her promise, touting B.C.'s strong jobs performance in 2016 as proof.

Indeed, job creation and growth are mentioned in every speech and media appearance by Clark and members of her government. And on the surface the news sounds good: in 2016, B.C. led the country in job growth (we're up 73,000 while many provinces lost jobs last year) and had the lowest unemployment rate. But what the premier doesn't say is that the vast majority of these new jobs were created in B.C.'s big cities (Metro Vancouver and Greater Victoria). The longer-term track record is not nearly so positive.

B.C.'s largest economic driver of late has been the overheated Metro Vancouver housing market. The real estate sector alone accounted for 30% of provincial GDP growth in 2015 (the last year for which data is available) and all indicators point to this continuing in 2016. The flipside of this growth is a housing affordability crisis, with all its negative social and economic consequences, and a concentration of economic activity in the large urban areas. Recent job growth also comes on the heels of six years of slow recovery since the 2008-09 recession. Compared to other provinces, B.C. ranked near the bottom of the pack in job creation between 2009 and 2015, ahead only of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Adding last year's strong job performance bumps B.C. to third place, behind Ontario and Alberta. (Despite losses suffered this year, Alberta has seen the strongest net job creation in Canada since the recession.)

The picture is bleak outside of B.C.'s two big cities. In 2016, 83% of net new jobs created in the province were in the Metro Vancouver urban area. The broader Lower Mainland (Metro Vancouver and a little ways beyond) is home to 94% of B.C.'s net job growth. The only other region of the province that saw net job creation last year was Vancouver Island/Coast, which

### Jobs created or lost in B.C. in 2016, by region



gained just over 9,000 jobs, two-thirds of them in Greater Victoria. The headline-making job numbers mask the fact that communities in the interior and the north of B.C. lost jobs in 2016 (see graph). Worse yet, in many parts of the province there are fewer jobs than in 2008. A lot fewer.

Net job losses since 2008 have come close to or exceeded 5% of employment in each of Vancouver Island/Coast, Kootenay, Cariboo and the North Coast/Nechako regions. The Lower Mainland and the northeast are the only regions to have fully recovered the jobs lost in the 2008-09 recession. This is exactly the opposite of what the premier promised. The much-needed revitalization of B.C.'s rural areas in the north and interior has not happened as planned. The stats also say nothing about the quality of new jobs, many of which have been part time, temporary or low paid. So it's not surprising that outside Metro Vancouver the major concern for B.C. families is still employment and their economic situation.

B.C. would do better with a bolder strategy. Instead of narrowly focusing on resource extraction, and betting on the ups and downs of international commodity prices, the province could be putting our collective resources to work on serious social and environmental problems. Public investments in renewable energy and green infrastructure, forestry, quality child care and affordable housing, for example, can leverage private investments in the sectors and communities that need them most. A bolder jobs strategy would cost money, but CCPA research shows we can afford it and it would be worth it.

In the lead-up to the May election, we'll be hearing a lot about jobs from the B.C. Liberal government and opposition parties hoping to replace it. Their campaigns will be thick with populist promises to do better for hard-working rural communities. We need to look under the hood of each one, to find out how similar policies have worked out before (in B.C. or other jurisdictions), because talking a good game is not the same as actually delivering shared prosperity. **M**

JULIA POSCA | QUEBEC

## Improving economic outcomes for immigrants

Last September, the BBC told the story of Wang Lai Ming, a Singapore man who changed his name to Terence King when he emigrated to New Zealand because he thought it would make it easier to find a job. It was a sad reminder of the discrimination immigrants face when trying to enter the job market of their adopted country.

As IRIS demonstrates in a recent study, employment inequalities like the one King faced in New Zealand persist here in Canada. In Quebec, for example, the employment rate is lower for immigrants than for those born here (72% versus 83%), the unemployment rate roughly twice as high, and 43% of newcomers work in a job for which they are overqualified (compared to 29% in the total population).

As a result, the median disposable income of immigrants is 83% that of Canadian-born workers, and more immigrants work in low-paying jobs. The numbers for immigrant women are even more appalling: 46% are overqualified for their work, and median disposable income (\$20,410 in 2013) is 89% of the non-immigrant women's median (and 60% of the median income of non-immigrant men).

The discrepancy in employment and income is particularly alarming

when we factor in that two-thirds of emigrants to Quebec enter based on their qualifications and skills. For the most part they have higher levels of education than the Canadian-born, and a majority are proficient in French.

The province's Liberal government has always portrayed itself as a champion of diversity and inclusion. However, in practice, immigrant outcomes have not improved in the last decade. Recent cuts and austerity measures will surely further jeopardize their integration.

For example, the government has closed regional offices of the ministry of immigration, diversity and inclusion, and decreased settlement and reception sessions for newcomers by 25%, all to save a mere \$4.6 million. These measures, on top of cuts to community organizations offering support to new Quebecers, can only hinder society's capacity to properly receive immigrants.

To overcome the roadblocks newcomers confront in the course of their journey, and to end the systemic discrimination they face, efforts must be made to recognize academic qualifications and experience obtained abroad. Work placement and on-the-job training opportunities could also be expanded in private businesses. The province's new policy on immigration, participation and inclusion promises to align immigration with the needs of business. But there is no guarantee this approach will reduce inequality between immigrants and the Canadian-born.

Both opposition party leaders, Jean-François Lisée at the Parti québécois and François Legault at the Coalition avenir Québec, have in the last few months implied they would take in fewer immigrants if they were in government, claiming newcomers do not contribute to the provincial economy and have a hard time integrating

## A commission on systemic racism would be a step in the right direction.



into the job market. In reality, it would be more desirable not just to maintain but increase current immigration numbers, even if only to help meet the province's future labour force requirements. The Institut de la statistique du Québec projects that the demographic decline could be avoided and population aging curbed if Quebec received 54,000 immigrants per year (the current target is 50,000).

Beyond these economic considerations, it's worth remembering that behind immigration statistics and data there are actual human beings seeking a better life and new opportunities. They can enrich their adopted societies with their own special experiences so long as they are not treated like second-class citizens.

This is why the most important fight we must wage is the one against discrimination, which feeds into prejudice and racism. Establishing a commission on systemic racism would be a step in the right direction. The rejection that immigrants experience, their difficulty entering the workforce or having their credentials recognized, undeniably harms their integration into the social and political life of Quebec, undermining overall social cohesiveness. **M**

SUSAN PRENTICE | MANITOBA

## Child care reform? Go universal.



**M**anitoba's child care system is staggering in its efforts to meet the needs of parents and children. Recent signs give little confidence the new provincial government will respond effectively. Over a dozen community groups who are ready to start building not-for-profit child care spaces have had their promised provincial capital grants abruptly frozen, halting all expansion. At over 15,000 names, wait lists for child care have never been longer (the list contained 12,000 names two years ago).

A lack of child care has serious economic consequences for parents and employers. A recent poll found 41% of new parents had delayed returning to work and 30% reported turning down a job because of problems finding child care. More than one in 10 people surveyed had quit a job due to problems with child care.

Child care fees are skyrocketing across the country. A recent CCPA

study found that rates had increased by three times the rate of inflation in the past year (see image). Innovative public policy in Manitoba has kept child care fees low (only Quebec's are lower) and relatively stable. Nevertheless, half of Manitoba parents report the cost to be a "strain" or "unaffordable." The subsidy system is badly out of date: just one in four families using child care today qualifies for any subsidy. In real terms, out-of-pocket child care costs for a low-income Manitoba family are higher than in many other provinces.

Manitoba has just 34,285 licensed child care spaces. Most parents cannot find a child care space when they need it, and wait times of 14 to 20 months are common. Half of all Manitoba centres operate with conditional licences because they cannot recruit and retain trained and qualified staff due to poor wages.

Long waits and high fees are puzzling considering child care has posi-

## A Growing Concern

Canada's child care systems vary city to city, but no matter where you live, one thing's for sure: child care isn't getting cheaper. In many cities, child care fees are rising three times faster than inflation.

### How much are you paying in child care?

1 TORONTO \$1,150	11 HAMILTON \$900	21 CHARLOTTETOWN \$586	25 LONGUEUIL \$179
2 KITCHENER \$1,031	12 ST. JOHN'S \$890	22 REGINA \$570	26 LAVAL \$179
3 CALGARY \$1,010	13 RICHMOND \$875	23 WINNIPEG \$451	27 GATINEAU \$179
4 VAUGHAN \$1,005	14 BURNABY \$850	24 QUÉBEC CITY \$179	28 MONTRÉAL \$164
5 MARKHAM \$996	15 EDMONTON \$825		
6 OTTAWA \$990	16 HALIFAX \$803		
7 MISSISSAUGA \$986	17 SURREY \$750		
8 LONDON \$977	18 WINDSOR \$749		
9 BRAMPTON \$955	19 SASKATOON \$695		
10 VANCOUVER \$950	20 SAINT JOHN \$681		



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tive economic impacts all across Canada. In Quebec, which spends \$1.6 billion annually on its \$7-a-day plan, economists have found that public child care is actually “profitable” once the new taxes paid by newly working mothers are factored in. It is curious that the Manitoba Conservative government is eschewing such economic growth.

Scott Fielding, provincial minister of families, seems to be banking on creating spaces in private family homes to close Manitoba’s child care gap. About 9% of Manitoba’s child care spaces are in private homes, a share that has been falling for years. Although a recent poll shows that 75% of parents want centre-based care, family homes are preferred by the government.

Why would this be? Homes may appear to be the less expensive option, since there are virtually no capital costs associated with licensing a home for up to eight children. Moreover, no early childhood education credential is required, since a provincial license can be given to anyone who completes a 40-hour introductory course within the first year of opening.

But there are significant and long-standing problems in the private

family home child care sector. Many homes do not stay open long: half of Manitoba’s family homes close in four years or less, throwing families out of care when they close down. While some new homes open every year, existing homes also shut their doors. Manitoba has a net closure rate of 13.7%, similar to rates researchers have found in B.C.

Churning in the family home sector varies across the province and is higher in rural areas. For example, a home in the Eastman region is 72% less likely to remain open than a home in Winnipeg.

Other factors compound the problem. Close to one-third of family homes do not accept provincial funding, resulting in higher fees that shut out low-income subsidized families, as well as children with additional support needs. Homes where the provider is likely taking care of her own children close at higher rates than homes where the provider’s own children are not present. Compared to centres, family homes are disproportionately overrepresented in quality breaches such as licensing orders and suspensions.

The evidence shows that current private family home child care policy is not successful in creating reliable,

quality and stable services for children and parents. Family home child care does not generate long-term decent-paying jobs with benefits and pensions for providers, who are overwhelmingly women.

Contemporary families struggle to reconcile work and family, and child care services offer them a much needed resource—giving children good places to play, grow and learn while their parents are at work or school, promoting gender equity, facilitating employment and schooling, and enhancing social inclusion.

In January 2016, the Manitoba Early Learning and Child Care Commission released a report laying out a realistic set of recommendations for universal services. Investing in Manitoba’s child care system is more than worth the costs. History shows the value of re-designing public services.

Beginning in 1890, under the Public Schools Act, Manitoba began to transform a rag-tag system of one-room schoolhouses into a provincially funded education system. The new provincial government should apply the same provincewide thinking today to ensure all parents and children have the child care services they need. **M**

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# Trump's assault on regulations and the NAFTA renegotiation



U.S. President Donald Trump's January 30 executive action on reducing regulations has been obscured by the uproar in response to his Muslim immigration ban, Mexican border wall and other provocative actions. Canadian concerns around NAFTA renegotiation rarely mention the impact of Trump's deregulation agenda. They should, because Trump's plans could profoundly affect health and safety protections not only in America, but here too.

The executive action—an order that violates the independence of all regulatory agencies—places an immediate freeze on new regulations followed by the implementation of a two-for-one rule, which mandates that for every regulation introduced by a government agency that agency must eliminate two existing regulations. Trump's stated goal is to reduce regulations by 75%.

There remain many questions to be worked out on how the two-for-one rule will be defined, measured and applied. However, the basic intent could not be clearer: to hobble the U.S. regulatory process. Ironically, the Trump initiative is modelled on the Harper government's deregulation agenda. Harper's one-for-one rule was the centre-piece of its 2012 regulatory policy, the Cabinet Directive on Regulatory Management (CDRM), which is still in place under the current government.

My own research into the 2013 Lac-Mégantic rail disaster suggests that at the very time when oil-by-rail was expanding exponentially, and government desperately needed new regulatory capacity and tools to protect the public in the face of the oil boom, the Conservative government's one-for-one policy served to hamstring the regulatory process, stonewalling measures that could possibly have prevented the explosive derailment.

The North American economy is highly integrated. As the U.S. "deregulatory tsunami" washes across the Canadian border it will put intense pressure on regulators here to follow suit in a regulatory harmonization race to the bottom. Canadian-based companies will argue, as they have regarding the expected U.S. corporate tax cuts, that following the Trump lead is necessary to maintain competitiveness and prevent an exodus of jobs.

The regulatory harmonization process takes place largely within a little known Canada-U.S. quasi-institutional forum called the Regulatory Co-operation Council (RCC). The CCPA has just co-published a report on the RCC by trade researcher and *Monitor* editor Stuart Trew. But a quick summary of its agenda will help us here.

Regulators from both countries from almost all sectors involved in, or affected by, cross border trade—automotive, drugs, workplace safety, transportation, etc.—meet regularly with the express purpose of aligning regulations and standards so as to eliminate differences that increase

## Businesses on both sides of the border are genetically programmed to push for weaker regulations.

business costs. They are joined by industry representatives who collaborate in the process. Though public input is nominally part of the process, in reality it's a pretty closed business-and-government exercise, with some NGO participation.

It is uncontroversial to say the U.S.—the larger partner—drives the regulatory alignment process. Canada aligns to U.S. regulatory standards, not the other way around. Where the U.S. regulatory standards are higher, Canadian regulations do tend to harmonize upward. For example, Canada recently adopted the more stringent U.S. energy performance standards for a wide range of appliances and electric motors.

In cases where Canadian regulations are higher, however, they do not have much wiggle room to be different. If Canadian health, safety, technical or consumer protection rules adversely affect business costs, pressure to roll back is enormous.

Business on both sides of the border is genetically programmed to push for the weakening or elimination of regulations. Cross-border harmonization of different regulations is also an important vehicle for reducing costs. At the top of the Canadian-American Business Council's recently published wish list for the upcoming NAFTA renegotiation is the following:

a chapter on regulatory cooperation that codifies and strengthens the Canada/US Regulatory Cooperation Council as a permanent entity, and ensures the governments work on tandem on new major rules, with a process to "look back" and align existing regulations.

To implement his radical deregulation agenda, Trump is appointing business-friendly persons to head agencies—foxes to guard the chicken coops. As deregulation proceeds, cheered on by U.S. corporations, it is telegraphed north of the border through the RCC and its working groups. Canadian regulators will be under pressure to move in tandem with the downward regulatory spiral.

If the resulting cost differentials conflict with health and safety pro-



tections, Canadian-based business will urge their regulatory agencies to prioritize the former. Similar pressure will be exerted on Canadian governments to reduce corporate taxes to match U.S. reductions. The difference is that deregulation will be carried out much more in the shadows, and its consequences will be much more diffused.

Trump's apparently leading contender (as I write this in early February) to head the U.S. Food and Drug Administration is, according to the president, a "fantastic person" who will turn the FDA into an industry-friendly shop that cranks out new cures on the double. In other words, someone who supports pharmaceutical company demands to loosen or abolish new drug testing rules to get faster approvals. This cost-saving measure would dramatically lower testing standards, allowing dubious, possibly life threatening drugs onto the market.

Take oil-by-rail transportation. The U.S. railway industry has exercised

major influence over the Department of Transport under previous administrations, though control was not absolute. Under Trump, remaining pockets of resistance within government disappear. Trump's industry-friendly appointees to the transportation agencies, including Transport Secretary Elaine Chao, guarantee that industry demands will be met.

A case in point: railway and oil companies have opposed U.S. Department of Transportation efforts to require them to equip trains with modern air brake systems, and require that they remove the most volatile components of Bakken oil before loading it onto trains. This is the same oil that has exploded and burned in communities throughout North America, most devastatingly in the 2013 Lac-Mégantic disaster.

Under Trump, industry will get its way. Communities will continue to be exposed to the dangers. And under Canadian industry pressure, Transport Canada will not likely buck this trend.

Prime Minister Trudeau follows President Trump outside the White House after their February 13 meeting.

PHOTO BY REX FEATURES LTD.

The erosion of health, safety and environmental protections will not happen overnight. It will occur piecemeal, out of the public spotlight. The Trudeau government's (Business) Advisory Council on Economic Growth released its second pre-budget report in February, urging Canada to deepen its NAFTA relationship through key initiatives including this one: "Remove regulatory barriers. Harmonize standards and regulations to encourage value-chain integration."

Extraordinary vigilance and resistance on the part of health, safety and environmental watchdog groups are required to ensure that the Trudeau government does not capitulate to corporate intimidation, and arguments that Trump-led deregulation is the necessary price for "jobs and growth." **M**

# Toronto plan to privatize garbage collection fails the sniff test



Toronto Mayor John Tory has deferred a vote at city council on whether or not to privatize garbage collection in Scarborough—an idea he firmly supports despite evidence the politics don't pass the sniff test.

Right now, garbage collection in the west side of Toronto is privatized while the east side, including Scarborough, remains under complete public control. A 2015 analysis of the situation, completed by city staff and corroborated by an Ernst & Young review, stated "the best value and lowest risk to the City of Toronto at this time is to continue with the current model."

As reported by *Metro* columnist Matt Elliott, the report, which was tabled before the city's public works committee in September 2015, found that, "on a per-household basis, the public-sector collection in Scarborough was cheaper than the private collection in Etobicoke. Based on this and the risk attached to contracting out all service, the report recommended sticking with the status quo." The committee decided to postpone a decision on outsourcing the service.

Then on January 18, a new report on the issue was tabled, this one reflecting the mayor's preference for privatization based on claims it will save the city money. So what to believe?

The city's 2015 report looked at garbage collection in 13 comparable North American cities—some where the service is fully privatized, some where it is partly private, and some where the service is entirely in public hands. The conclusion:

Each model has its advantages and disadvantages. An advantage of the full public sector model is greater control over scope and quality of service, which may result in higher quality service, but

this may conflict with pressures to limit tax and fee increases. A fully privatized collection service delivery model may have lower operating costs, but there are costs for the city in monitoring service and managing contracts. With fully privatized services, costs can increase over time through service changes during a contract or in future bidding, particularly with a reduction in competition.

That's similar to the findings in a CCPA-Ontario report published in June 2015. Researcher David Campanella reviewed international econometric analyses of privatization and semi-privatization in waste collection in the U.S., the U.K., the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, Ireland and Canada. Campanella concluded there is no empirical evidence to support the claim that garbage collection privatization is necessarily more cost efficient.

In fact, Campanella observed that full garbage collection privatization can cause more headaches than it's worth. A lack of competition in the garbage collection sector and large, often unaccounted for, administrative costs required to deal with private firms can end up costing governments more in the end.

"What's the number one reason U.S. city managers cite for reversing a decision to privatize services?" asks Campanella in his report. "Insufficient cost savings. In solid waste collection, studies reveal that any initial cost savings tend to diminish over time, and that cost savings have become increasingly less likely."

Campanella made the following key findings:

- ▶ Lack of competition can undermine cost savings that initially might occur under a mixed model;

- ▶ A low number of bidders in a fully privatized system can increase the chance of collusion and decrease the chance of a low-cost bid;

- ▶ Municipalities have reported they spend a lot of time and resources trying to stimulate and sustain what little competition there is in the market; and

- ▶ Maintaining crews, equipment and public institutional know-how signals to contracted firms that if they start acting opportunistically, there could be consequences.

The bottom line for Toronto city council is that fully privatizing garbage collection could cause more headaches, and cost more, than it's worth.

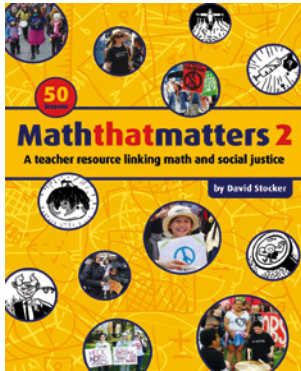
For the record, the CCPA has long held that essential services such as hydro, water and sewage treatment, and garbage collection are always best under public control. When it comes to these services, the health and well-being of people should come before profits.

There is a good case for bringing garbage collection fully back under public control. For instance, environmental stewardship—like more ambitious waste diversion targets—is easier to do as a government when you're not dealing with a consortium of private companies. And workers who provide this crucial service deserve to be paid a decent wage with benefits. By privatizing garbage collection, you encourage private companies to bid low in order to win the contract, which can result in inferior service or low-paid workers. Or both. Why would any government rush to erode the value of service and/or the value of work?

Privatizing the city's garbage collection is becoming one of those perennial Groundhog Day issues. It keeps coming up, year after year after year, despite the evidence. But garbage collection privatization politics aren't passing the sniff test. The city's own staff in 2015, and our own independent review, provide council with the evidence council needs. In the absence of political leadership ready to take full public control over an essential service such as garbage collection, the current mixed model is better than the alternative of full privatization. **M**



## New from the CCPA



### Adding social justice to the classroom

In *Maththatmatters2*, **David Stoker** has crafted another 50 lessons linking mathematics and social justice. For educators wanting to provide rich learning opportunities, and differentiated content that engages students, these lessons are sure to spark meaningful discussions—and action.

“We are at a point in history where we need young people to be fully engaged in their worlds, and mathematics for social justice plays no small part in that engagement,” says **Joel Westheimer**, University Research Chair in Democracy and Education at the University of Ottawa, of the follow-up to the CCPA-published *Maththatmatters* (2006).

Educators looking to place bulk orders of

*Maththatmatters2* are encouraged to contact Renée Knapp, marketing and sales manager at **Between the Lines**: marketing@btlbooks.com. For questions about the first edition of *Maththatmatters*, write the CCPA at the following address: ccpa@policyalternatives.ca.

### Supporting Syrian refugees beyond the crisis

A new report from the CCPA-Manitoba, *What Does it Take to House a Syrian Refugee?*, examines the specific constellation of events, initiatives and support structures that contributed to housing refugees from Syria who arrived in Manitoba beginning in November 2015. The “Syrian Case” is unique among recent refugee arrivals to Canada insofar as a considerable amount of national attention was devoted to the matter. It was politically polarizing as well, and a decisive issue during the 2015 federal election, serving as a touchstone for arguments for and against immigration to Canada in general, and eliciting supportive and reactionary sentiment about the presence of Muslims in Canadian society.

The report, written by **Ray Silvius, Hani Ataan Al-Ubeady, Dylan Chyz-Lund, Carlos Colorado** and **Emily Halldorson**, sketches the national political climate surrounding the arrival of Syrian refugees beginning in 2015 and federal commitments toward their housing and

resettlement. It highlights the housing experiences of Syrians in other provinces, and considers private and charitable mechanisms established to govern resettlement. Following this, the report provides details of the Manitoba case with a focus on the efforts and initiatives of Welcome Place, the housing arm of the Winnipeg-based Manitoba Interfaith Immigration Council. Finally, recommendations are presented for addressing the housing needs of future refugees from Syria and elsewhere.

### Living wage update in Nova Scotia

Two working parents with two children need to each earn a minimum of \$19.17 an hour to make ends meet in Halifax and \$17.30 an hour in Antigonish, says a recent study by the **CCPA–Nova Scotia** in partnership with the **Antigonish Poverty Reduction Coalition**. *Working for a Living, Not Living for Work* uses the Canadian Living Wage Framework to calculate two local community living wage rates in the province. It is the first time a living wage calculation has been done for Antigonish. The living wage for Halifax decreased by almost a dollar, from \$20.10 in 2015 to \$19.17 in 2016, mainly due to the new Canada Child Benefit.

“Paying a living wage is a voluntary commitment that employers can make in directly compensating workers. However, as the living wage calculation shows very clearly this year

with the Halifax update, the more generous are government benefits or public services, the less pressure there will be on the wages families need to earn to meet their needs, thus reducing pressure on employers,” says co-author **Christine Saulnier**, director of the CCPA–Nova Scotia. “The living wage is an important benchmark because it is evidence-based and locally tested; it has been proven to increase productivity, decrease turnover and allow workers to fully contribute in the workplace and beyond.”

### CETA: A new boulevard for corporate lobbying

The Canada–EU Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) was ratified by the European Parliament in mid-February in the presence of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, who travelled to Strasbourg for the occasion. Just ahead of the vote, the CCPA co-published a new report with several European NGOs about the risks to public interest regulation from CETA’s regulatory co-operation chapter. In *From NAFTA to CETA: Corporate Lobbying Through the Back Door*, CCPA trade researcher (and *Monitor* editor) **Stuart Trew** describes how the process has worked in North America.

“Since about the time of the Canada–U.S. Free Trade Agreement, and especially after the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)

was signed in the early-1990s, Canada has used the need for co-operation with its major trading partners, in particular the U.S., as an excuse not to introduce stricter consumer protection or environmental measures," he writes. "The establishment in 2011 of a Canada-U.S. Regulatory Co-operation Council (RCC) offers evidence of how business groups hope to use CETA's regulatory co-operation provisions to try and undermine Europe's more precautionary approach to consumer protection and public health regulations."

The report cautions EU member states, who must also vote to ratify CETA over the next two years, that a Regulatory Co-operation Forum (RCF) established by the agreement will become an easy target for corporate

lobbyists wanting to introduce laxer North American standards (for regulating toxic chemicals, pesticides and GMOs, for example). "By invoking the need for [regulatory] harmonization when it suits their purposes, but ignoring it when it does not, successive Canadian federal governments have—hand in hand with business lobbyists—gradually deregulated, under-regulated and moved toward industry self-reporting in order to 'reduce the burden' on business," writes Trew.

### **Needed: an anti-poverty plan for B.C.**

B.C.'s poverty rate of 13.2% is virtually unchanged from a decade ago, and is much higher than it was in the 1970s. Yet the province remains the only

one in Canada without a poverty reduction plan. A new report, **Long Overdue: Why B.C. Needs a Poverty Reduction Plan**, co-published in January by the **CCPA-BC, United Way of the Lower Mainland**, and the **BC Poverty Reduction Coalition**, explains the extent of the problem and lays out a seven-point plan to address it.

"Our report refutes the common misconception that the poor should simply 'get a job,'" says co-author **Seth Klein**, director of the CCPA-BC. "The B.C. government, which stubbornly refuses to develop a poverty reduction plan, claims to be addressing poverty with its jobs plan. Our research points to the failure of the government's strategy."

The report finds that income for those on social assistance is thousands of dollars below the poverty

line; a person working full time, all year at the minimum wage of \$10.85 an hour earns about \$3,500 a year less than the poverty line for a single person; and costs for core essentials like housing, child care, energy/electricity and food have increased much faster than incomes.

Among the report's recommendations are that the province should increase welfare and disability rates, raise the minimum wage to \$15/hour, build 10,000 new affordable housing units a year and adopt a \$10/day child care system.

**For more reports, commentary and infographics from the CCPA's national and provincial offices, visit [www.policyalternatives.ca](http://www.policyalternatives.ca).**

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KATE MCINTURFF

# 3.2 million people and you still can't see us

An estimated 3.2 million people turned out for Women's Marches around the world in January. The sea of protesters had barely arrived on the Washington Mall before the questions started: "Where will this protest movement go?" "Do they have a plan?" "Is this just a one-off event?"

3.2 million people show up in public, in hot pink for goodness sake, and folks still can't see the women's movement.

Male commentators were quick to dismiss the march to the trash heap of ineffective political history. Typical responses include *New York Times* commentator David Brooks's assessment that, "Without the discipline of party politics, social movements devolve into mere feeling" and, horrors, "identity politics."

In a really epic bit of mansplaining, *Guardian* (U.K.) commentator Micah White lectured protesters that they are destined to be no more than "an ineffective feelgood spectacle adorned with pink pussy hats" unless they have a plan "to win elections or win wars."

Setting aside the speciousness of that choice, as if power only rested in governance institutions or armed conflict, I'm pretty sure the ladies have made some efforts to run for office. You know, like, for president. And yes, at various points in history, women have used armed violence. Oh, and feelings. Are we really going there? The ladies get too emotional?

Gentlemen, allow me to introduce you to the women's movement. Or, I should say, movements. This is a collective of movements that have fought, over the course of centuries, for their personhood to be recognized, for freedom from slavery, against colonization, for the right to vote, to own property, to be free from violence. None of these struggles has been easy. Most are ongoing. Many are the product of an active and critical debate between and among folks—about recognizing differences in race, indigeneity, ability, sexuality, faith and gender identity. About what it





means to truly include, with respect and dignity, the voices of a diversity of individuals and communities.

Perfect these movements are not. But disorganized? Lacking in long-term strategy? I don't think so.

So what makes these commentators so quick to close their eyes to centuries of (effective, well-organized) political activity? The narrow definition of power provided by White and Brooks offers a clue. For them, power rests in the public domain.

Consider the long struggle of women to be free from sexual and domestic violence. To inhabit their own bodies, their own homes, without being beaten or raped. This violence happens, most often, in private spaces. The majority of perpetrators are known to their victims. In the case of domestic violence intimacy is a defining element in the relationship.

How should a woman being beaten in her own home go about running for office, exactly? Are you suggesting she go out and buy a gun? Or will legislators somehow learn, by osmosis, that this crime is occurring and, with great insight, born of what I do not know, pass legislation?

Here's what actually happened. First, women helped save each other's lives. Quietly. In private. Under conditions in which secrecy was key to security. Then they organized. They raised funds, formed shelters, conducted re-

search, protested, made public these private crimes and, yes, they lobbied for better laws, better policy, more effective programs.

There is a growing body of research about what actually works to reduce rates of violence against women. I hate to break it to you, gentlemen, but it is not just legislation.

According to a 30-year, multi-country academic study, what actually works to make more effective public policy on violence against women is, wait for it, an active women's movement. And according to a broad academic review of two decades of research and practice, published in *The Lancet*, what actually works to reduce rates of sexual assault is early education, working with boys and girls together, teaching mutual respect and recognition of bodily integrity and security.

Because fundamentally it is still a struggle for those who carry the identity "woman" to be recognized as persons whose bodies are not there for the use of men. Because for a woman to be able to enter the public realm—to speak, to work, to protest, to vote, to run for office—has required centuries of struggle.

When women engage in identity politics it is not because they see themselves as identical, it is because power and politics often define them as such. Just like how Brooks and White looked at 3.2 million people, in all their diversi-

A sea of pink "pussyhats" at the Women's March on Washington A general women's strike is being planned as a follow-up.

PHOTO BY JIM FRY, VOICE OF AMERICA

ty, and defined them identically: those women, so emotional, so many "feelings"—they just don't understand big hard power.

We understand power just fine. We understand when it slaps us across the face and when it rapes us in our dorm room. We understand it when it pays us 30% less and fires us for being pregnant. We understand it when it grabs our ass, and tells us to smile more.

We have been organizing for centuries. We have given each other a safe place to sleep, we have walked each other home at night, we have taught ourselves to read and write, we have formed unions, we have gone on strike, and, yes, gentlemen, we have run for office. If we weren't effective, we wouldn't be able to attend school, vote, own property, choose who we marry and divorce, or lead as many countries as we do.

Open your eyes, gentlemen. Open your ears. The women's movement has defined the world you live in and will go on doing it. Whether you can see us or not. **M**

KEEANGA-YAMAHTTA TAYLOR

## Don't shame the first steps of a resistance

The United States has just experienced a corporate hijacking. If Trump's inaugural speech did not alert you to the fact that they intend to come after all of us, then you are not paying attention.

The scale of the attack is as deep as it is wide, and we will need a mass movement to confront it. Organizing such a movement will necessarily involve the previously uninitiated—those who are new to activism and organizing. We have to welcome those people and stop the arrogant and moralistic chastising of anyone who is not as “woke.”

The Women's Marches in Washington, D.C. and around the country were stunning, inspiring and the first of a million steps that will be needed to build the resistance to Trump. But look around social media and you can read critiques and even denunciations of the marchers: Where were all of these people before? Why are they only getting involved now? Why doesn't the march have more radical demands? Why did march organizers, who are politically liberal, allow only... liberals to speak?

All this is a sign of a political immaturity that continues to stunt the growth of the American left.

Were liberals on the march? Yes! And thank god. The movement to resist Trump will have to be a mass movement, and mass movements aren't homogeneous—they are, pretty much by definition, politically heterogeneous. There is not a single radical or revolutionary on earth who did not begin their political journey holding liberal ideas.

Liberals become radicals through their own frustrating experiences with the system, but also through becoming engaged with people who became radical before them. So when radicals who have already come to some important conclusions about the shortcomings of the existing system mock, deride or dismiss those who have not achieved the same level of consciousness, they are helping no one.

This isn't leadership, it's infantile. It's also a recipe for how to keep a movement tiny and irrelevant. If you want a movement of the politically pure and already committed, then you and your select friends should go right ahead and be the resistance to Trump.

Should the marches have been more multiracial and working class? Yes! But you are not a serious organizer if that's where your answer to the question ends. The issue for the left is how we get from where we are today to where we want to be in terms of making our marches Blacker, Browner and more working class. Simply complaining about it changes nothing.

There will be no effective movement against Trump that doesn't directly confront the issue of racism. It has to be front and center, and it seemed

to me that the march organizers took that question seriously and made genuine efforts to shift shortcomings in their original approach.

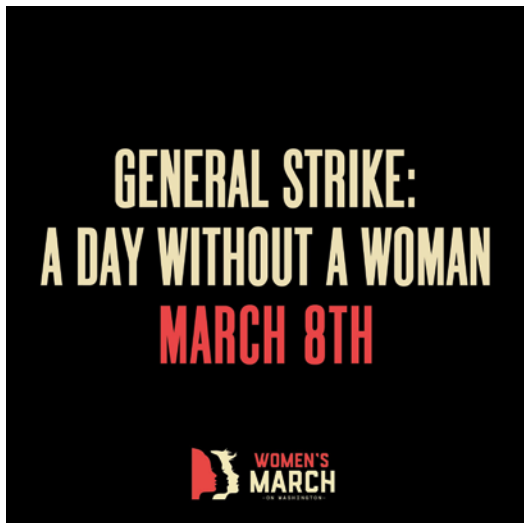
The organized turnout of unions for the Washington demonstration was much smaller than it should have been. But at least some sections of the labour movement did feel the pressure from membership to devote greater resources to mobilization in the final weeks, and plenty of union members got themselves to the march as individuals and with rank-and-file members. That's something for the left to build on in making labour central to the anti-Trump resistance.

The women's marches were the beginning, not the end. What happens next will be decided by what we do. Movements do not come to us from heaven, fully formed and organized. They are built by actual people, with all their political questions, weaknesses and strengths. If the left doesn't engage with the aim of contending for leadership and influence, we just concede these forces to the Democrats and liberals, who will certainly try to confine the new upsurge of opposition to the political limits they want to define.

The point isn't to bury our arguments, but to learn how to make them while operating in political arenas that aren't just our own if we want to win people to more radical politics. Revolutionary socialists have a long and rich tradition of building united fronts, which seems more real now that three million people were in the streets.

Endless social media critiques with no commitment to diving into that struggle for the kind of movement we want is not a serious approach. There are literally millions of people in this country who are now questioning everything. We need to open up our organizations, planning meetings, marches and much more to them. We need to read together, learn together, be in the streets together and stand up to this assault together. **M**

TAYLOR'S ARTICLE ORIGINALLY APPEARED IN SOCIALIST WORKER.



Twitter ad for A Day Without Women, a general strike organized by the Women's March.



## Index

### Islamophobia

#### September 2014

CSIS warns federal officials “of a Canadian online anti-Islam movement, similar to ones in Europe.” A Pew Research Centre poll in mid-2016 found negative opinions of Muslims were prevalent in Italy (69%), Greece (65%), Hungary (72%), Poland (66%) and Spain (50%). A March 2016 Leger Marketing poll found only 43% of Canadians held a net positive view of Muslims.

#### 40%

Jump in hate crimes in Quebec between 2013 and 2014. “[Far-right groups] are certainly getting more active in terms of trying to disseminate their message, trying to mobilize their members,” said Benjamin Ducol, head of research at Montreal’s Centre for the Prevention of Radicalization Leading to Violence. Far-right Facebook pages proliferated during the province’s Charter of Values debate.

#### 100%

Increase in hate crimes targeting Muslims in Canada between 2012 and 2014 (from 45 to 99 incidents reported to police), according to a 2016 Statistics Canada report.

#### 100%

Members of Quebec’s national assembly who endorsed a Quebec Solidaire motion in October 2015 “condemning islamophobia, and calls for hatred and violence toward Quebecers of Muslim faith.”

#### 35%

One-third of Muslims in Canada report having experienced discrimination or been treated unfairly in the past five years, according to a 2016 survey.

#### 100

Number of extreme-right groups operating in Canada, according to a 2016 study in the journal *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*. An anti-terrorism division within the Sûreté du Québec told a parliamentary committee in late 2014 that “a majority of the service’s active files deal with the extreme right.”

#### January 27, 2017

U.S. President Trump signs an executive order banning entry to the United States for people (including dual nationals) from seven predominantly Muslim countries—Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria and Yemen—for 90 days. The order, which was immediately challenged in court as illegal and unconstitutional, also suspends the refugee admissions system for 120 days and the Syrian program indefinitely. In December 2015, Trump promised to implement “a total and complete shutdown of Muslims

entering the United States until our country’s representatives can figure out what is going on.”

#### January 29, 2017

A lone gunman fires on Muslim men praying at the *Centre Culturel Islamique de Québec*. Six men are killed—Mamadou Tanou Barry, 42, Ibrahima Barry, 39, Azzedine Soufiane, 57, Abdelkrim Hassane, 41, Khaled Belkacemi, 60, and Aboubaker Thabti, 44—and five more critically wounded. Alexandre Bissonnette, a 27-year-old French-Canadian student at Laval University, is charged with six counts of first-degree and five counts of second-degree murder.

#### February 6, 2017

Commenting on the Quebec City mosque attack, RCMP Commissioner Bob Paulson tells a Senate national security committee “there is, I think everyone would agree, a more sort of caustic tone to the political discourse that seems to attract and agitate and radicalize people of all persuasions, particularly those who know hardly anything about it, to engage.”

#### 29

Number of reports of hate incidents filed with Montreal police in the 72 hours following the January 27 massacre, “more than 15 calls about Islamophobia and six about the extreme right,” according to Herman Deparice-Okomba, the head of Montreal’s anti-radicalization centre. “That’s a lot for us.”

#### 10

Number of days after the January Quebec mosque attack that the National Assembly was back to arguing whether a “religious neutrality” law should exempt women who wear the niqab or burka from rules forcing anyone giving or receiving government services to keep their face uncovered. CAQ leader François Legault claims there is no “current of islamophobia” in Quebec society.

#### 4

Number of Quebec City mosques targeted in November 2014 with signs that read “Islam out of Quebec.” In June 2016, during Ramadan, a pig’s head was left outside the same mosque attacked on January 29.

#### 4

Number of federal Conservative Party leadership contenders who attended a rally organized by Ezra Levant’s hateful website, *The Rebel*, to denounce MP Iqra Khalid’s private member’s bill, M-103, calling on the government to “recognize the need to quell the increasing public climate of hate and fear” and “condemn Islamophobia and all forms of systemic racism and religious discrimination.”

#### Thousands

Number of death threats Khalid says she has received since introducing M-103.



**you are  
here**

Shannon Daub and Bill Carroll

# A TOPOLOGY OF POWER

## THE CORPORATE MAPPING PROJECT IS LOCATING THE INFLUENCE OF CANADA'S FOSSIL FUEL INDUSTRY

**T**he election of Justin Trudeau as Prime Minister and Rachael Notley as Alberta Premier held the potential to shift Canada's energy politics away from full-force denial to a recognition, in perhaps the two legislatures where it matters most, of the need for action. The First Ministers' meeting on climate change last December ended with a national climate framework that's been hailed by many as "historic."

Unfortunately, as Marc Lee argues in this special *Monitor* feature on the Corporate Mapping Project (page 21), the framework is a baby step at best. The measures announced by the First Ministers are not enough to ensure Canada meets its (already inadequate) Paris Agreement commitment to reducing greenhouse gas emissions by 30% below 2005 levels.

The big yawn with which the fossil fuel industry appeared to greet the national plan is another sign it lacks teeth. After all, the fundamental purpose of meaningful climate policy can only be to shift us away from extracting and burning fossil fuels. Yet even the Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers (CAPP), the country's most powerful oil lobby group, says the framework is necessary to "balance" the environment and the economy.

It is not surprising that our political leaders are, for the most part, re-

luctant to plan for a gradual wind-down and phasing out of our oil and gas industries. After all, the fossil fuel industry is tremendously powerful, in economic, political and cultural terms.

The Corporate Mapping Project is an attempt to make this power and influence visible, to map power, by investigating the ways it is organized and exercised by fossil fuel industries. The initiative—a partnership of academic and community-based researchers and advisors who share a commitment to advancing reliable knowledge that supports citizen action and transparent public policy-making—is hosted by the University of Victoria, and jointly led with the CCPAs B.C. and Saskatchewan offices and the Parkland Institute in Alberta.

While the Corporate Mapping Project focuses on how power and influence plays out in the oil, gas and coal industries of B.C., Alberta and Saskatchewan, we are also connecting this activity to other sectors of the economy, both national and global, and other parts of society, including governments and other public institutions, think-tanks, lobby groups, etc. In the process, we hope to support communities, workers, Indigenous groups, civil society organizations and concerned citizens in their efforts to reshape our economy along

more democratic and environmentally sustainable lines.

Our mapping efforts are focused in four key areas:

1. How are the people and companies that control the fossil fuel sector organized as a network, and how does that network connect with other sectors of the Canadian and global economy?
2. How does that economic power reach into political and cultural life through elite networks, funding relationships, lobbying, and mass media advertising and messaging? What are the implications of such corporate influence for politics and society?
3. How is corporate power wielded at ground level, from fossil fuel extraction and transport right through to final consumption? If we follow a barrel of bitumen from its source to the end user, for example, how does it affect the communities and environments along the way? How and why do certain links along these commodity chains become flashpoints of intense political struggle, as we have seen with pipeline projects?
4. How can we help citizens monitor corporate power and influence while expanding the space for democratic discussion?

The work of the Corporate Mapping Project, which will span six years thanks to funding from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), is accessible at [www.corporatemapping.ca](http://www.corporatemapping.ca). It will include an open-source, publicly accessible database of who's who in and around the fossil fuel sector, kept current by community researchers (currently under development).

Much of what you'll read in this special *Monitor* feature is taken and adapted from the project's work. While it's too early for us to draw conclusions, the themes of access to power, and influence on government policy and messaging, come up again and again in our research.

Consider the recent federal approval of two new major oil pipelines just days before the First Ministers' climate meeting. As Mike Lang and Shannon Daub point out on page 24, big oil companies are also big lobbyists, bending the ear of governments and enjoying a level of access we ordinary citizens can only dream about.

Over a six-year period ending October 2016, there was about one contact every two business days between industry and one level of government or another related to Kinder Morgan's Trans Mountain pipeline expansion—one of the two projects greenlighted by the Trudeau government.

Not all of these powerful industry players are from the fossil fuel sector. We describe how financial institutions like the Royal Bank of Canada have a major stake in oil, gas and coal companies through their investment funds and loans, and are directly linked through "interlocks" at the board level. This could explain why Royal Bank CEO David McKay publicly makes the case for new oil sands pipelines while simultaneously urging Canada to "lead the world to a lower carbon economy."

McKay's views are characteristic of the new narrative from corporate Canada. The idea—that we can take action on climate change even while building new pipelines—is as contradictory as it sounds.

As Marc Lee outlines, in a second article on page 30, we already export more greenhouse gas emissions (in the form of oil, gas and coal resources) than we emit domestically. Canada cannot extract and export ever-increasing amounts of crude oil and natural gas without undermining the Paris Agreement on climate. Doing so would kill any prospect of keeping global warming below 2 degrees Celsius.

This simple reality has not sunk in for Prime Minister Trudeau and Premier Notley, or, importantly, the industry itself, which remains doggedly obsessed with getting Alberta's oil sands oil to "tidewater" on Canada's west or east coasts. They argue it is the key to unlocking higher prices for Canadian heavy crude. But as David Hughes notes on page 23, this argument is based on a temporary difference between international and North American oil prices from 2011 to 2014 that is unlikely to recur anytime soon.

Does all this mean there's no hope for genuine, ambitious action on climate change? That the fossil fuel industry, despite its newly green-tinged talk, has a perma-

nent stranglehold on our ability to make the transition to a zero-carbon future? We don't think so.

Growing public opposition to key projects, including the Kinder Morgan and Energy East pipelines, and a list of legal challenges by First Nations that gets longer every day, pose real challenges to the industry's expansion plans. The recent victory at Standing Rock against the Dakota Access pipeline (Trump's executive-order approval notwithstanding) reminds us of the power of resistance and protest.

Paul Bowles and Fiona MacPhail offer another example of "corporate power defeated" in their account, on page 28, of how a local community's successful challenge to a major global corporation was an important factor in stopping the Northern Gateway pipeline.

Making a democratic climate transition will not be easy. Workers in resource-dependent communities already feel threatened by the idea of transition, since it implies shutting down their only source of income. We must contend with this reasonable fear, as well as the entrenched power of the fossil fuel industry, through new investments in enhanced public services, like housing and transit, and expanded employment insurance, training and other programs to ensure the transition is fair to these workers and their communities.

As Shannon Daub argues on page 31, years of fiscal restraint had made such large-scale public investments in a green revolution almost unimaginable. Until today, that is.

The neoliberal framework at the heart of Canadian (and much of the developed world's) economic policy took a big hit from the global financial crisis of 2008. Financial sector deregulation, public service privatization and other *laissez-faire* reforms to that point had a brutal impact on vulnerable groups. The predatory nature of neoliberalism, its tendency to redistribute income upward, and its reduction of human relations to mere consumer interactions have spurred protests around the world.

The recent successes of right-wing populist movements, most importantly south of the 49th parallel, show that people yearn for alternatives to "business as usual." The great challenge of our time lies in persuading citizens that the alternative lies in reclaiming our democracy from the corporate interests behind neoliberalism, including those who profit from polluting the atmosphere.

The climate crisis presents us, then, with a challenge and opportunity. Countering the power and influence of fossil fuel companies will benefit from knowledge of precisely how the industry is organized. If the Corporate Mapping Project can show who holds this power, and how they deploy it for their own private interests, it can only strengthen the public case for a democratic, just transition away from fossil fuels.

In other words, by exposing the topology of power influencing Canadian energy policy, we might discover new paths to a greener future. **M**



Marc Lee

## A CRITICAL GUIDE TO THE PAN-CANADIAN FRAMEWORK ON CLEAN GROWTH AND CLIMATE CHANGE

**A**fter working on climate and energy issues intensively for the past nine years, I would love to scream from the rooftops about how Canada now has a real climate framework, and how as a nation we are proudly, if belatedly, walking the talk. Instead, I feel immensely disappointed by the results of December's first ministers' meeting on climate change, both in terms of its limited outcomes and the media focus on the politics of getting to a deal rather than the substance of the deal itself.

The Pan-Canadian Framework on Clean Growth and Climate Change is a positive step when we needed a leap. That the federal, provincial and territorial governments (less Saskatchewan and Manitoba) came to agreement is indeed "historic." But the resulting framework ("plan" is too generous a term) lacks the urgency

called for by climate science, and fails to confront the entrenched power of the fossil fuel industry.

If you were expecting a list of new climate actions, the framework is a let down. For the most part it repeats measures already announced prior to the first ministers' meeting: a phase-out of coal for electricity generation, a national carbon pricing floor and regulations to reduce methane leakages. Most of the remainder lacks specifics or is left unfunded, some elements are punted to future negotiations, and it includes a lot of hand waving about technology.

### Targets and timelines

**F**irst of all, the framework falls short of its own 2030 target. For-

get the talk of "meeting or exceeding" Canada's pledge of a 30% emissions reduction below 2005 levels by 2030; the framework does not even get to the 30% target set by the Harper government.

In the coming months, we will need some independent modelling to give us a better handle on emission reductions. At this point there is only a single figure near the back of the agreement showing (without any transparency about how it was derived) estimated reductions from provincial plans to date (including carbon offsets/credits) and new federal initiatives (mostly the coal phase-out), but leaving a gap of 44 million tonnes to be filled by "additional measures."

Many climate activists were hoping to see Canada up its game because that 2030 target is itself insufficient relative to the targets of the

Paris Agreement, which aims for a maximum of 1.5 to 2°C of warming. Alas, the sum total of pledges made by signatories to the agreement adds up to a 3°C warmer world, which may not sound like much of a difference but is considered catastrophic. At some point countries will be called on to table more ambitious targets, but even this may be several years away.

We can only hope the current batch of initiatives will turn the corner and at least start Canada on a path of lowering emissions each year. Since 2000, Canada's emissions profile has been relatively flat, with reductions from the phase-out of coal-fired power in Ontario (down 37 million tonnes [Mt]), and the Maritimes (down 7 Mt), but offset by the growth in emissions from fossil fuel production (up 33 Mt) and transportation (up 15 Mt).

## Fossil fuel expansion and infrastructure

Days before the first ministers' meeting, the federal government announced its approval of both Kinder Morgan's Trans Mountain expansion and Enbridge's Line 3 replacement and expansion. Back in October, the government approved the massive Pacific NorthWest LNG plant proposed for the B.C. coast.

Federal approvals of new fossil fuel infrastructure exacerbate our carbon challenge. You might say that we are missing our 2030 target by the incremental emissions to come from one LNG terminal and two bitumen pipelines.

In spite of being the source of one-quarter of Canada's GHG emissions, the framework gives the oil and gas industry a pass. An exception to this is a commitment to reduce methane leakages by 40-45% (below 2012 levels) and to eliminating fossil fuel subsidies by 2025—commitments Canada made with the U.S. and Mexico in summer 2016. Basically, the growth of the oil and gas sector is taken for granted, and there are no measures to keep carbon in the ground.

The inconsistency of the climate framework with the push for pipe-

lines is a good segue to First Nations issues.

The framework gushes participation and inclusion for Canada's Indigenous people: the term "Indigenous" comes up 83 times, possibly the most-used word in the framework, while the term "fossil fuels" appears a mere seven times. At the outset, it even speaks of "free, prior and informed consent."

While it is refreshing to see this recognition on paper, contrast that with politics-as-usual in the context of the Kinder Morgan pipeline decision. The Tsleil-Waututh First Nation, whose traditional territory lies at the terminus of the pipeline, has consistently rejected the expansion due to likely negative impacts on their traditional way of life. These objections have been ignored by the federal government and are likely to form the basis of a legal challenge.

More broadly, the Treaty Alliance against Tar Sands Expansion, announced in September 2016, includes signatories from more than 100 First Nations and tribes in the U.S. and Canada, "an expression of Indigenous Law prohibiting the pipelines/trains/tankers that will feed the expansion of the Alberta Tar Sands."

## Modest carbon pricing

For all of the media attention it's gotten, carbon pricing is a minor point in the framework. Because all of the large provinces already have (or will have) a carbon tax or cap-and-trade system in place by 2018—when the federal government will implement a national carbon price floor—only a few smaller provinces are affected. All revenues collected by the federal government will be returned to the emitting province to do with as it sees fit.

The carbon price floor is very low, starting at \$10 per tonne (2.3 cents per litre at the pump) in 2018, and only starts to become more meaningful by 2022, when it rises to \$50 per tonne (11.5 cents per litre). The B.C. government, a holdout at the 11th hour of the negotiations, essentially won an

exemption from carbon tax increases (above its current rate of \$30 per tonne, or 6.7 cents per litre) after 2020.

Compare this to the existing "price on carbon" in the form of fuel taxes ranging from 6.2 cents per litre (equal to \$26.5 per tonne of CO<sub>2</sub>) in Yukon to 19.2 cents per litre (\$82 per tonne) in Quebec. Even Brad Wall's government in Saskatchewan effectively has a \$64/tonne carbon price via its fuel taxes.

We could also compare increased prices from the carbon tax to the price of gas back in 2014. Canadians have experienced much higher prices at the pump in the recent past than this carbon tax will impose in the future. The feds probably could have made this easier by just announcing an increase in the fuel tax and using it for infrastructure.

On the cap-and-trade side, purchases of carbon credits/offsets from other jurisdictions, rather than compelling domestic emission reductions, are highly problematic. Ontario and Quebec are looking to buy credits from California and Mexico to partly meet their obligations. While they often sound good in theory, offsets have a bad reputation because they can be gamed by insiders through dubious accounting methodologies and, sometimes, outright fraud.

In this sense, B.C. Premier Christy Clark may have been on to something: if Ontario and Quebec end up buying cheap and potentially bogus carbon credits to meet their obligations, why should her province impose a carbon tax?

## Lack of clarity on other actions

More meaningful actions seem to have been delayed or sidelined in the framework. Last summer, in a report about the federal-provincial working groups, I noted that some of the most promising actions came from the "specific mitigation opportunities" working group, which produced a 19-page appendix including some detailed recommendations. Most of that got junked in favour of vague statements about improving



DAVID HUGHES

## THE TIDEWATER FETISH

energy efficiency and investing in technology. Measures affecting large industrial emitters are conspicuous by their absence.

For emission reductions from buildings and transportation, leaders punted. A model “net zero energy ready” building code will be developed, to start in 2030, and a model code for existing buildings put in place by 2022. Energy efficiency and fuel switching are slated for existing buildings, although no funding commitment has been made to support it (a renewal of the federal ecoEnergy program, for example).

Our governments punted again on transportation, an area representing a quarter of Canada’s GHG emissions. The framework calls for “increasingly stringent standards for emissions” and the development of a Canada-wide strategy for zero-emission vehicles by 2018. Public transit expansion and upgrades are mentioned, but how much money is on the table is not clear.

As with other infrastructure, the incremental investment from the federal government in 2016, even if it is more than what the Conservatives would have spent had they been re-elected, is actually very modest in the near term. It’s also inadequate relative to the size of Canada’s economy and the infrastructure deficit that has emerged after more than two decades of austerity.

Indeed, progress is clouded by the federal objective of creating an “infrastructure bank” to finance, among other things, “clean electricity systems” (specifically mentioned in the framework). In theory, such a bank could allow the federal government to pool borrowing for provinces and municipalities so they would pay a lower rate on new green investments. Instead, the federal pitch puts institutional investors like pension funds in the driver’s seat, and will only fund large projects that can charge user fees or tolls.

The catch is that pension funds expect 6–9% annual returns compared to the 2% interest cost if funds were simply borrowed by Ottawa. This route will make the transition more expensive than it needs to be.

### Final thoughts

It’s cliché these days to note that climate action is not a technical problem but a political one. So perhaps this is just the best we can do politically right now, given the power of vested interests and the complexities of Canadian federalism. In light of developments south of the border, we are bound to look good in comparison.

Which brings us to the issue of climate change adaptation, a confession that we have collectively failed to constrain carbon emissions. The framework speaks to adaptation, although much of it comes down to major infrastructure investments. Again, action requires financial commitment on the part of governments.

In the long term, I’m actually pretty optimistic about the economics of renewables and the eventuality of a clean energy economy. However, the central issue is how much damage we cause in the interim by dragging our feet. A year after the Paris Agreement, we still have a long way to go.

We will all need to keep pushing to fill in the spaces of the pan-Canadian framework with investments and policies that drive down emissions, create green jobs and transform our economy. **M**

A central argument of industry and political leaders in favour of new oil pipelines in Canada hinges on “getting our oil to tidewater,” a euphemism for building oil pipelines from Alberta to the west and/or east coasts for export to international markets. This obsession with tidewater is premised on the belief that Canadian oil is being unfairly discounted in the United States and that other customers will pay a higher price.

The idea that Alberta’s tar sands oil will fetch more money on international markets is based on a differential that existed between the international price of oil (the Brent benchmark) and the North America price (the West Texas Intermediate, or WTI benchmark) between 2011 and 2014. This differential was temporary and no longer exists, nor is it likely to return.

That’s because the differential was a result of the rapid rise of shale oil production in the U.S. and a lack of pipeline capacity to move it between Cushing, Oklahoma (where the WTI benchmark is set) and the U.S. Gulf Coast. Construction of new pipelines in the U.S. has since reduced the price gap to its historical levels of near zero or negative.

Not only has this temporary price differential disappeared, bitumen from the tar sands (a heavy oil called “dilbit” when diluted for transport) is of an inferior quality, which makes it more costly to refine. Canadian heavy oil will receive a similar quality discount wherever it is sold in the world.

Markets in Asia and Europe, however, are farther away, hence higher transport costs will result in steeper discounts than if the oil was sold in the U.S. The U.S. also has the largest refinery complex in the world designed to optimally handle heavy oil, such as Canadian crude, and relies on imports for nearly half its needs. All of which makes the idea that buyers in Europe or Asia would pay a premium for Canadian heavy crude more fantasy than reality.

None of these facts seem to have curbed the enthusiasm of industry or the Alberta and federal governments, which continue to tout the tidewater argument. The National Energy Board (NEB) even based part of its approval of Kinder Morgan’s proposed Trans Mountain pipeline expansion on the assumption of a tidewater price premium. It didn’t matter to the NEB that the Brent/WTI price differential had long since disappeared when it made its decision.

## 826 REASONS KINDER MORGAN GOT ITS TRANS MOUNTAIN PIPELINE EXPANSION

**D**espite sustained opposition to Kinder Morgan's plan to twin the Trans Mountain pipeline, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and his cabinet gave it their blessing at the end of November. Reaction from the many people, communities and nations opposed to the pipeline was swift.

Twenty-one municipalities and over 100 First Nations and tribes have registered their opposition since the project was first proposed in 2012. The Tsleil-Waututh Nation, whose traditional territory surrounds the Burrard Inlet at the pipeline's endpoint, has already mounted two legal challenges of the National Energy Board's (NEB) review of the pipeline, and further challenges by First Nations are likely to come.

Public protests over the last two years have highlighted the risks of spills along the route from Alberta to B.C.'s coastal waters, and the climate impacts of building new pipelines to enable massive increases in bitumen production and exports.

Kinder Morgan Canada, a domestic subsidiary of the \$81-billion U.S.-based parent firm, will be responsible for constructing 980 km of new pipeline and various pumping facilities along the route. Numerous waterways, endangered wildlife habitat and parks will be crossed, including lands formerly part of Finn Creek Provincial Park, whose boundaries Kinder Morgan had changed earlier this year.

We keep hearing that safety is a high priority for this industry, but history speaks louder than words. Trans Mountain has reported "approximately" 82 land-based spills to the NEB since 1961. The projected threefold increase in tanker traffic

through Vancouver's harbour that will be required to accommodate the increased oil volume poses environmental and health risks that no amount of marine response money or preparation can mitigate.

Yet despite the size of Indigenous, municipal and popular opposition in B.C., the potentially devastating environmental and climate impacts, and the shallow assurance by the NEB that the expansion is in "Canada's public interest," the Trans Mountain pipeline is being pushed ahead.

So why are Kinder Morgan's interests—and those of the fossil fuel industry more broadly—being accommodated? How are these interests pursued and met in a province so vocally opposed to the expansion?

**O**ne approach to answering these questions is to look at the political party financial donations and lobbying efforts by Kinder Morgan Canada in recent years. By contributing money to a political campaign, or meeting with an elected official, corporations can garner support for favourable policy initiatives or regulatory change. And they can support political parties whose larger policy agenda aligns with their own.

Lobbying and donating to political parties are both legal in Canada, though regulations vary by province. B.C. is one of few provinces with no limit on corporate donations. In Saskatchewan, where this is also the case, the leading political party appears to have benefitted handsomely from vast sums of money from Alberta-based fossil fuel corporations over the last decade.

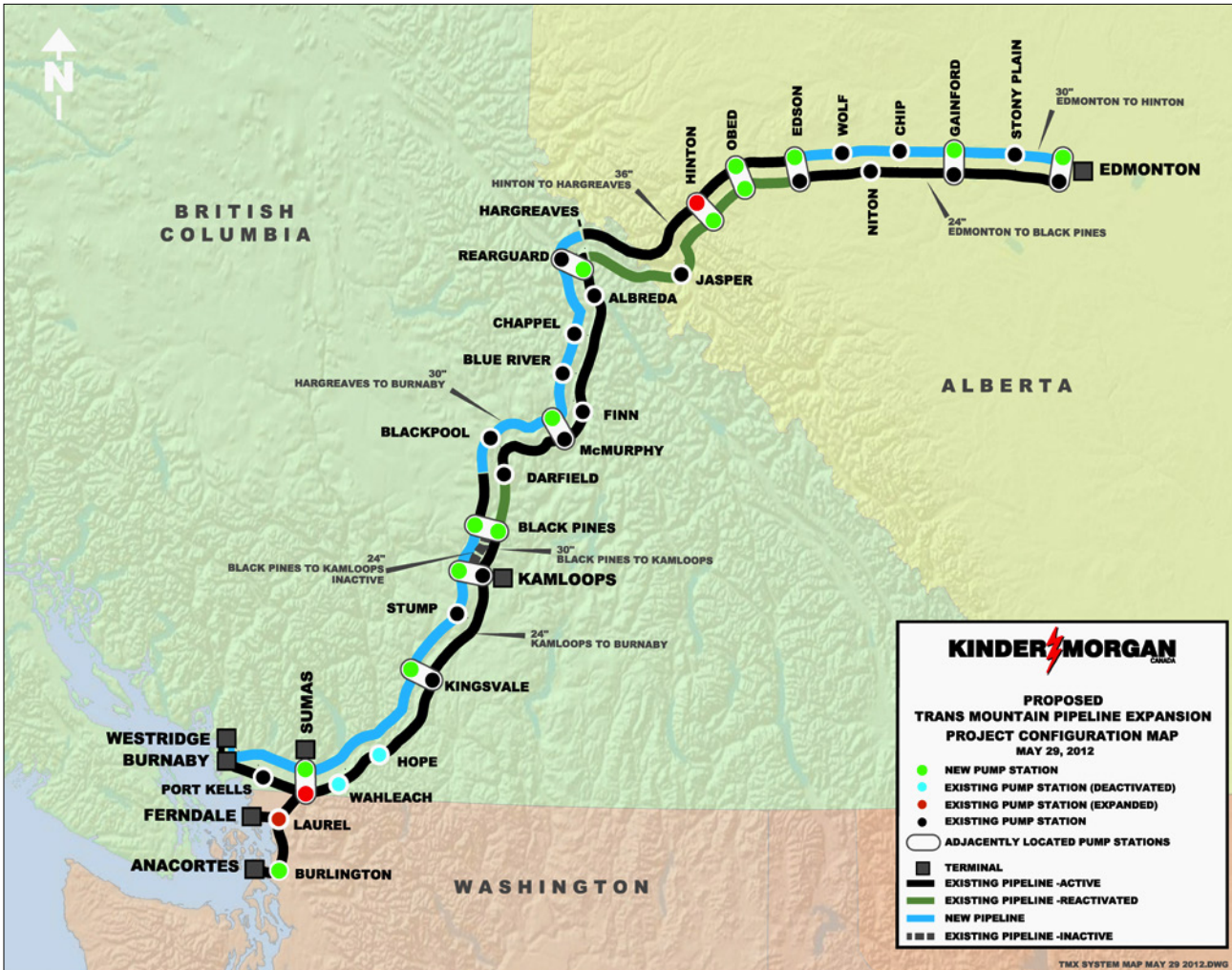
Above all, these tactics provide corporations access to key decision-makers with the power to en-

dorse initiatives that suit their interests (like moving a park boundary, for example). According to a recent report covering corporate influence in Canadian politics, such efforts "tilt the playing field towards politicians, parties and policies that better serve those interests, regardless of whether those interests represent the wishes of the majority of citizens."

Kinder Morgan Canada is a private subsidiary, which makes it difficult to track its political activities in detail. However, we know that from 2011 to 2015, Kinder Morgan contributed \$38,000 to the B.C. Liberal Party. (Contributions were made by Kinder Morgan Inc., Kinder Morgan Canada and Trans Mountain Pipeline Company, the last two being wholly owned subsidiaries of the first.)

Over roughly the same period (September 2011 to September 2016), Kinder Morgan initiated a total of 458 lobbying-related contacts with political representatives across the province. These included face-to-face meetings, but also written communications and reports sent to government officials. Three ministries—Natural Gas Development, Environment, and Transportation and Infrastructure—top the list (see table).

The most lobbying attention was paid to provincial MLAs. In total, 222 contacts with MLAs were made by Kinder Morgan, most of them since 2013. A majority (153) of the targeted electoral districts—Prince George (20), Kamloops (16), Fraser-Nicola (1), Chilliwack and Hope (27), Abbotsford (31), Surrey (20), Burnaby (28) and Vancouver (12)—are regions and cities along the pipeline's route. (The term "contacts" is used because the BC Lobbyist Registry, from which this data is taken, does not stipulate whether



meetings actually occur between the corporation and the target.)

Many of the most recent contacts, arranged between December 2015 and September 2016, target the Ministry of Natural Gas, the Oil and Gas Commission and Premier Christy Clark's office. These contacts had one expressed purpose: developing the Trans Mountain expansion project.

So have Kinder Morgan's political dealings in B.C. had a direct impact on this approval? It's hard to say. But these data show the company has been working diligently to sway the "public interest" all along the pipeline's path by targeting politicians and regulatory officials.

Kinder Morgan's reach of influence does not stop at the Rockies—it has been busy lobbying in Alberta as well. While less information is made publicly available by the Alber-

ta Lobbyist Registry than its counterpart in B.C., we know that in the three months leading up to December 2016 Kinder Morgan targeted the premier's office and the departments of energy and environment.

Kinder Morgan's Alberta lobbying efforts in the nine months to December focused exclusively on the Trans Mountain expansion, seeking, among other objectives, to "convey economic importance and benefits of the proposed Trans Mountain Expansion Project through increased market access for Alberta crude oil products."

Let's look now at what happened at the federal level. After all, this project is moving ahead because of endorsements by the federal government and NEB. And we can't forget that industry consultant Steven Kelly, previously hired by Kinder Mor-

gan to endorse the expansion, now sits on the board of Canada's energy regulator. Conflicts such as this led environmental groups to urge Prime Minister Trudeau in early September to overhaul the NEB. This did not occur.

Our research indicates that Kinder Morgan and its subsidiary, Trans Mountain, initiated a whopping 368 meetings with federal officials between February 2011 and October 2016. Members of the House of Commons received the most attention from Kinder Morgan lobbyists.

Why is this relevant? Because the NEB reports to Parliament and its members via the Ministry of Natural Resources, which in turn acts as an advocate for resource development within the federal government. Natural Resources Canada itself was next

## Kinder Morgan's lobbying meetings with federal officials

February 2011 to October 2016

Prime Minister's Office	19
Aboriginal Affairs Canada	26
Environment (& Climate Change) Canada	15
Fisheries and Oceans Canada	14
MPs/House of Commons	112
Natural Resources Canada	107
Transport Canada	47
Other	28
<b>Federal total lobbying meetings</b>	<b>368</b>

## Kinder Morgan's B.C. lobbying contacts

September 2011 to September 2016

Individual MLAs	222
Natural Gas Development	47
Environment	34
Transportation & Infrastructure	35
Office of the Premier	27
Energy	26
Aboriginal Relations & Reconciliation	22
Other	45
<b>B.C. total lobbying contacts</b>	<b>458</b>

## Canadian investors in Kinder Morgan Inc.

(U.S.-based owner of Kinder Morgan Canada)

Investor	Global investor ranking	% ownership	Value of ownership
Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce	25	0.54	\$437 million
Brookfield Asset Management	26	0.53	\$429 million
CI Financial Corp.	29	0.46	\$372 million
Manulife Financial Corp.	32	0.41	\$332 million
Royal Bank of Canada	70	0.14	\$113 million
Power Corporation of Canada	73	0.13	\$105 million
Province of Quebec	81	0.10	\$81 million
Ontario Teachers' Pension Fund	84	undisclosed	unknown
<b>Total Canadian investment in Kinder Morgan Inc.</b>			<b>\$1.87 billion</b>

in line with 107 lobbying meetings. Kinder Morgan targeted the Prime Minister's Office 19 times.

In the first 10 months of 2016, based on federal lobbying data, Kinder Morgan Canada initiated 47 meetings with ministry representatives, and Trans Mountain initiated an additional 14. The targets of these meetings included senior policy advisors within the Ministry of Natural Resources and the Prime Minister's Office, and the chiefs of staff for Fisheries and Oceans Canada, Environment and Climate Change Canada and Natural Resources Canada. It's not hard to recognize the various opportunities for favourable policy direction here.

All together, these combined B.C. and federal lobbying efforts total 826 contacts over six years, which does not include meetings in Alberta for which we have no information. This amounts to about one contact every two business days during that period.

How many public sector resources were required to field these contacts? Surely these resources could have been spent on public consultation, research, or a variety of other objectives that serve the public good.

Finally, we can't lose sight of the big picture—the wider economic interests that are served by approving this pipeline. As noted, Kinder Morgan Canada is a subsidiary of Kinder Morgan Inc., a publicly traded company. A quick review of the parent company's Canadian shareholders sheds some light on who will profit from expanding the volume of oil flowing to Burrard Inlet and the Salish Sea.

There are some serious financial players on this list, including CIBC, which holds 0.54%. While this may not seem like much, it equals roughly \$437 million of Kinder Morgan's total \$81 billion in asset value (based on the Orbis – Bureau Van Dijk corporate information database).

The CEO of another significant Canadian shareholder, the Royal Bank of Canada (RBC), recently gave a speech ostensibly about climate change that endorsed the pipeline industry in Canada (see adjacent page). Based on these figures, RBC has another 113 million reasons to further undermine Canada's Paris Agreement pledge to lower greenhouse gas emissions by 2030.

The president of Kinder Morgan Canada, Ian Anderson, recently claimed he is not smart enough to know whether human activity, i.e., the fossil fuel industry, causes climate change. But why should he be? As the lead lobbyist for his firm, his task is to generate profit for shareholders, which, as the information above shows, he pursues by massaging the political climate across the country to assure the conditions for pipeline approval are met.

At the end of the day, fossil fuel companies like Kinder Morgan are only accountable to their shareholders, not to the public interest. Upholding the public interest is the responsibility of our political leaders, who should be smart enough to recognize that this pipeline expansion was opposed from the beginning. **M**

# BANKING ON NEW PIPELINES

David McKay made headlines in September when he shared his thoughts on the energy and climate challenges facing Canada with the Edmonton Chamber of Commerce. In his speech, McKay called on the federal government to help get fossil fuel resources to market by approving new bitumen pipelines and other infrastructure. Doing so, he argued, is essential to the transition to a “cleaner economy.”

Catherine McKenna, federal minister of environment and climate change, thought McKay’s speech impressive enough to quote on social media: “We can’t get to the economy of the future if we don’t use all our resources, smartly & sustainably,” she tweeted. This was the day after her government announced it was approving the controversial Pacific Northwest LNG project.

There is plenty to say about the content of McKay’s speech, which is a study in the new climate denialism—the idea that we can take effective action on climate change while at the same time ramping up oil and gas production and building new pipelines. But first, let’s take a closer look at the source.

“RBC has a big stake in Canada getting this right,” said McKay, describing his company as “Canada’s leading energy bank, for conventional, non-conventional and renewable resources.” In fact, RBC has a very close relationship with the fossil fuel industry and a strong vested interest in its expansion.

On the lending side, investments in the oil and gas sector account for 4.6% (\$7 billion) of RBC’s total business loans and acceptances. This is a relatively small share of the bank’s lending portfolio, so some losses may be manageable, although nearly 52% of RBC’s gross impaired (delinquent or at risk) business loans are in the oil and gas sector.

The economic slowdown from the crash in oil prices also impacts the mortgage

side of RBC’s business, especially in energy sector–dependent regions hit hard by job losses. The financial world is nervous, in other words. So it’s not surprising that big banks like RBC would be anxious for a return to a booming Canadian oil and gas sector.

RBC is also heavily invested in fossil fuel companies through its funds. For example, the bank has an ownership stake ranging from 0.1% (in the Parkland Fuel Corporation) to 8.0% (in TransCanada Corp.) in all 12 publicly traded companies among Canada’s 15 carbon majors, defined as the biggest revenue-earners in the country’s oil, gas and coal industries. (Nexen, Talisman/Repsol and Shell Canada are not publicly traded.)

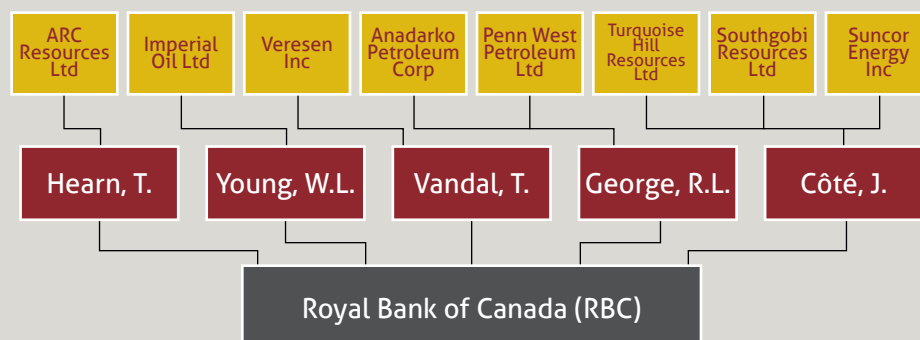
Of course, these holdings are likely just the tip of the iceberg. We haven’t looked closely at RBC’s investments in fossil fuel corporations outside Canada. But a cursory review of its Global Energy Fund shows it has significant investments in some of the largest fossil fuel companies in the U.S. and globally.

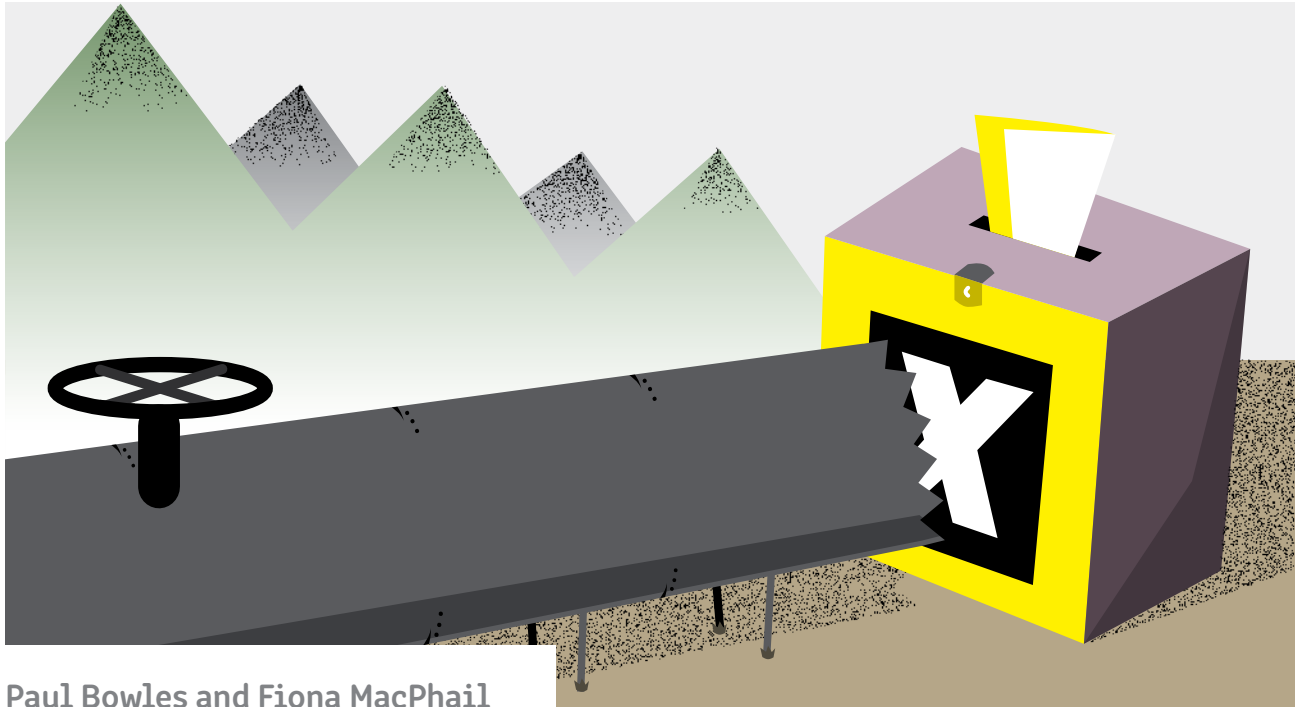
For example, 6% of the fund’s equity holdings is in U.S.-based Continental Resources (one of the largest producers of the highly volatile Bakken crude oil of the variety that exploded in Lac-Mégantic, Quebec in 2013), 5.5% is in Exxon Mobil Corp. (now under investigation for fraud for its pivotal role in the climate denial industry), 4.9% is in French multinational Total SA

(fined for corruption earlier this year for its role in the UN oil-for-food scandal), and 3.2% is in Halliburton (a major provider of oil and gas field services). This is just a sample, and we have yet to analyze the fossil fuel holdings of RBC’s numerous major subsidiaries.

RBC’s close relationship with the fossil fuel sector can also be seen in its links at the board level, collected from Obis, FP Infomart and corporate websites and reports at the end of 2015. The image on this page shows the positions held by RBC directors and senior executives on the boards of other Canadian-based fossil fuel companies. We can see RBC has direct board interlocks with two Canadian energy majors (Suncor and Imperial Oil) as well as with six mid-sized Canadian oil, gas and coal companies. Furthermore, RBC has an ownership stake in all but one of the eight fossil fuel companies it interlocks with.

Clearly, RBC is not an arms-length observer of climate policy in Canada. When financial CEOs like McKay say we need to extract, pipe, export and burn more fossil fuels—in order to make the transition away from fossil fuels at some unspecified time in the future—we should recognize the baffling claim for what it is: a defense of the oil and gas industry’s interests, and by extension those of RBC, at a time of unprecedented scientific evidence that ambitious climate action is urgently needed.





Paul Bowles and Fiona MacPhail

## CORPORATE POWER DEFEATED

### BEHIND THE TOWN OF KITIMAT'S VOTE AGAINST THE NORTHERN GATEWAY PIPELINE

In 2012, Yuen Pau Woo declared “the future of Canada-Asia energy relations is not about Beijing; it is about Kitimat.” The former president of the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada (he’s now a Senator) was referring to the small, remote community of some 9,000 people on British Columbia’s rugged northwest coast.

If Kitimat features prominently on Beijing’s map of Canada it is for its potential as an export port for liquefied natural gas and as the terminus for Enbridge’s proposed Northern Gateway pipeline. The project would carry 525,000 barrels per day of diluted bitumen along a 1,177-kilometre trip from the Alberta tar sands to the B.C. coast to be loaded onto supertankers (225 per year) destined for Asia.

At least that was the plan. Those who fought a long campaign to defeat the pipeline celebrated a well-deserved victory late last year when the

Trudeau government officially pulled the plug on Northern Gateway.

Thirty-one municipal governments, two regional districts, the Union of B.C. Municipalities, and 160 First Nations, who were in the forefront of the campaign, had opposed the project. More than a dozen legal challenges attacked the Harper government’s decision to approve it, as well as the way the B.C. government handed responsibility for reviewing the pipeline to the federal government.

The fact Kitimat itself voted against Northern Gateway was important. In April 2014, a plebiscite found 58.4% of the town opposed the project while 41.6% were in favour. Overall turnout was 62%. In many ways, this was a remarkable outcome. Kitimat had the most to gain from the project in potential long-term jobs, though the numbers weren’t impressive.

The district, which proclaims itself a “marvel of industry and nature,” was built as a planned company town in the 1950s to support the development of an aluminum smelter and hydroelectric dam by Alcan. The community has suffered its share of company closures and hard times over the years. Yet the residents nevertheless said no to the pipeline.

This raises at least two interesting questions. First, why was Kitimat the only jurisdiction along the proposed Northern Gateway route to hold a plebiscite on the project? And second, how was a small, local non-governmental organization, Douglas Channel Watch, able to take on and defeat the world’s largest pipeline company?

The plebiscite was not an inspired act of local democracy, similar to the *consultas* or *referendas* that have been held across Latin America to mobilize and record opposition

to extractive projects. In fact, it came about more by accident than by design.

The Kitimat District Council had long been hoping to attract Enbridge as a source of local jobs and income, and was decidedly pleased when the company announced in 2005 that Kitimat had been chosen over Prince Rupert as the pipeline's Canadian terminus. As the mayor at the time declared, "We've been courting Enbridge for nine years."

As the project began to take shape in the late 2000s, Kitimat council discovered its enthusiasm was not as widely shared as expected. While other jurisdictions signed on to oppose Northern Gateway, Kitimat retreated to an official position of neutrality. (Council contained both supporters and opponents of the project and neutrality seemed to be the best way of preserving the peace.)

But citizen pressure eventually forced the Kitimat council to seek local opinion on the project, even though this only happened after the National Energy Board/Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency joint review panel (JRP) had spoken.

To fulfil its pledge to citizens, the council held a (non-binding) plebiscite under a provision of B.C.'s Community Charter, which states: "a council may seek community opinion on a question that the council believes affects the municipality, by voting or any other process the council considers appropriate." Having studiously avoided taking a position on the project, the town decided to let the people speak, thereby making the resulting public rejection that much more powerful.

The plebiscite campaign was fought on the one side by Enbridge and on other by Douglas Channel Watch (DCW), a local NGO. A more unequal match is hard to imagine.

DCW formed in 2008 after Enbridge gave notice it would seek a federal review of the Northern Gateway project. Its half-dozen members—a handful of interested citizens drawn from different walks of life—had little or no previous political experience. This was as grassroots as it gets. DCW divided up responsi-

bilities based on previous knowledge (one member was a retired engineer) and a knack for online research in its effort to expose the Northern Gateway's faults.

In joint review panel hearings, DCW worked with other NGOs and the Haisla Nation. They shared information, co-ordinated events and generally participated in the wider oppositional networks. But in the plebiscite itself DCW followed a different strategy.

While many sites of opposition to fossil fuel extraction have welcomed and relied upon broader support, DCW consciously went as local as it could, eschewing outside support in the campaign itself. As DCW supporter Patricia Lange observed in an April 2014 *Northern Sentinel* article, "It's funny, we're turning people away from all over who want to come. We just feel it's a grassroots thing. It's just Kitimat."

The deliberate strategy to stay local meant using Kitimat residents as canvassers, and placing hand-painted signs next to Enbridge's professional billboards. The effect was to contrast DCW's local roots and ordinary means with Enbridge's well-financed campaign, which used fly-in canvassers, public meetings staffed with its own "experts," and much fancier signage. The "outsider" status of Enbridge was reinforced despite the company's attempt to portray itself as local.

To have invited outside canvassers and supporters would have weakened DCW's message. As anyone who has lived in the North will know, there are times when "outsid-

ers" are at a disadvantage in influencing public opinion, whether they are global corporations from Calgary or large NGOs from Vancouver.

As for the arguments put forward in the campaign, DCW's messaging focused on two points that resonated most on people's doorsteps. The first was the threat of oil spills from tankers off B.C.'s north coast. The second was the limited employment generated by the project.

DCW campaigners emphasized how the pipeline would merely export an unprocessed product instead of adding value locally. The group therefore used both environmental and employment arguments rather than asking residents to choose one priority over the other.

Perhaps the plebiscite result would have been the same without the DCW campaign. That is difficult to know with any certainty. But the Kitimat example does show how a small group of committed people were able to challenge the arguments (and public relations efforts) of a major global corporation and a supportive federal government.

The campaign also shows how a small NGO was able to draw upon the support of other organizations—provincial, national and international—to the extent it was helpful, and to stand on their own when needed. It alerts us to the need to consider exactly how and when to make the best of use of alliances—questions which undoubtedly have relevance far beyond Kitimat.

The future of Canada-Asia energy relations may not have been decided in Kitimat. But the popular rejection in that town of a major pipeline offers lessons, and importantly hope, for others involved in current and future battles. **M**

*For a more detailed discussion of this case, see the article by Paul Bowles and Fiona MacPhail, "The Town That Said 'No' to the Enbridge Northern Gateway Pipeline: The 2014 Kitimat Plebiscite," in the journal The Extractive Industries and Society (November 2016).*

**Citizen pressure eventually forced the Kitimat council to seek local opinion on the project.**

Marc Lee

## CANADA'S CARBON EXPORT PROBLEM

With great fanfare, and a claim that “Canada is back,” Prime Minister Trudeau helped usher in the Paris Agreement on climate change in December 2015. Since then, however, the federal government has pushed to expand fossil fuel production through new bitumen pipelines and liquefied natural gas (LNG) terminals. This contradiction points to a loophole in the Paris Agreement, one that perfectly fits Canada: countries have committed to reducing emissions within their borders, but not the carbon that is extracted and burned elsewhere.

The climate agreement poses no limits or sanctions on the supply of fossil fuels brought to market by producing countries. For exporters like Canada only the emissions from getting fossil fuels out of the ground and to the border are counted. As a result, producing countries have a powerful incentive to respond to the Paris Agreement by doubling down on fossil fuels now before their value evaporates. This “green paradox” is bad news for the climate.

The amount of fossil fuels burned for energy use in Canada has remained relatively flat since 2000 (see graph). This is because emission in-

creases in Alberta from the oil sands have largely been offset by reductions in Ontario and the Maritimes from the phase-out of coal-fired electricity generation. But if we look instead at what we dig, not just what we burn within our borders, there has been a relentless rise in carbon emissions.

Extracted carbon—the amount of fossil fuel removed from Canadian soil that ends up in the atmosphere as carbon dioxide—has grown dramatically. These emissions totalled 1.2 billion tonnes of CO<sub>2</sub> in 2014, up 26% since 2000. This increase is almost exclusively because of growing exports of fossil fuels. In 2014, the total amount of emissions embodied in Canada’s total exports of fossil fuels was slightly larger than all the greenhouse gas emissions that occur within Canada.

The major story is that Canada’s exports of crude oil have surged (mostly from the oil sands) while imports have declined. Net exported emissions (exports less imports) from crude oil were more than five times higher in 2015 than 2000. The Paris Agreement is thus a “good deal” for Canada because only half the fossil fuel we extract gets counted in our greenhouse gas inventory. The remainder is exported and counted where it is burned.

Exported emissions might not be a problem if the commitments made by countries in the Paris Agreement were enough to keep global warming below 1.5 to 2 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels (about 200 years ago). Unfortunately, this is not the case. Even if all countries live up to their pledges it would lead to a catastrophic 3 degrees of warming.

If countries were to take the science behind the Paris targets seriously, there is a finite amount of carbon that can enter the atmosphere—a carbon budget—over the next few decades. Based on Canada’s share of global fossil fuel reserves, we could continue to extract carbon at current levels for, at most, between 11 and 24 years. This means a planned, gradual wind-down of these industries needs to begin immediately.

Plans to increase Canada’s exports of fossil fuels contradict the spirit and intentions of the Paris Agreement, since they would require some other producing countries to keep their fossil fuel reserves in the ground. The problem with new fossil fuel infrastructure projects—like LNG plants and bitumen pipelines—is that they lock us into a high-emissions trajectory for several decades to come, giving up on the 1.5 to 2 degree limits of Paris.

Canadian efforts to address climate change must consider supply-side measures such as rejecting new fossil fuel infrastructure and new leases for exploration and drilling, increasing royalties and eliminating fossil fuel subsidies. There is still time for us to live up to our Paris Agreement commitments. Canada’s exports of fossil fuels do not need to drop to zero immediately. But it does not make sense to pursue policies that further ramp up extraction. **M**

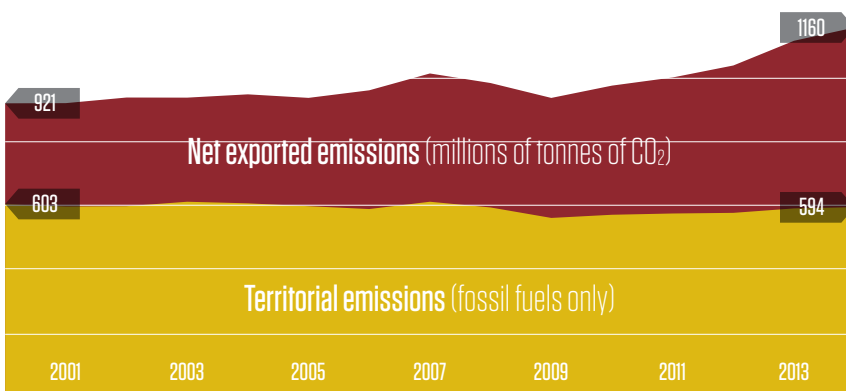






PHOTO ILLUSTRATION BY BARRY DOWNARD/GETTY IMAGES

Shannon Daub

## WHY AUSTERITY IS A PROBLEM FOR CLIMATE ACTION AND A JUST TRANSITION

**S**hortly after launching the Corporate Mapping Project in 2015, we held a series of community meetings with environmental, Indigenous and labour groups to discuss how to shape its work and where to start first. We did this in each of the three main fossil-fuel-producing western provinces—B.C., Alberta and Saskatchewan. One of the most striking things about those meetings, particularly in Saskatoon and Edmonton, was the pervasive sense of unease and frustration people felt about trying to challenge the role of the fossil fuel industry. Even the act of questioning our economic reliance on oil, gas and coal was seen as tantamount to threatening peoples' livelihoods and the well-being of their communities. Yet here we were, meeting at the tail end of 2015, when oil prices had reached their lowest point in decades, leading to massive layoffs

and dislocation in Canada's oil economy.

You would think this would create an opening to talk about the need for climate action and a shift away from fossil fuels, particularly in resource-dependent regions. After all, the market is forcing people through a very *unjust* transition: the oil price collapse has been a rather brutal reminder of the inherent riskiness in Canada's export-driven commodity sectors. But where there is any opening for discussion it is surprisingly small. In fact, starting the conversation may have become even harder.

Federal and provincial governments (outside of Saskatchewan, that is) have espoused climate-oriented policies to varying degrees. But they've done so while simultaneously doubling down on oil and gas production, as discussed elsewhere in this *Monitor* feature. The

dividing lines on these issues have solidified, with the jobs versus environment frame seemingly more powerful than ever. Progressives are divided on this question too, as we saw after the LEAP Manifesto came out in late 2015. Hence, even talking about the imperative to make a shift away from using and extracting fossil fuels risks being portrayed as an attack on extractive sector workers and communities—something both industry and government know all too well.

**I** have been working on climate communication and transition issues for much of the last eight years. That included many conversations with energy sector workers who will be impacted by our move away from fossil fuels. The enduring power of the jobs-versus-environment frame has puzzled me for some time. On reflection, I think one explanation for

it is the role that austerity plays in limiting our capacity to deal with societal problems, both as an ideological component of neoliberalism and as a policy framework with material consequences.

In other words, austerity is a conditioning framework. I wouldn't suggest this is the only explanation, of course, but I believe it's an important one. First, there is the role austerity plays in conjunction with the commodity rollercoaster to create a state of structural insecurity that has a particular character for resource sectors and resource-dependent communities. As a fiscal restraint, austerity also leads to shrinking public goods and government capacity. It erodes the social safety net.

In smaller communities the public sector is often the number 1 or 2 employer, so cuts to public services loom large for people in regions where the economy is less diversified than in large urban centres. Smaller B.C. communities, for example, bore the brunt of slash-and-burn reductions in public spending in the early 2000s. Regions outside Greater Vancouver and Victoria faced a 22% reduction in the number of direct public sector employees in just three years (2001 to 2004). In comparison, the Vancouver and Victoria areas combined faced a 14% decline.

Indeed, the trendline for B.C. provincial government spending as a share of the total economic pie (GDP) since 2000 is decidedly downward, as has been the case federally and in Alberta since the mid-1990s, and more recently under Brad Wall's government in Saskatchewan. This has happened alongside labour market reforms, including the restructuring of employment insurance, with the result that life has, in many respects, become far less secure—even as the recent commodity boom was in full swing. Just talking about the imperative to shift away from using and extracting fossil fuels, one risks being challenged as attacking extractive sector workers and communities.

But now that the boom is over, workers in fossil fuel industries have begun to experience a kind of private sector austerity as well; in a sense, it is the industrial sector companion to precarity. Austerity and the commodity rollercoaster together create an environment of permanent uncertainty, which in turn makes people risk averse, and understandably so. In times of uncertainty it is easier to stick with what we know. A recovery that people imagine to be just over the horizon is easier to bet on than this rather more fuzzy, unfamiliar, difficult-to-imagine and longer-term green transformation we keep talking about.

This brings us to the second problem with austerity, which is that shifting off fossil fuels by mid-century, while not impossible (as the CCPA, through our Climate Justice Project, has shown), will take ambition and active leadership by governments. Large-scale public investments in transit, building retrofits, renewable energy, affordable housing, retrofitting the development patterns of the suburbs and rural regions, funding transition and training programs for extractive sector workers—to name just a few priorities—are all areas where governments could clearly lead on job creation. In fact, there is no way around it if the transition is going to be a just

one that reduces inequality and improves peoples' quality of life.

Yet austerity makes such a thing unimaginable. Even now, at a time when it should be easier to say yes to alternatives to fossil fuel industries, austerity creates a culture of "no," as an activist pointed out at a recent meeting hosted by the Corporate Mapping Project.

Austerity is also part of neoliberalism's culture of mistrust in government, which is portrayed as wasteful, inefficient and not to be trusted. This was the line we were fed again and again in B.C. when the bottom fell out of the forest industry in the 1990s and 2000s. Recent provincial governments have piled on by relaxing tenure rules and increasing raw log exports, while largely failing to take an active role on the solutions side—and while the mountain pine beetle, B.C.'s first climate disaster, ravaged our interior forests. Calls for the government to support a renewed value-added industry, regulate wood waste, invest in greater reforestation practices and provide more support to communities in crisis were largely ignored.

A few years back, I interviewed energy sector workers about climate change and a *just transition*—the principle that workers and resource-dependent communities should be supported through the shift to sustainable industries without being asked to carry the risks or have to forego good, secure jobs. The B.C. government's firm "no" to any kind of just transition in forestry had clearly reinforced the general sentiment that, while just transition policies, as a basis for shifting off fossil fuels, are a nice idea in principle, they will never actually happen. No government they could imagine would ever take such action, or prioritize the needs of rural and resource-dependent communities in such a way.

This is the evil genius of neoliberalism and austerity. Years of pitched arguments from the right that government is wasteful and bloated, combined with ongoing declines in government spending and public services, have made many people allergic to the idea that government can help solve societal problems, including climate change. Not only does austerity make large-scale investment and government action unimaginable. As a fiscal framework, it also makes it impossible. In these ways, austerity acts as a material and ideological straightjacket, explaining to some extent why the oil price collapse has not created more room to build support for transition to a stable, diversified, green economy.

I don't mean to suggest there is no way out, and we must keep having the conversation. The Corporate Mapping Project will contribute to that conversation by more clearly delineating whose interests are served by the continued rush to extract fossil fuels, investigating why our governments are so effectively captured by the demands of this powerful industry, and reasserting the important role governments must play if we are to make a democratic and just transition to a secure and sustainable economy. **M**

Emily Eaton and Simon Enoch

## PETRO-PARTNERS

### ENERGY AND EDUCATION IN SASKATCHEWAN'S RURAL OIL COMMUNITIES

**T**he volatile politics of energy and the environment erupted in Saskatchewan earlier this year when students in a grade 8 “ecojustice” program of the Greater Saskatoon Catholic Schools division participated in the rally “Stand with Standing Rock: A Peaceful Demonstration.” Outrage was fuelled by local conservative talk-radio host John Gormley, who questioned the program’s commitment to balance, and accused the students of “begging and diminishing the lives of 10,000 families in this province” who depend on the oilfields.

Lost in the minor media tempest around this story of the potential undue influence of environmentalists over our children’s education was the question of how much power and influence the oil industry exerts over education in Saskatchewan, particularly in the communities of those very families who depend on the oilfields.

This summer, as part of the Corporate Mapping Project, we began research into one aspect of the energy industry’s power and influence, specifically how and to what extent the oil industry shapes the everyday institutions and culture of rural life in Saskatchewan’s oil-producing communities. We were particularly interested in the involvement of the industry in rural sports and recreation, cultural events, local governance and critical infrastructure.

We found that in many of these communities the oil industry is not perceived as an outsider or intruder to be tolerated or regulated, but as a valued and integral member of the community. Threats to the industry are thereby perceived as equally threatening to the community.

Explaining how the oil industry has achieved this level of social licence in these localities is the driving question behind our research.

Part of the explanation must include how the oil industry influences schools and education. Indeed, the oil industry is perceived as vital for the survival of many schools in oil-producing rural communities as the industry regularly supplies much-needed money for buildings and equipment, as well as offering industry-sponsored curriculum, field trips, and scholarships and awards for students. In what follows, we identify how the oil industry both directly and indirectly influences education in these communities, and raise questions for further research.

#### Direct industry involvement in education

**P**erhaps the most direct way the oil industry impacts education in these areas is through the physical buildings themselves—the very ability of communities to build and

**The oil industry is perceived as vital for the survival of many schools.**

maintain schools relies to a large degree on oil industry largesse. While the majority of funding for schools comes from the provincial government, communities are expected to fundraise substantial amounts for any upgrades or expansions.

For example, Oxbow’s new Prairie Horizons School required a community fundraising effort of \$1.2 million in order to expand the gymnasium and build a multi-purpose room. The vast majority of this fundraising was supplied by the oil industry, with Canadian Natural Resources Limited (CNRL) and Redhawk Well Servicing both committing over \$100,000 to the school, while smaller oil service firms committed amounts between \$5,000 and \$50,000.

Oil industry charity quite literally allows rural people access to educational opportunities that they might not otherwise have. It is small wonder that people view the industry as an integral community partner. But the oil industry’s influence over education in these communities goes far beyond bricks and mortar (as important as that is). Many firms see schools as a site for earning social licence and reputation enhancement.

The Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers (CAPP), in partnership with local oil firms, has brought their Energy in Action (EIA) program to schools across Saskatchewan (Elrose, Weyburn, Maple Creek, Carlyle, Carnduff and Oxbow) over the past decade. The EIA program is described as “an energy and environmental literacy program for students primarily in grades four to six in under-serviced schools in rural communities, where there are oil and natural gas operations.”

The program consists of in-classroom presentations that deliver “industry context” on key themes like examining renewable and nonrenewable resources; the use of natural resources to meet energy needs; values of natural resources (uses, products, careers); multiple perspectives related to energy use and development; natural resource and environmental stewardship; and awareness and appreciation for the local environment. The EIA program also contains a project component where students, community members and industry representatives plant trees and shrubs or build an outdoor classroom or bird boxes.

The motives behind EIA are made explicit in CAPP’s video for the program:

Energy in Action brings industry and communities together. To teach, to learn, to grow and build something important that will last a long time. Energy in Action is community engagement in action. Building understanding, growing roots in the community, reinforcing reputations, ensuring our social licence to operate. Skilled educators and a curriculum linked to energy realities opens eyes and opens minds. Energy in Action works.

To date, CAPP estimates the EIA program has been delivered to over 10,000 students, teachers and community members across Western Canada. Regardless of the content of the curriculum delivered by EIA—there is no doubt it is meant to portray the industry in a sympathetic light—it must also be viewed as a powerful intervention in the daily lives of children, showcasing the relationship between community and industry. In many of these communities, the day of the program is viewed as a communitywide event, further solidifying the status of the industry.

Kia Pyrcz of Vermilion Energy explained the value of the program this way: “projects like Energy in Action are an especially great opportunity for smaller industry players like Vermilion to educate the community on our local operations and our commitment to responsible resource development. Regardless of company size, this type of collaboration helps build strong enduring relationships

**From 2003 to 2008, the number of young men enrolled in school dropped almost 9% in Alberta and 2.6% in Saskatchewan.**

in the community. It’s important to put names and faces to an industry like ours.”

The industry is also a valuable source of awards and scholarships for students in oil-producing communities, with many firms providing bursaries and awards for students at regional colleges that offer education and training in oil-related fields. While this is no doubt self-serving—preparing the industry’s future workforce—oil-related programs also offer career paths for young people that may allow them to remain in their communities, an important (perceived and tangible) benefit that should not be underestimated.

The experience of rural outmigration, and depopulation of rural towns and villages due to the decline in agriculture, has left many families deeply fearful for the future viability of their towns. The oil industry (when it is flourishing) offers a respite from this narrative of decline, further connecting rural futures to the future of the industry.

## Indirect industry involvement in education

Even where the oil industry is not directly funding and becoming involved in education its very existence in these communities influences how education is perceived and valued.

For example, it is well-documented that oil communities regularly experience an exodus of young males from school to oilfield jobs during boom times. From 2003 to 2008, the number of young men enrolled in school dropped almost nine percentage points in Alberta and 2.6% in Saskatchewan, according to a 2014 Statistics Canada report. As one teacher we interviewed explained:

I have difficulties keeping the boys in the school until the end of grade 12, because they see the big money that people are making, or they perceive it’s big money, and keep them going towards their grade 12. That’s my biggest problem with the oil industry. I’ve had kids who would work summer jobs for an oil company—a drilling rig company or service rig company—come back to school in September and probably wouldn’t stay past Christmas. They get a little taste of money, and they’re gone.

Conversely, due to the highly gendered nature of oil work, women are more likely to view post-secondary education as necessary for their futures, since the majority of work available to them without a post-secondary degree is low-paid (in secretarial work or the service economy). The gendered pay gap begins in high school with students’ first jobs. Another teacher explained:

I had one grade 12 graduate...she felt she had to go and get a post-secondary education because, in this area, a female is not going to get a good-paying job without one.... But I think the girls certainly see the difference as they are growing up in the high

school because there aren't as many jobs outside of school hours that suit the female in this area. Unless it's those traditional female positions—you know, that might be the secretarial work for two hours after school with the minimum pay, compared to the [male] shop hand who might be making five dollars more and hour.

Similarly, the lives of teachers are also indirectly impacted by the oil economy. Inflated rental prices coupled with other cost-of-living increases in oil-boom towns force teachers to supplement their salaries with other employment. Another school teacher elaborates:

A lot of teachers have summer jobs or they're working a couple of jobs to keep things... or tonnes of teachers have quit to go to the oil field sector when it was booming because the wages were higher, benefits were better.

The boom-bust cycles of the oil industry also structure how education is valued and perceived in rural communities. With many regions currently experiencing economic downturn as a result of the collapse in oil prices starting in 2014, education, particularly at the post-secondary level, may see its value restored as other career options are foreclosed.

Paradoxically, renewed education enrolments come at a time when the private sector resources to fund education in oil-producing communities become increasingly scarce, and also during austere times for the provincial government, which has been all too ready to cut public education budgets.

## Work needed on rural alternatives

As we have illustrated, there is a high degree of dependence on the oil industry in many rural areas of Saskatchewan. It is therefore not difficult to grasp why the industry has achieved such a high de-

## The majority of our interviewees were skeptical about the human causes of climate change and believed the oil industry was already well-regulated.

gree of social licence: the oil industry provides many well-paying jobs and other economic benefits, and it is increasingly depended on to fund vital infrastructure, equipment, services and cultural activities. Education is just one important aspect of how the industry has made itself indispensable to these communities.

Given industry's fundamental role in the institutions of rural communities, it is not surprising that many of the people we interviewed adopted the same worldview as the industry on key energy issues. While conducting our research it became apparent to us that the majority of our interviewees were skeptical about the human causes of climate change and believed the oil industry was already well-regulated. This was the case not only for those working directly in the industry, but also for teachers, town councillors, people working in human services, and many others who trusted and adopted the perspectives of industry on key contentious issues such as climate change, pipelines and carbon pricing.

In one example, members of a rural conservation group expressed sympathy with oil companies, characterizing oil regulations as onerous, numerous and providing adequate protection for the environment. They held this view despite non-governmental and academic research demonstrating that Saskatchewan is uniquely underregulated in Canada. Indeed, on issues such as environmental regulation, climate

change and carbon pricing, it was the industry that was deemed the preeminent authority, with many of our interviewees regularly citing industry arguments.

When we understand the degree to which oil-producing communities view their future as inextricably linked to that of the oil industry it becomes clear why outside threats to the industry, whether through stricter regulation or carbon pricing, are viewed as threats to the viability of communities and individual livelihoods. In fact, it would be more surprising if rural people didn't adopt these views given that the survival of their communities is significantly tied to the survival of the oil industry.

There is thus a desperate need for a concrete vision of an alternative green economy for rural Saskatchewan. Without such a vision, rural communities will continue to side with industry when faced with the choice between grand plans from eastern politicians and urban environmentalists versus the everyday tangible benefits that the oil industry delivers. **M**

*This article is drawn from the Winter 2017 issue of **Our Schools / Our Selves**, which is available for purchase from the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives bookstore: [www.policyalternatives.ca/bookstore](http://www.policyalternatives.ca/bookstore).*





## The good news page

Compiled by  
Elaine Hughes

### Cleaning it up

As of January 1, all disposable forms of plastic, such as single-use cutlery, plates, bags and packaging, are banned in the National Capital Territory of Delhi. India is responsible for roughly 60% of the plastic that is annually dumped into the world's oceans. The country is also now home to the world's largest solar power plant, which covers 10 square kilometers in Ramanathapuram, in the southern state of Tamil Nadu. The Adani Group's solar plant has the capacity to power 150,000 homes. Cambridge University physicist Sam Stranks says he believes perovskite layers, a coating of two readily available salts, will make solar cells much more efficient, cheaper, thinner and lighter—to the point you will be able to print them with an inkjet and suspend them with a soap bubble. France has issued a record US\$7.5 billion in 22-year green treasury bonds at an interest rate of 1.75%. The money will be dedicated to renewable energy as part of the country's plans to meet its greenhouse gas reduction targets under the 2015 Paris Agreement. Ireland

has passed legislation to divest US\$8.5 billion worth of sovereign wealth from oil, gas and coal, becoming the first country to do so. New York City's largest landlords are joining a citywide carbon challenge launched in 2007 between 17 colleges and universities, which has since expanded to include 10 hospital organizations and 18 hotels, all pledging to reduce local carbon emissions by 80% below 2005 levels by 2050. New wind farms in Finland, Belgium and the Netherlands have made it possible to power Dutch electric trains with 100% renewable energy. / India Times / Good News Network / Associated Press / Reuters / Chemistry World

### Food and health

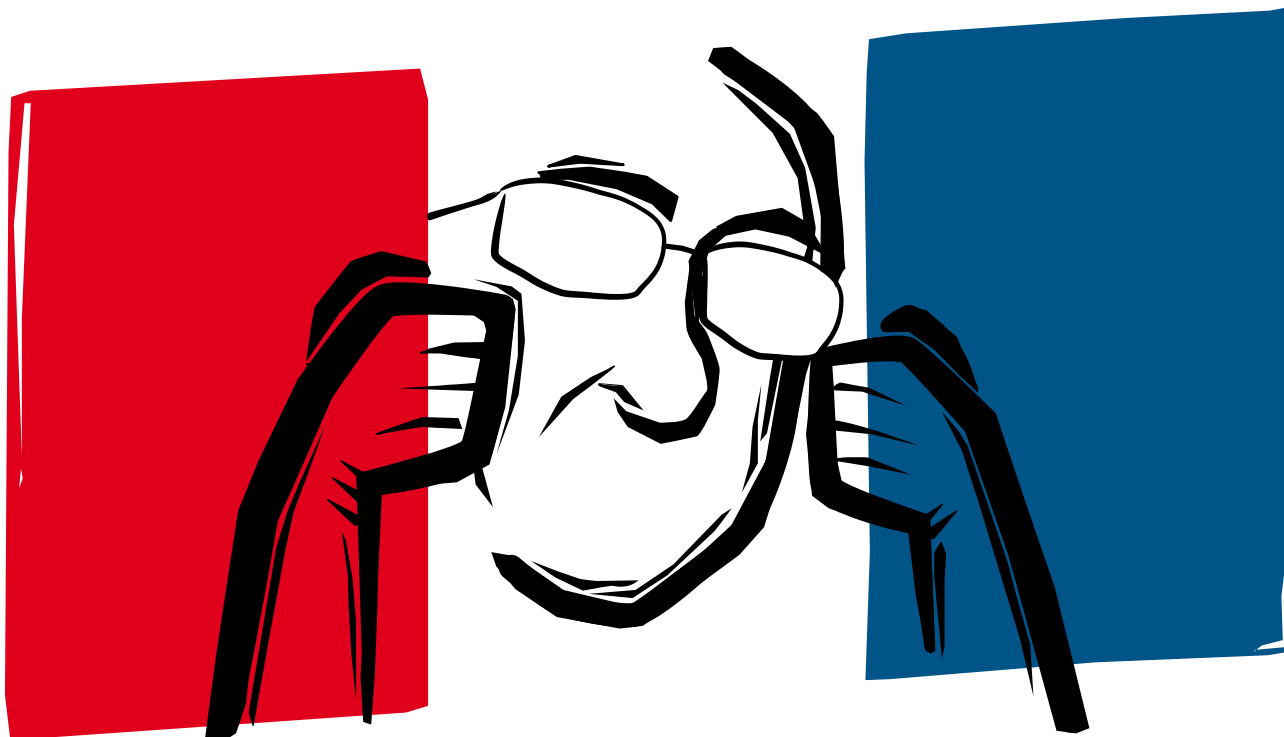
Migrant workers at Floralia Plant Growers in Abbotsford, B.C. won an important victory in January when the province's labour relations board ruled the company broke the law by conspiring with the Mexican government to blacklist workers who supported unionization with UFCW. The union's first contract with Floralia in 2008 required the employer to recall Mexican migrant workers based on seniority rather than its own discretion. Farmers in Kenya are battling unpredictable and irregular rainfall with a new albeit expensive (US\$721) app developed by scientists at the Meru University of Science and Technology. One farmer claimed the app, which monitors fields and controls irrigation equipment, helped reduce crop spoilage as a result

of dry weather from 70% to 10%. U.S. government financial and technical assistance between 2010 and 2016, to help farmers install high tunnels (30 by 70 feet in size) to extend the growing season, is paying off in increased yields, reduced energy use and improved air quality (from not needing to transport food as far), even in colder climates from Vermont to Alaska. Baldor Specialty Foods, which supplies produce, caviar, olive oil and other goods to the mid-Atlantic and northeast U.S. states, has also found a market for its scraps or "sparscs" (scraps spelled backwards), as it calls carrot tops, bean stems and cantaloupe rinds, which can be used in juices or soup bases at restaurants. What can't be sold is donated to processing plants as animal feed. / Rankandfile.ca / Reuters / Associated Press / Washington Post

### Human conditions

Singer and activist Buffy Sainte-Marie, who in 1969 founded the non-profit Nihewan Foundation for Native American Education, has been named the 2017 winner of the Allan Waters Humanitarian Award for Canadian musicians who left a positive social impact. Previous award-winners include Bruce Cockburn, Sarah McLachlan, Rush and members of Arcade Fire. Sparrow Furniture of Salem, Oregon, which currently operates out of an abandoned warehouse donated by the Salem Church Alliance, has crowdfunded money to upgrade its facilities and is hiring refugees to refurbish

and repurpose furniture, providing job training and English lessons in the process. Across from Istanbul's Kariye Museum, an Arabic bookstore and café called Pages offers isolated Syrian refugees a calm place to read and socialize. "I get to meet this generation, between 18 and 25 years old. This generation is surprising me with their understanding, their openness, their dialogue," said Pages owner Samer al-Kadri. A team at Glasgow University in Scotland is 3D-printing bone pieces (scaffolds) coated with a growth substance and stem cells. After the scaffolds are mechanically shaken for three or four days they continue to grow when implanted in the body, offering potentially life-changing help to landmine victims. Adults over 60 may be able to counter early memory loss with simple yoga-based meditation or group music listening sessions, according to a recent study led by Dr. Kim Innes of West Virginia University. Both therapies showed significant improvements in memory function and cognitive performance after three months, with substantial gains if continued to six months. / Canadian Press / Good News Network / Guardian (U.K.) / Journal of Alzheimer's Disease



Matthew Behrens

## No evidence? No problem.

What Hassan Diab's extradition and imprisonment in France tells us about Canada's casual relationship with the rule of law

**T**HE HARPER REGIME'S hugely controversial C-51 "anti-terror" legislation survives unscathed 16 months into the Trudeau era. State security agencies are no doubt enjoying the capacity to target a much larger section of the population with the broad surveillance and disruption powers they were gifted in the aftermath of the 2014 shooting near Parliament Hill. The potential for abuse is clearest to those who have suffered already under pre-C-51 practices, including indefinite incarceration without charge (as part of Canada's secretive security certificate process), overseas torture by proxy and the prohibition against boarding aircraft for people on "no-fly" lists.

Opponents of C-51, of which there are many, have presented such examples in online responses to the federal

government's national security green paper, "Our Security, Our Rights." The process is the outcome of the Liberal party's election pledge to "repeal the problematic elements of Bill C-51, and introduce new legislation that better balances our collective security with our rights and freedoms." The document itself, however, is problematic and biased in that it presumes basic rights are expendable, and asks Canadians which ones can be eroded and by how much.

One topic rarely raised in the debate so far is the dangerous power wielded by Ottawa under the Extradition Act. On those rare occasions that extradition enters the public lexicon, such as when Chinese Premier Li Ke-qiang visited Canada last fall seeking an extradition treaty with the federal government, it generates either apathetic yawns or frantic Google

searches for the term's meaning. For the record, extradition entails Canada acting on requests from foreign governments to deliver suspects facing criminal proceedings abroad. Few, it would seem, would oppose the extradition of someone accused of bilking seniors for millions of dollars. But what sounds like a straightforward issue is actually a highly politicized affair fraught with potential human rights violations.

"Although Canada is a nominal parliamentary democracy, when it comes to extradition the government could not be more dictatorial in its adoption and enforcement of treaties," wrote defence lawyer and legal scholar Gary Botting in 2011. "The Vienna Convention on Treaties requires that all international treaties be ratified; however, *none* of Canada's current extradition treaties has been



Diab (right) at a 2013 Greek festival in Ottawa with his wife Rania Tfaily and their daughter Jena.

ratified by the Parliament of Canada, or by any parliamentary committee, or even by the Privy Council.”

When another country wants someone in Canada apprehended and delivered to a foreign jurisdiction, the seemingly inviolable protections of citizenship or refugee status become secondary concerns. Indeed, as Justice Freda Steel acknowledged in the 1999 case of Winnipeg’s Monique Turenne, accused of murdering her Canadian Forces husband in Florida, evidence presented by the requesting country at an extradition hearing “should be accepted even if the judge feels it is manifestly unreliable, incomplete, false, misleading, contradictory of other evidence, or the judge feels the witness may have perjured themselves.”

The idea that someone in Canada can be handed over to another country on such disturbingly weak grounds—potentially opening the door to a vindictive government’s persecution of an expatriate political dissident—is based on a built-in assumption that the judicial systems of extradition partners conform to Canada’s fair trial standards. Ultimately, as the Supreme Court has conceded, extradition is a political matter in which the justice minister must determine whether it is worth hurting

diplomatic relations by rejecting the request of a foreign state.

Nowhere have the fault lines of extradition been more clear than in the case of Hassan Diab, a mild-mannered 63-year-old sociology professor from Ottawa, who nine years ago suddenly found himself accused by French authorities of the 1980 bombing of a Paris synagogue. French investigations into this act of terror, originally attributed to far-right groups as part of a string of similar bombings across Europe in the 1970s and ‘80s, had long since gone cold. Three decades later the crime was being pinned on Diab, a Canadian citizen of Lebanese birth, even though he did not share the finger and palm prints, or the physical description, of the original suspect.

The first French magistrate in charge of the Diab investigation wrote in 2008 that the “shreds of information” on the case that existed between 1980 and 1999 “were very vague and absolutely unusable [and] nothing allowed investigators to put a name to the Lebanese person known only by the first name Has-

san.” But that changed in 1999 when France’s counterterrorism apparatus received secret intelligence that led them to believe Diab was their man, even though, as Diab’s lawyers argued, it was “based largely on intelligence reports from unnamed foreign entities, who in turn obtained information from unknown sources in unknown circumstances.”

The French practice of relying on secret intelligence as evidence is highly controversial, since it can give legal heft to mere hearsay, gossip and rumour. Human Rights Watch has condemned the practice for violating fair trial guarantees, noting French counterterrorism courts “appear to have allowed as evidence in some cases statements allegedly made under torture by third persons.” Yet it is common practice in French terrorism prosecutions for intelligence to become “judicialized”—granted the status of evidence simply by having police report it to an investigative judge.

The ease with which this process occurs is, according to Human Rights Watch, “the pride of French counterterrorism officials,” cemented by a close, trusting working relationship between judges and French intelligence agents. It also greases the wheels of a state security infrastructure that University of Ottawa visiting professor Wesley Wark claimed, in an expert witness statement, to have “no parallel in the Anglo-Saxon world of justice.... These investigating magistrates become, in effect, a kind of intelligence service themselves.”

As Wark points out, “intelligence is acutely fallible. The propensity for failure built into the intelligence cycle means that intelligence cannot be equated with evidence or automatically assumed, somehow because it is intelligence, to be true. Intelligence is crafted; evidence is discovered. Intelligence is a construct which involves multiple processing filters between raw data and finished conclusions.”

This places individuals like Diab in the position of being unable to inquire about the source of secret allegations. As counterterrorism prosecutor Philippe Maître noted in a 2008 interview with Human Rights Watch, “[t]he origin of the intelligence is not



important, and we don't always know it." From this the group concluded, "Under these circumstances, it is difficult to see how the investigating judge can exercise any control over the legitimacy of the methods used and the veracity of the information obtained when determining whether to open an official investigation or authorize certain investigative steps."

But that's exactly what ignited the French investigation against Diab in 1999—secret intelligence from an unknown, unidentified source under unexplained circumstances. French officials took another nine years to approach Canada, where Diab was arrested, held for three months in custody and released under unprecedented bail conditions, including that he and his partner, Rania Tfaily, would pay the \$2,000 monthly bill for Diab's GPS monitoring system. Though Diab had not yet been charged with any crime, he was removed from a teaching post at Carleton University, prompting a complaint by the Canadian Association of University Teachers.

Given the limited role Canadian judges play in reviewing extradition requests—hearings tend to be relatively expeditious affairs followed by submissions to the justice minister—it was remarkable that Diab's hearing was so protracted, spanning over a year in an Ontario court. The proceedings at times resembled some-

thing out of a Pink Panther film, whose bumbling Inspector Clouseau painted a comic picture of the French police. Much of the case brought by French authorities, including the allegations based on the secret 1999 "intelligence," was excluded from consideration by Judge Robert Maranger, who deemed it argument, speculation and analysis, and not evidence."

All but one of the elements of the alleged case were deemed insufficient grounds for extradition: the Canadian judge was prepared to accept a widely discredited analysis of the suspected synagogue bomber's handwriting based on five words written in block letters in a Paris hotel register. Two handwriting experts, having compared the register scrawl with Diab's PhD admission documents at Syracuse University, concluded both were made by the same hand. It didn't seem to matter that many of the Syracuse samples "matched" to the suspect's writing were written not by Diab but by his then-wife, Nawal. Embarrassed French officials withdrew their reports and replaced them with another one. But then five internationally renowned handwriting experts testified this, too, was fatally flawed and wholly unreliable, and that an objective handwriting analysis would exclude Diab as the suspect.

Judge Maranger had numerous misgivings about the final French

handwriting analysis, calling it "illogical" and "very problematic." However, he still committed Diab for extradition based almost entirely on this discredited "evidence," noting that his hands are tied by the extradition treaty between Canada and France. He wrote that the "case presented by the Republic of France against Mr. Diab is a weak case; the prospects of conviction in the context of a fair trial seem unlikely." Even the government of Canada admitted the weakness of the case. "If we had lost the handwriting evidence, I fairly concede, we would be facing an uphill battle," said the counsel for the attorney general.

As Diab's case made its way to the Ontario Court of Appeal, his lawyers learned he had yet to be charged with a crime in France, which is normally a precondition for extradition. But in May 2014, the higher court upheld Diab's removal from Canada anyway, dismissing concerns that torture-gleaned "intelligence" would be used against him in French court. As his legal team pointed out, "France had a special intelligence sharing relationship with Syria [which was] shown to have regularly kidnapped Lebanese individuals and tortured them to extract information on national security and terrorism matters." The lawyers added there exists "no genuine ability to challenge intelligence in French terror trials."



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In November that year, less than 48 hours after the Supreme Court refused to hear his appeal, Diab was swiftly removed from Canada. His lawyer, Donald Bayne, said the case was a perfect prescription for “wrongful conviction,” but Canadian officials appeared more concerned not to insult the French by rejecting the request. (France itself does not allow the extradition of its citizens.) Diab has been in prison in Paris ever since and remains “under examination” (not yet charged) by a French magistrate who is allowed to rely on the discredited, withdrawn handwriting analyses and secret intelligence that were, even under Canada’s notoriously low extradition standards, deemed unworthy of consideration.

Canadian officials refused to seek assurances from the French that information gleaned from torture would not be used against Diab. In 2009, a landmark report by the respected International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) raised serious concern about this practice: “States have publicly claimed that they are entitled to rely on information that has been derived from the illegal practices of others; in so doing they become ‘consumers’ of torture and implicitly legitimize, and indeed encourage, such practices by creating a ‘market’ for the resultant intelligence. In the language of criminal law, States are ‘aiding and abetting’ serious human rights violations by others.”

**W**ith the cards stacked against him, Diab has steadfastly maintained his innocence, condemned the 1980 synagogue attack and tried to make the most of his time in jail. He is even learning French. Diab’s family, and a large community of supporters in Canada, were hopeful when he was released on bail in May 2016. But the French Court of Appeal had him returned to prison 10 days later.

In October, the investigative magistrate in charge of his case ordered Diab again released on bail. “At this stage of the inquiry, there exists consistent evidence tending to establish that Hassan Diab was in Beirut late September, early October 1980,” he said. “[T]his calls into question in-

## The French practice of relying on secret intelligence as evidence is highly controversial, given it can be mere hearsay, gossip and rumour.

formation implicating him in the attack since this relies on his presence in France during this period.” Then, again, a French prosecutor blocked his release, with the Court of Appeal overruling the release order and renewing Diab’s detention. William Bourdon, Diab’s lawyer in France, noted that, “after 36 years and since no one else was indicted, the Court of Appeal is clinging on to Hassan Diab. He is detained because of the judges’ fear to be accused of laxity in the context of today’s fight against terrorism in France. Such a situation would be inconceivable in an ordinary law procedure.”

While the next steps in Diab’s case are unclear, his extradition, and the manner in which Canada has expressed confidence in the French counterterrorism regime, raises profoundly disturbing questions for those engaged in the federal government’s national security consultations.

While the French and Canadian systems are different, they do share similarities. For years, individuals subject to security certificates in Canada endured similar ordeals to those faced by Diab. They were in prison without charge, facing deportation, based on secret intelligence they could not contest and which, as former Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) director Jim Judd acknowledged in 2008, could very well be the fruit of torture. Information not normally admissible in a court of law could be re-

ceived by the security certificate judge as evidence and then discussed with government lawyers and CSIS in the absence of the detainee and their lawyers. It is no wonder the Supreme Court of Canada recognized, in a 2007 ruling on the process, “one cannot be sure that the judge has been exposed to the whole factual picture.”

With the C-51 anti-terrorism omnibus legislation now in place, concerns continue to grow that Canadian state security agencies will get their wish to use intelligence as evidence in any legal procedure. In 2009, the UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights and Counterterrorism warned about the blurring of intelligence and evidence, noting that it leads to an increasing reliance on secret processes instead of open courts, where proof beyond a reasonable doubt ensures a more accountable examination of the case. In addition, the use of intelligence tends to invoke a greater degree of secrecy over any judicial procedures, as governments argue their sources must be protected.

While Diab and his supporters continue working to return him home to Canada, the very legal infrastructure that landed him in a Kafkaesque nightmare continues to operate relentlessly, and quite often secretively, under Harper’s C-51 expansion of state security powers—all in the name of protecting the very freedoms that have proven so elusive in his case.

Indeed, the experiences of security certificate detainees and individuals like Hassan Diab, among others, will certainly cast a shadow on the federal government’s response to the green paper consultation. At the same time, a major obstacle to combating C-51 is the relative lack of information on who has been most affected, and how, by its sweeping reach. Given the secrecy that continues to envelop the world of Canadian intelligence, and the dearth of accountable oversight mechanisms, organizations such as CSIS and the RCMP may continue, like agents of the French counterterrorism system, to make problematic claims about alleged threats while those being targeted remain in the dark. **M**



Asad Ismi

## “We are talking about a fascist regime”

Philippines President Rodrigo Duterte is flouting international law with his war on drugs and reshaping Asian geopolitics

Armed security forces take part in a drug raid in Manila, Philippines, October 2016.

DAMIR SAGOLJ/REUTERS

**W**HILE THE TRUMP presidency is mired in chaos, another national leader, also accused of being a fascist, is solidifying his rule of the Philippines.

Rodrigo Duterte was elected president of the Southeast Asian island nation in May 2016 and remains popular. A January 2017 poll showed he enjoyed a trust rating of “excellent” among voters. He has also wiped out his political opposition. Since last year’s election, virtually all Liberal Party lawmakers have joined the president’s ruling Partido Demokratiko Pilipino-Lakas ng Bayan (PDP-Laban) in congress, giving Duterte complete control over the national legislature.

Remarkably, Duterte has also co-opted the Communist Party (the dominant section of the left), which has joined his government and been given cabinet posts. Unlike Trump, however, Duterte calls himself a socialist and came into office on a social reform platform, railing against the elite (represented by the Liberals). He pledged to wipe out corruption, poverty, and drug trafficking and addiction, but so far

has only focused on the last issue, resulting in the horrific extrajudicial killings by police of more than 7,600 people, most of them low-level drug sellers and users (methamphetamines are the main drugs consumed in the country).

At the end of January, Duterte removed the police from the drug war after drugs squad officers killed a South Korean businessman. But he promptly handed the responsibility to the Philippine Drug Enforcement Agency (PDEA), to be supported by the military. The drug war has been widely criticized, including by the United Nations and the United States government, which has dominated the Philippines since 1898. Duterte famously reacted to U.S. criticism by calling former president Obama’s a “son of a bitch” and telling him to “go to hell.” Duterte cancelled joint military exercises with the U.S. and has reoriented the Philippines’ main alliance toward China. It is a sea change for his nation and a significant defeat for U.S. policy in Asia.

Like Trump, Duterte is a braggart. He has even boasted about personally killing drug dealers in the city of Davao when he was mayor—a state-

ment designed to encourage police to do the same on levels the president likened to the number of Jews murdered in the Second World War. During his election campaign in 2016, Duterte made an even more shocking remark when he said he “should have been first” in a gang rape and killing of a female Australian missionary during a prison uprising in Davao in 1989, while he was mayor.

**W**alden Bello, a former member of the Philippines’ House of Representatives and leading analyst of national politics, wrote last May that he thought Duterte’s comment was “a fatal mistake” for his election chances. But much like Trump’s comments about women, the outrageous quip ended up having little effect on the soon-to-be-president’s popularity. Bello, a professor of sociology at both the University of the Philippines and the State University of New York at Binghamton, ran unsuccessfully for senator in that election as an independent. He represented the leftist Akbayan (Citizen’s Action) Party for six years in congress.

Bello says he believes Duterte is in the process of setting up a fascist dictatorship. The president “uses the war on drugs, not so much to solve the drugs problem, but to further an authoritarian agenda, to gain total and undisputed control,” he tells me. “We are talking about a fascist regime, which is an extraordinary response to the crisis of the system, but which does not replace the system itself. I use ‘extraordinary’ here to mean not business-as-usual politics.”

According to Bello, the Philippine system is in “deep structural crisis.” Duterte is to that crisis what Roosevelt was to the crisis of U.S. capital in the 1930s, and what Hitler was to the crisis of German capital at that time. In this case it stems from “the failure of the liberal democratic order to deliver popular empowerment and the wealth redistribution” promised when the Ferdinand Marcos dictatorship was replaced in 1986.

“Popular anger and alienation from this failed project was what catapulted Duterte to power in an electoral insurgency. He combined the image of a strongman who would get rid of the ‘national chaos’ and a ‘socialist’ who would discipline the elite, though he does not seem to understand what socialism is.”

Bello points out that 40 of the richest families in the Philippines control most of the country’s wealth and the media. This semi-feudal ruling oligarchy includes a landowning elite that monopolizes vast swathes of land in the countryside, causing massive landlessness and poverty among peasants and small farmers, which has given rise to both a communist and a religious (Muslim) insurgency.

According to figures released by the Philippines Statistics Authority in March 2016, more than 26.3% of the population was poor in 2015. The land-owning elite has dominated the centres of power in the capital Manila since independence in 1946, noted Barry Desker, from the Nanyang Technological University, in a June 2016 column, adding Duterte is the first president that does not belong to this elite.

However, now that the Philippine elite is allied with Duterte it is unlikely the president will move against

their interests by engaging in significant wealth redistribution, especially not critically needed land reform. “That makes social reform very difficult,” says Bello. “And indeed, no reform has taken place and none seems to be in the offing. But this is not because Duterte does not have the space for reform. It is that he has entrusted the key levers of the economy (the ministries of finance, trade, industry, planning and the budget) to neoliberal technocrats who are very status quo oriented, while he focuses on the anti-crime campaign, which he admits is the only expertise he has.”

Duterte has given Communist Party-affiliated cabinet members control over the ministries of social welfare and agrarian reform, but these agencies are “very weak relative to the finance, trade, industry, planning and budget ministries,” says Bello. Still, he adds, the president’s alliance with the elites does not make him their instrument. “I would even say that many factions of the elite are behaving towards Duterte like small merchants towards the mafia, that is, to buy protection.”

In his 10 months in office, Duterte has transformed not only Philippine politics but also the country’s international alliances, to the extent of upending Asian geopolitics. For more than a century, the Philippines has been a colony and then a neocolony of the United States, hosting two large U.S. military bases that made the country one of Washington’s two “unsinkable aircraft carriers in the Pacific” (the other is Japan), according to Conn Hallinan, an analyst with Foreign Policy in Focus, a project of the Washington, D.C.-based Institute for Policy Studies.

In October, Duterte went on a state visit to China where he told his hosts: “I announce my separation from the United States both in military, not maybe social, but economics also. America has lost. I’ve realigned myself in your ideological flow and maybe I will also go to Russia to talk to (President Vladimir) Putin and tell him that there are three of us against the world: China, Philippines and Russia. It’s the only way.” The Philippines and China have com-

peting claims in the South China Sea, but Duterte has put this issue aside.

“The move [toward China] by Duterte reflects a growing understanding in Asia that China is on the way up and the U.S.—while still the most powerful military force on the planet—is in decline,” says Hallinan. He quotes a CIA study claiming that by 2023, Asia will have surpassed North America and Europe in GDP, population size, military spending and technological investments. By 2025, two-thirds of the world’s population will reside in Asia, 7% in Europe and 5% in the U.S. “Those are the demographics of eclipse,” says Hallinan.

Duterte recognizes that China is the leading trade partner for Japan, South Korea, Australia, Vietnam and India, and the third largest for Indonesia and the Philippines, adds Hallinan. “Putting the South China Sea disputes on the back burner not only reflects an understanding of this reality, but also a well-founded fear that there could be a military confrontation between China and the U.S. in the region.”

More than 400 of the 800 U.S. military bases around the world are in Asia. In another embarrassment for the Trump administration, a 2016 video recently surfaced in which Steve Bannon, a top political advisor to Trump, claims “We’re going to war in the South China Sea” in the next 10 years. Trump began his tenure by questioning the “One China” policy, and his Secretary of State, Rex Tillerson, threatened to block China from accessing its chain of bases in the South China Sea. “The first would mean a break in diplomatic relations and the second, war,” Hallinan warns. Trump has since backtracked on both issues, reducing tensions, but “a serious danger of war remains.”

Because war could easily go nuclear—NATO maintains the right to initiate a nuclear first strike, China had an estimated 260 warheads in 2015, and North Korea continues to flout a missile test ban—Asian countries are “trying to avoid anything that might lead to a military clash,” adds Hallinan. “In that sense, the action of the Philippines is a boost for China. If war is avoided, in the long run, China will replace the U.S. as the major power in the Western Pacific.” **M**

# Disruption delusions

How to get the worst result from a promising technology? Simple, says **Bob Hughes**. Entrust it to mega-corporations and the marketplace.

**I**N EARLY 2011, I was handing out leaflets at a demo against privatization of the British National Health Service. A smart middle-aged couple hove into view. They didn't look as if they'd be terribly receptive, but I thought I'd have a go: people often confound their stereotypes. Before I could utter a whole sentence, the man snatched my leaflet, scrunched it up and said: "You people are mad! You want to turn the clock back! You want to take us all back to a miserable world that's simply incapable of producing something like this." And from the inside pocket of his overcoat he produced a new Apple iPhone.

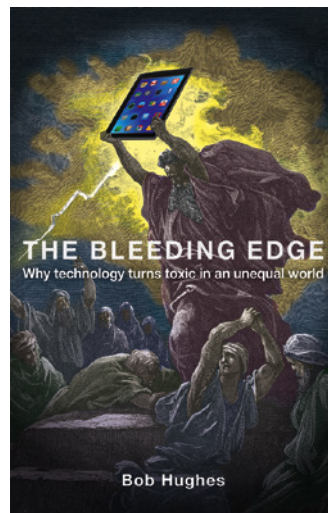
"This," he said, brandishing the phone under my nose, "is what a free market does. Brilliant technology that works! Not the rubbish you get from the kind of society you people want! She knows!" And here he indicated his wife. Yes, she nodded, she had grown up in Romania. "This is the future," he continued, "not that!" And, with a contemptuous side-glance at our homemade placards, away they strode, into the future.

This either/or mindset bestrides the political landscape like the ancient Colossus of Rhodes. Again and again we hear, even from people of the political left, that whatever its failings capitalism reigns supreme when it comes to delivering advanced technologies. If we want wonderful things we need the cut-and-thrust and inevitable casualties of free-market competition. One columnist, responding to the 2010 suicide epidemic at Foxconn's iPhone assembly plant, equated boycotting the company to boycotting the 21st century.

But the notion that "progress" and "technology" equal the latest piece of consumer electronics is just hot air. According to hypertext pioneer Ted Nelson, an iPhone is not technology, it is packaging. Yes, it uses technologies (von Neumann architecture, binary

arithmetic units, random access memory, Unix or a similar operating system, TCP/IP, DHCP, HTTP, USB, Ethernet...I could go on). Most of them are surprisingly old technologies, developed long before capitalist firms became computer enthusiasts. And they often do less than they did, or were meant to do, when they were new.

Were you aware, for example, that your smartphone or laptop is capable of sharing its resources with a whole network of cheap "dumb terminals" or even old, cast-off machines? Its operating system (Unix, or one of its Open Source workalikes) began life in the late-1960s to serve multiple users simultaneously from a single machine. Today, all over Latin America, in South Korea and Nepal, in Greece and oth-



er austerity-stricken places, ingenious techies are using this buried feature to give schools and colleges all the computers their students need, despite having had their budgets axed.

Almost none of these technologies owe anything to free-market competition. They emerged, instead, from unpaid, individual or collaborative effort, motivated solely by the very impulses that capitalism normally suppresses: the desire to help others, to solve an intriguing problem, to win

the respect of one's peers. Capitalism's defenders say it brings these clever ideas out of the ethereal world of the lone inventor or the university lab into the real world so that real people can benefit from them—as if capitalism were a sort of wise and reassuring parental presence, or a midwifery service for nerds. This idea is as tenacious as it is false.

From the 1950s onward, study after study has shown that capitalist firms are much more likely to resist new ideas than to foster or embrace them. Computers were possible at least a century before the present lineage emerged during the Second World War. Some of the early designs (like Thomas Fowler's "ternary logic" device of 1840) could have led to much more efficient computing paradigms than what we have now. The big breakthroughs came to an end when computers started to become capitalist commodities in the 1970s and the failures became legion. For example, computer firms have all struggled to produce reliable operating systems (OSs, the software that co-ordinates a computer's components and essential processes). Today's OSs are nearly all based on one written in 1969, in his scanty spare time, by a programmer called Ken Thompson (Unix, and its free GNU/Linux successors).

Almost all today's computers still use an architecture devised in the 1940s for fragile, valve-based machines to do precisely one thing at a time—and no more. This is why the typical modern computing device needs such a fast, energy-hungry processor and is, according to one writer, "the least efficient machine that humans have ever built." Computer disk drives have been the workhorses of the computer revolution since the early 1960s; "cloud computing" would be unthinkable without the billions of them that fill data centres. But the technology was developed in defiance of management or-

ders by a group of IBM workers who “risked their jobs to work on a project they believed in.”

Where capitalist firms excel is in their tendency to “run away” with any technology they eventually decide to adopt, forcing it into every possible nook and cranny of economic life that might yield even a short-term profit, and stifling other technologies that might threaten the profit stream. Hence the winner-take-all character of technological change in capitalist economies. Technologies that start out full of promise turn into juggernauts. Nothing illustrates this more vividly than the computer and the Internet. The promised “weightless economy” is now one of the world’s greatest producers of greenhouse gases. In 2010, Greenpeace found that the Internet’s global population of servers was consuming more electricity than Germany or even India.

And here’s the paradox. Every new technology aims to achieve more with less. Yet the moment the forces of economic competition get involved the equation is thrown into reverse. The more efficient the technology the bigger its environmental impact, leading finally to the ecological catastrophe we now face.

The problem was first defined by the economist William Stanley Jevons in 1865. The British government had asked him to examine why Britain seemed to be getting through its coal reserves at an ever-faster rate, although steam engines were becoming more efficient with each passing year, requiring less coal to do the same amounts of work. Jevons’s verdict was that this was indeed a genuine phenomenon, probably an intractable one, and not confined to steam technologies: where there is price competition, greater efficiency can lead to greater demand, which negates any savings in energy consumption.

Since then, many economists have tried to show that Jevons was wrong or that better technology would eventually achieve “escape velocity” and start delivering the hoped-for reductions—a phenomenon known as “decoupling.” This is often the basis of “green growth” arguments, but actu-

al instances of decoupling are very hard to find.

For example, LED lights seem miraculously efficient; they need minuscule amounts of electricity in use. But they use enormous amounts of energy in manufacture, to which must be added the environmental and human costs of extracting and refining the raw materials that go into them, as well as packaging and shipping, all of which are borne far from the point of use. Only the brute force of global inequality keeps these expenses off the bottom line. The positional pressures on consumers and manufacturers to take advantage of the new, cheap-looking technologies while they still have a cost advantage (or might give rivals a cost advantage) then ensure massive growth in usage and impact, for little or no increase in anybody’s welfare.

The underlying reason for the Jevons effect is now becoming apparent: social inequality. When powerful new technologies emerge in unequal societies, they are deployed to protect and entrench inequality.

Archaeology has found that serious, human-initiated environmental degradation did not occur until the rise of entrenched inequality in the Bronze Age, a mere 5,000 years ago. Today it is the more unequal societies (like the U.S. and Dubai) that harm the environment most. Less-unequal societies harm their environments commensurately less, while achieving the same or better outcomes in terms of human and environmental welfare. The most egalitarian societies of all actually enrich their environments. The implications are radical. Inequality cannot be allowed any longer to turn humanity’s achievements into juggernauts. Inequality may be the “great unmentionable” of capitalist economics, but it must be challenged.

Equality of all human beings has to be our goal, plain and simple. Not just gender equality, or “equal opportunity” or “equality of respect,” but equality, as in nobody having more resources than anyone else without good reason (for example, if they are ill, or old, or very young, or handicapped in some way, or have a project that we all agree merits special support). Reducing ine-

quality offers a genuine win-win solution: humans gain and so does our environment. And it becomes a “triple win” when one looks again at how technological innovation actually happens. Here, equality is central.

The unlikely and officially disapproved partnership that produced Britain’s first electronic computer, the Colossus in 1943, is typical: on the one hand, a team of working-class telephone engineers led by a bricklayer’s son, Tommy Flowers; on the other, the posh-but-eccentric (and gay) mathematician Alan Turing. Their superiors did all they could to kill the partnership and bury its achievements, but the threat of national extinction robbed convention of its usual force. The collaboration proceeded, albeit briefly and on a shoestring, yet with terrific consequences. On the larger historical scale there is plenty of evidence that “the rise of the west” itself, which has made extreme inequality the global norm, owed far less to the creative energies of its new, capitalist states, than to their violence, and a treasure trove of technologies developed during the so-called “dark ages” by anonymous craft-workers in egalitarian guilds and fraternities.

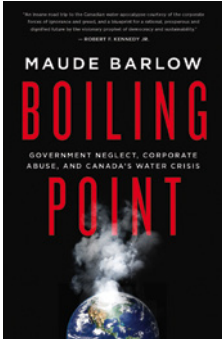
How much further might our technologies have advanced by now if the commitment to equality that’s routinely emblazoned on public buildings and even our coins carried real, practical force? Today’s most creative societies are also our most egalitarian ones. In their dim way, even the “big beasts” of the capitalist economies acknowledge equality’s importance, setting up hermetically sealed, quasi-egalitarian “villages” and “campuses” where programmers, designers and so on can operate free from the brutal hierarchies that dominate life for their other employees.

We are encouraged to marvel at our era’s technological achievements and either place our blind faith in them, or to despair. We should recognize how pitiful those achievements actually are, and how obscene their impact in relation to what is possible.

THIS ARTICLE ORIGINALLY APPEARED IN *NEW INTERNATIONALIST*, A CO-PUBLISHER, WITH BETWEEN THE LINES, OF HUGHES’S NEW BOOK, *THE BLEEDING EDGE: WHY TECHNOLOGY TURNS TOXIC IN AN UNEQUAL WORLD* (2016).

Reviewed by Frank Bayerl

# Global water activist returns with a warning



## BOILING POINT: GOVERNMENT NEGLECT, CORPORATE ABUSE AND CANADA'S WATER CRISIS

MAUDE BARLOW.

ECW Press (2016), 293 pages, \$19.95

**I**N THIS FOLLOW-UP to her international water trilogy (*Blue Gold*, *Blue Covenant*, *Blue Future*), Maude Barlow, one of the world's leading experts on the essential resource, returns with a Canadian perspective on the many threats to water in this country.

Barlow's new warning in *Boiling Point* comes down to this: the federal government is neglecting water quality issues, privatization and free trade deals are making the problem worse, and First Nations are on the front line of pushing for the human right to clean drinking water, as guaranteed by the United Nations. These topics are explored in the kind of detail that can leave a reader shaking their head in disbelief and/or shame.

Such is the story of the Shoal Lake First Nation in Manitoba, which has been under a boil water advisory for nearly 20 years. Their land was expropriated a century ago so that an aqueduct could be built to take clean water to supply the needs of Winnipeg. The residents of Shoal Lake were moved to an island with no potable water.

Federal neglect of water was apparent in the Harper years as the government gutted environmental protections to speed up industrial approvals. As the Lake Ontario Waterkeeper stated, "The Navigable Waters Protection Act no longer protects water. The Fisheries Act no longer protects fish. The Environmental Assessment Act no longer requires environmental assessments be done before important decisions are made." Last June, the Trudeau government announced a consultation process to review all three legislative reforms, but Barlow fears the process will be hijacked by industry lobby groups.

It was significant, she writes, that the Liberals reversed Canada's initial opposition to the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and agreed to adopt it last May. But here, too, actions speak louder than words. The recent approval of the Kinder Morgan pipeline and of a liquid natural gas facility in British Columbia, and the issuance of permits for the province's unnecessary and environmentally destructive Site C dam, undermine confidence that real change will take place, says Barlow.

The water justice activist, and chairperson of the Council of Canadians, has many times listed the global threats to water in her past works and public speaking. The fact they need constantly repeating adds to our sense of desperation: water is polluted through mining, overused in agriculture, destroyed through ecosystem degradation, withdrawn in unsustainable amounts for tar sands development, stressed by urban population growth, bottled up and sold for profit, and made to disappear in the goods manufacturing process.

The accumulation of these examples and case studies lends an air of inevitability to her narrative of a global water crisis on our doorsteps.

And yet we come away with the sense that things do not have to be this way, since solutions exist if only governments would care enough, or are forced to care by informed and angry citizens, to implement them.

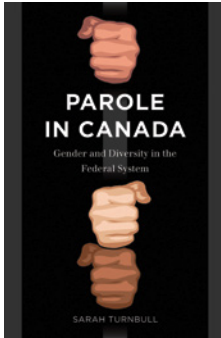
A less publicized threat is the setting-up of water markets to allow trading in water rights. Richard Sandor, an American economist who is regarded as the father of carbon trading, predicted in 2015 that we would soon see trading in water futures. In fact, the U.S. Commodity Futures Trading Commission is developing an algorithm for just this purpose. Alberta moved plans forward in this direction under previous conservative regimes, though it is unclear how far the current NDP government will take them.

The experience of Australia can serve as a cautionary tale in this regard. There, as Barlow explains, water markets put in place in 1994 have resulted in water prices skyrocketing from \$2 a megalitre in 2000 to over \$1,500 a megalitre in 2014. A government looking to buy back some of those water rights, perhaps to save one of the country's major rivers from severe drought, could find the bill out of its price range. Water trading also fails to give priority to municipal water supplies, small farmers, human needs and ecosystem preservation, since allocation of dwindling supplies is made solely on the basis of the ability to pay.

With so many of today's threats to the environment directly related to water (e.g., the increased West Coast tanker traffic that would result from Kinder Morgan pipeline expansion and the likelihood of spills into drinking water sources from Energy East), there could be no better time to think about the importance of this irreplaceable resource and how we make decisions about its value to ourselves and all other living things. **M**

Reviewed by Eli Remington

# Rethinking diversity in Canada's prisons



## PAROLE IN CANADA: GENDER AND DIVERSITY IN THE FEDERAL SYSTEM

SARAH TURNBULL

UBC Press (January 2017), \$32.95

**I**N *PAROLE IN Canada*, Sarah Turnbull explores the efforts to reform the Canadian penal system to respond to the diversity of the populations it manages. Specifically, she looks at how the Parole Board of Canada interprets this task, taking a “triangulated approach” that includes interviews with PBC affiliates and a meticulous examination of a variety of documents both publically available and obtained through access to information. The result is a well-informed critique of the institutionalization of diversity that does not descend into a simple and totalizing vilification of the policies and practices under investigation.

Turnbull is interested in difference (i.e., diversity) as both understood and put into action by the PBC. She finds that initiatives related to diversity are given secondary status and, importantly, forced to fit within the dominant penal logics already in place. In the case of the PBC, that means a system focused first and foremost on the assessment of risk. This dynamic echoes in another of Turnbull’s significant contributions that renders the invisible visible: the oft-unstated but perpetual norm of maleness and whiteness,

against which diversity is defined, is front and centre here. This awareness helps contextualize another recurrent problem noted by the author, that is the difficult translation of ideal into policy. Turnbull argues that the PBC struggles to recognize any identity beyond one factor of marginalization (e.g., only race, only gender). Its dependence on a simplified and singular characterization prevents a more complex, intersectional analysis.

At this point, some consideration of intentionality needs to be considered: why else would the PBC respond to diversity when the task appears prone to failure, even if only because parole is one piece that fits into a much larger whole? On the one hand, it is possible that this critical outlook is limited to a select few and that the majority alternatively find a shining success. It seems more likely, as Turnbull proposes, that the organization is managing its reputational risk by doing *something* rather than nothing at all.

But these choices affect more than the perception of the institution. Functionally, the production of knowledge that accompanies the recognition of diversity should aid in the management of lesser-known offender populations, ultimately benefitting the PBC’s decision-making processes. Furthermore, by framing the issues at hand as *diversity*, the institution euphemizes what might be better labelled racism, sexism or colonialism. We can see why the PBC would prefer to obfuscate, since it gives it a certain amount of control over the discussion and promotes the positive connotations of multiculturalism while ignoring historical roots of oppression.

Turnbull is aware of the potential limitations of her work. She is not condemning the PBC’s initiatives to respond to diversity, nor suggesting such attempts are futile (although

their impact may be limited). She is critically engaging an area that, as she states, cannot be off limits simply because it is progressive or, debatably, an improvement over the old. Turnbull is the first to say the layout of her book mirrors the problem under investigation by considering identities in a similarly singular way (the last half is divided into three separate considerations of the Aboriginal, ethnocultural and female offender). But a proper understanding of the problem is an essential aspect of any solution. And as *Parole in Canada* indicates we are still in the earliest stages when it comes to the PBC’s recognition and implementation of diversity. The flow of the book is also strategic in that the problems associated with defining Aboriginality only multiply when contrasted with Turnbull’s later examination of the broader and even more befuddling “ethnocultural” offender.

Through a painstaking analysis of institutional and peripheral discourses, *Parole in Canada* provides empirical support for the claim that the inequalities of the justice system can be exacerbated by policies aimed at recognizing diversity. It is a relatively under-researched area, which is all the more apparent when narrowed to the site of the PBC, although the book’s findings undoubtedly extend beyond parole in Canada. Turnbull makes the risks of institutionalizing diversity real, revealing that the sometimes superficial nature of penal changes in this direction, though not apparently useless, can be harmful by lending the appearance of support and legitimacy to problematic procedures and practices. **M**



Donald Shaver

# Establishing a sustainable economy



**THE FOOD AND** Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations defines sustainability using multiple indicators, namely, environmental integrity, economic resilience, social well-being and good governance. Sustainable development is attained when the needs of the present can be met “without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs,” according to the UN World Commission on the Environment and Development (1987).

Modifying the system will not be easy. But governments may facilitate the process by recognizing the unique value of food, and associated agrobio resources plus human resources, in appropriate legislation enacted with the urgency you would expect in times of war or extreme acts of god. With Canada’s large concentrations of livestock and poultry production, for example, we are dangerously exposed to these extreme events, including pestilence. We cannot continue to expose the food chain to the dictates of the so-called marketplace, and the relatively unschooled and apparently uncaring “one per cent.”

More than 60 years of travelling the world, and an increasingly close association with many aspects of food production, has served to raise my personal awareness of how fragile and cyclical the food chain, on which we all

depend, has become. We are in a classic race against time to which few pay attention. It seems to be human nature to not act decisively on questions of human survival unless and until we are forced to do so by an event of catastrophic magnitude. We have major problems stemming from population growth, depletion of finite resources and environmental degradation.

Except in densely populated areas, the major problem we face is indifference because of existing regional abundance. Governments are ever ready to take advantage of voter apathy. In consequence, many industrialized countries are not investing nearly enough in food and health sciences. Nor do the industrialized countries recognize that, for their own future security, they must commit to finding an enduring solution to the chronic food shortages present in too many disadvantaged areas. Surely some of us are beginning to think that terrorism is not entirely based on religious differences.

Today the world we populate is dominated by issues of universal significance—population growth, migration, terrorism, regional disparity on a grand scale, and climate change. These phenomena can be combined under the heading of climate disruption, or a global transformation that endangers water and food security,

View of the Great Lakes from the International Space Station.

NASA

the preservation of biodiversity, and even human survival.

**W**hen I was born, in 1920, the world population was 1.9 billion. This year it is expected to reach 7.2 billion. In my lifetime, the world’s population has more than trebled. To add another dimension to this discussion, I sought FAO statistics for growth in animal populations. Over a 43-year period (1970–2013), ruminants increased 31%, chickens 301%, turkeys 169% and swine 178%. Except for the ruminants, humans, farm animals and household pets compete for much of the same foodstuffs.

A Stanford University study reminds us that, with respect to crop productivity, drought resistance, and heat tolerance, the need for water is greatly magnified by every degree of average temperature increase. This is one of the weightiest problems we have to address in the food chain. Only by connecting all the dots can we come to some understanding of the knock-on effect of what is unfolding. Our fate rests with the genius of the scientific community; it possesses the knowledge and capacity to provide answers (and alternatives). But we are without a commander-in-chief

and supporting general staff to develop and deliver a strategy, and urgent sequential implementation.

Fortunately, there is not yet an overall supply crisis from our world resource base. What we do have is an ongoing, acute and shameful crisis in terms of any co-ordinated multinational mechanism to achieve humane distribution for regions in desperate need. It is deeply troubling that governments will invest vast sums for technology in the exploration of outer space, but they cannot finance or manage the movement of food supplies from surplus to deficient areas.

World agriculture is increasingly dependent on favourable weather to satisfy the demands of a growing population. It is the key random variable. In the U.S. Midwest, higher temperatures will reduce crop yields by 19% by 2050 and 63% by 2100. Water is essential to supporting sustainable human development and activities. It is used for virtually everything. But more water is used for energy, agriculture, industry and transportation than for personal use. Consequently, the sustainability of our water resources is linked to the practices used to generate energy, produce food, provide transportation and manage land. The likelihood of extreme weather events adds to the urgency to concentrate industry less densely.

Among the general public there is a vague realization that something is amiss with respect to achieving sustainable economic development. Yet we naively expect that somewhere some folk must be working to reach this goal. Best leave it to them. And anyway, why should my country be involved in this pursuit while countries X, Y, and Z pay no heed?

**W**e require sustainable economic development and ecological stability for long-term human survival. This surely implies making the best of limited resources. Science and technology's urgent, dedicated contribution is our best hope for creating the essential conditions for human survival—here on earth.

I propose the creation of a senior cabinet post, second only to the prime minister, responsible for sus-

tainable economic development and the sciences. This person would firmly direct Canada's national scientific activity with respect to sustainability, eliminating duplication and also managing the function of bureaucracy in areas where it lacks expertise and tends to simply delay and derail.

The government should then create a non-partisan Sustainable Commission, reporting directly to the new senior minister. This commission would be chaired by a national chief scientist, a common post in many countries. I would add to the advisor's mandate by requiring that they network and liaise with equivalent bodies worldwide, lending urgency to the need to co-ordinate national efforts to address shared scientific challenges. This person must plan with insight and imagination, and execute with the zeal of an entrepreneur; short timelines must be meticulously met and rewarded accordingly.

Hence, the Sustainable Commission would tend to engage the nation properly in the fundamental aspects of national and international life, and in a manner free from short-term political passions. It would be scientifically oriented in its makeup, having 14 members from academia and six drawn from significant institutions of national governance, with the power to add four to six more members from other sectors to bring strength and balance. Membership would be non-partisan and rotating. The commission's mandate: to identify and prioritize issues for urgent solutions over the next 20 to 30 years.

**I** am old enough to remember the economic model of 1939–50, when we experienced a revolution in our societal and economic attitudes. Confronted by the spectre of totalitarianism, we concentrated on survival and winning. Cuts were made in resource use and consumption while we mounted an enormous industrial effort building tens of thousands of tanks, fighters, bombers and ships. Food was rationed and scarce, but we ate a healthy fare. There were extensive energy restrictions. Yet public acceptance of curbed consumption was nurtured by inspired leaders.

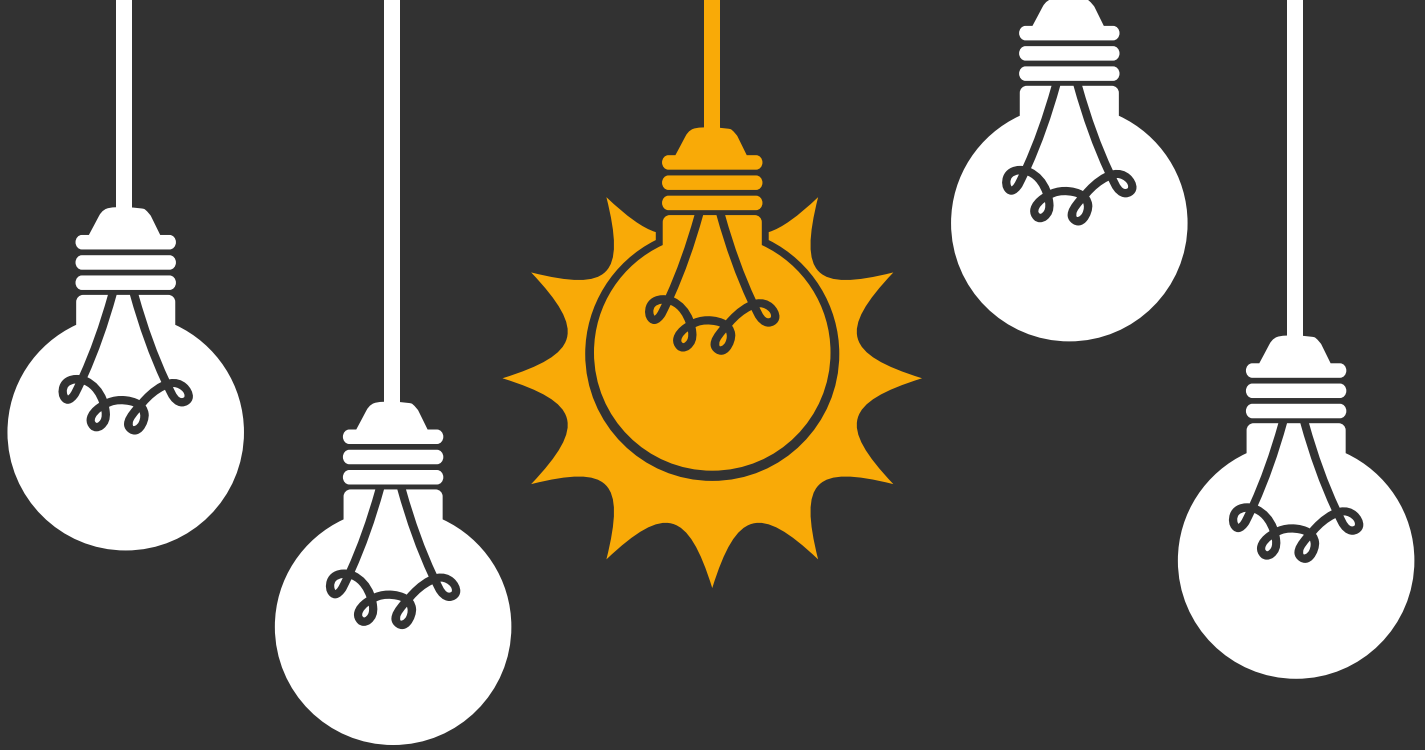
Meeting in Geneva in August 2016, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change heard from the Potsdam Institute for Climate Impact Research that keeping within the temperature rise limit agreed on the 2015 Paris Agreement will be extremely difficult to achieve. It will require closing down all coal-fired power plants across the planet by 2025, and by 2030 being rid of the combustion engine entirely.

Fortunately, the mayors of the world's largest cities, realizing they are still largely on their own in dealing with climate-change-induced emergencies, have banded together in an organization of cities/states (now more than sixty strong) to share their knowledge and experiences. Collectively they represent more people than the largest country in the world.

This movement was organized on the initiative of Ken Livingstone and Michael Bloomberg when they were mayors of London and New York City respectively. Bloomberg, who remains active on the issue as chair of a Financial Stability Board-appointed task force, explained that cities have already done a lot of what federal governments are promising to do to fix the climate crisis and put us on a more sustainable path. Mayors are closer to the ground, to the people, and to the solutions we need.

As a final word, I think it's important for us to come to terms with the fact that our future will be centered less on technology and industrial might and more on food and water security for all humankind. An Eastern philosopher observed, "Knowing the facts is easy; knowing how to act based on the facts is difficult." As an old soldier I'm eager to assist with the heavy lifting and urge you to join this crucial global crusade. **M**

*Donald McQueen Shaver is a Second World War veteran and Canadian pioneer in the poultry industry. This article is adapted from his speech to the 2016 International Symposium on Avian Endocrinology, "Mandating a Sustainable Economy Before it is Too Late," which can be read in full on the website of Guelph University's Food Institute: <http://foodinstitute.ca/mandating-sustainable-economy/>.*



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