



# **Surviving Sustainability**

**Deconstructing the Myths and Mapping Post-Scarcity**

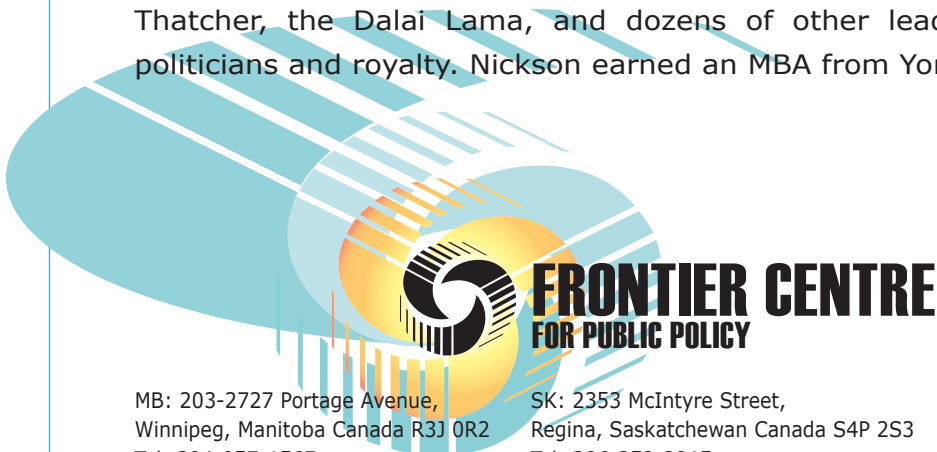
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**Elizabeth Nickson**



### About the author

**Elizabeth Nickson** is Senior Fellow at the Frontier Centre for Public Policy. She is an accomplished communicator, journalist, author and novelist. She was European Bureau Chief of *Life Magazine* in the late 80's and early 90's. Prior to her appointment at *Life*, she was a reporter at the London bureau of *Time Magazine*. As well, Nickson has written for *The Sunday Times Magazine*, *The Guardian*, *The Observer*, *The Independent*, *The Sunday Telegraph*, *The Spectator (UK)*, *Saturday Night*, *The Globe and Mail*, *The National Post*, and *Harper's Magazine*. Nickson's latest book *Eco-Fascists, How Radical Conservationists Are Destroying Our Natural Heritage* (Harper Collins, 2012), chronicles her experience with subdividing her 30-acre forest on Salt Spring Island in half and examines the excesses of the conservation movement. The subdivision is now taught in local colleges and universities as a case study in "good green development". She is also author of the novel *The Monkey Puzzle Tree* (Knopf, Bloomsbury 1994), which dealt with the CIA mind control experiments in Montreal. She has interviewed Nelson Mandela, Margaret Thatcher, the Dalai Lama, and dozens of other leaders, thinkers, scientists, politicians and royalty. Nickson earned an MBA from York University in Toronto.



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# Surviving Sustainability

## Deconstructing the Myths and Mapping Post-Scarcity<sup>1</sup>

**Elizabeth Nickson**

Research by Rob Scagel and Matthew Watters

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Note to reader: Endnotes and some words in this document may appear in [blue](#) and underlined. When e-reading, these links will directly access relevant online websites or documents using your associated browser. Endnote numerals will directly link to the appropriate reference at the end of this document.

# Executive Summary

Surviving Sustainability is a comprehensive new series of papers of the Frontier Center for Public Policy, and an area of research that is only sporadically treated in public policy analysis. This oversight means that a substantial negative impact on our economic health and civic well-being has been obscured.

When looking at the power and actions of the environmental movement, most analysts concentrate on climate change and energy issues. However, the movement reaches farther, and it has rearranged, with little notice, almost everything dealing with the physical elements of modern life: resource use, land use, development, building, endangered species protection, regulations with regard to air, food and water. Few have noted the wholesale reconfiguration of Canada's lands and natural wealth, much less analyzed what has happened and whether these rearrangements are useful, necessary and good. While there is no doubt that some environmental policy innovations provide enormous value, far too many are proving destructive.

We live in an age where the term "sustainable" is a stand-in for good. For some, it takes on an almost religious cast. Certainly, sustainability is a societal goal, a stated objective of business and governments from local to international. Yet, the meaning is fuzzy at best. Perhaps it translates to maintaining the quality of life for future generations or taking care of our resources to the seventh generation as native people are said to say. Nevertheless, there are no reliable metrics in sustainability; there are too many unknowns to allow us to easily understand what the policies are or whether they are working. Further, for too many, "sustainability" means the destruction of well-being: fewer goods, limited access to housing, and a forced "changing of consumption patterns".<sup>2</sup> To the less advantaged, it means a drawing down of opportunity, and for some critical industries, it means a never-ending struggle to survive. Some suburban, urban and rural land-use policies are plainly destructive, yet few of us are aware of how destructive they are.

Surviving Sustainability's goal is to audit the programs, tease out the good, analyze the bad and make Smart Green policy recommendations.

This paper defines the terms of reference within which we will be working. The paper outlines the failure of the dominant green programs and attempts to analyse the failures and how flawed programs became law and practice with so little vetting. The paper describes the founding procedural innovation of today's environmental movement, which was pioneered by Canada in the late 1970s. Now in use all over the world, refined, enlarged and lavishly funded, the process of environmental policy intrusion has gathered a sophistication and persuasive power that is not fully understood. The paper shows how that power is built and launched in a campaign, as well as showing its eventual effects on a region. It describes the money involved, the strategies of the charismatic personality types every movement requires and the manipulation of charitable foundations both national and international. The paper concludes with the upcoming plans of the movement and a call for dispassionate auditing—economic, social and environmental—of the many transformations the movement has brought to Canada.



# Canada's environmental movement

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## Foundational myths and policy intrusions

We all want a healthy environment. There can be no truer truism uttered by a citizen of the free world in the early days of the third millennium.

As Canada became wealthy enough for its citizens to demand a clean environment, business and government complied. However, while many innovations were necessary, the unintended consequences of unexamined environmental protection bear a greater weight, and they have not been analyzed. Few independent audits have been performed to establish which environmental goods are valuable and which are destructive.

For example, clean abundant water is necessary. However, is the classification of water as a non-renewable resource sensible?<sup>3</sup> Canada has more fresh water than any other nation on Earth and substantial precipitation. The widely respected international Environmental Performance Index of Water Quality established that the quality of Canada's water is second only to that of Sweden's and measures 93.1 compared with the United States' measure of 77.5 and Australia's 61.7.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, emotion dictates that today, increasingly and by increment, across rural and suburban communities of the country and all deemed wetlands, seasonal or not, water bodies should have a 100- to 300-foot no-touch set-back, because water is being polluted by man's activities.

At the same time, water rights are being cancelled and turned over to the state for metering and rationing, because water is somehow running out. The emotion occludes real problems and prevents real solutions. For instance, set-backs around brownfields and industrial farms make eminent sense, but set-backs in Canada's vast working forests have created a plethora of problems and destructive unintended consequences, and buffer rules have meant the taking tens of thousands of productive acres from the use of property owners. With too many environmental goods, similar snarls, called analysis paralysis by some, are the rule rather than the exception.

As the attached document from EnviroTrak<sup>5</sup> (See Appendix I, page 50) demonstrates, foundation funding of environmental activism, despite its recent birth, outclasses foundation funding of cancer research or education and far outperforms any funding for either industry associations or free market think-tanks. Other sports and advocacy organizations such as Mothers against Drunk Driving or Special Olympics or Boy Scouts are minor players compared with the large scale of environmental funding.

Despite the wealth lavished on the environmental movement, virtually no critical thinking has been applied to identifying which environmental innovations help the larger culture and which damage it. A new group of people has inserted itself into the planning process of all land and resource use. Who are they? Who is benefiting and how do they operate? What is the endgame of the new environmental aristocracy? What do they really want? How do they see our future?

How do environmental NGOs (ENGOS) deploy money in Canada? Just how much of it comes from the United States? Is some of that money used to prosecute a geo-political agenda that works against Canada's responsibility to fund health and pensions for the less advantaged? Does the environmental industry damage corporate wealth and profit and therefore the pensions and health care of private and public employees? By how much? These questions have not been asked.

Almost everyone who has encountered environmental regulation has an example of regulatory excess becoming a problem. Environmentalists treat these as exceptions and explain that the greater benefits outweigh the occasional mishap. This paper will demonstrate that in far too many areas, the failure is systemic and negatively affects both human and natural communities.

Canada's vast natural resources coupled with a small but relatively highly educated populace mean that we are potentially the richest country (per capita) in the world. How is the environmental lobby serving that wealth? Are we being held back unnecessarily?

Many strategic and economic analysts conclude that the most important driver for natural resources is the middle class in China as it grows over the next 50 years.<sup>6</sup> Are we positioned to take advantage of that potential? Will we have the strength to make good deals with the tough negotiators fielded by China? Alternatively, will we be so weakened and financially dependent that we have to relinquish these resources merely to pay the bills of the baby boomer generation's health and pension costs? Worse, could our ill-managed resources threaten our security?

This paper argues that Canada should use its extraordinary bounty to reach a new standard of prosperity and health for the benefit of all Canadians.

***“Almost everyone who has encountered environmental regulation has an example of regulatory excess becoming a problem. Environmentalists treat these as exceptions...”***

# Coming to terms

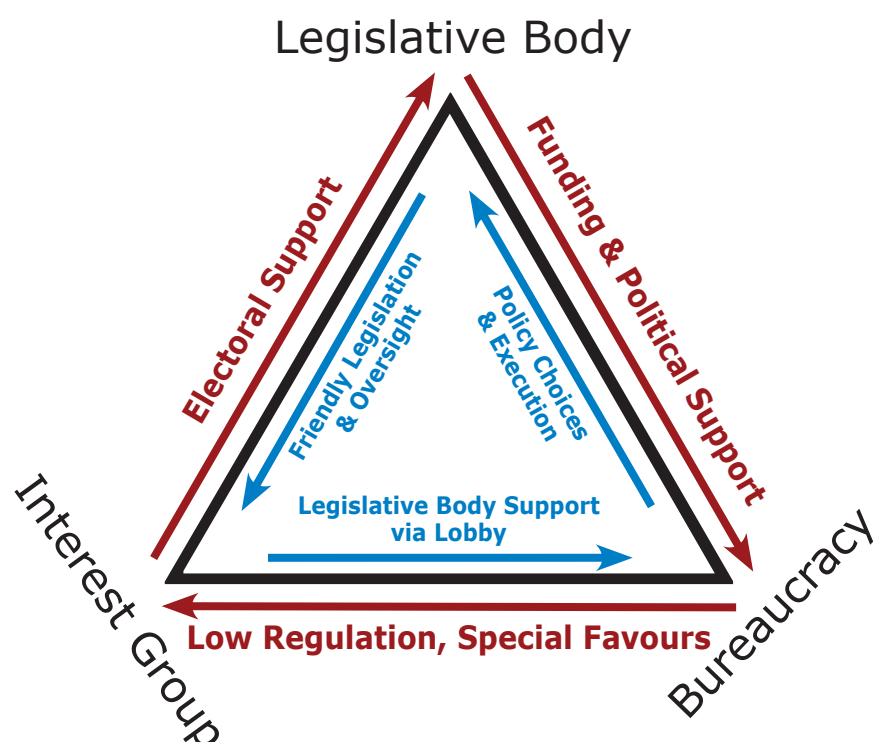
## The Environmental Iron Triangle and the Environmental Kuznets Curve

In this section, we define the terms within which we are working. Rather than accepting that wholesale biodiversity decline and systemic collapse are caused by industrial activity, we propose that prosperity and environmental health are inextricably entwined.

Requisite wealth and a desire to improve the environment arrived at the same time as the largest generation in history. According to political scientist Barry Cooper,<sup>7</sup> rather than the baby boomer generation innovating as it did in the U.S., Canada built the most extensive public sector, per capita, in a free market country since Rome.

A substantial portion of our public sector is an environmental public service that has managed to align foundation workers and activist organizations with public policy-making, forming the Environmental Iron Triangle. Randal O'Toole, a senior fellow at the Cato Institute, first identified the Iron Triangle in 2007's *The Best-laid Plans: How Government Planning Harms Your Quality of Life, Your Pocketbook, and Your Future*. Scholars have since refined O'Toole's definition.<sup>8</sup> Today, the environmental Iron Triangle has created a perpetual loop of untested science enforced by bad regulation and overzealous rule-making, creating both economic and environmental decline.

CHART 1

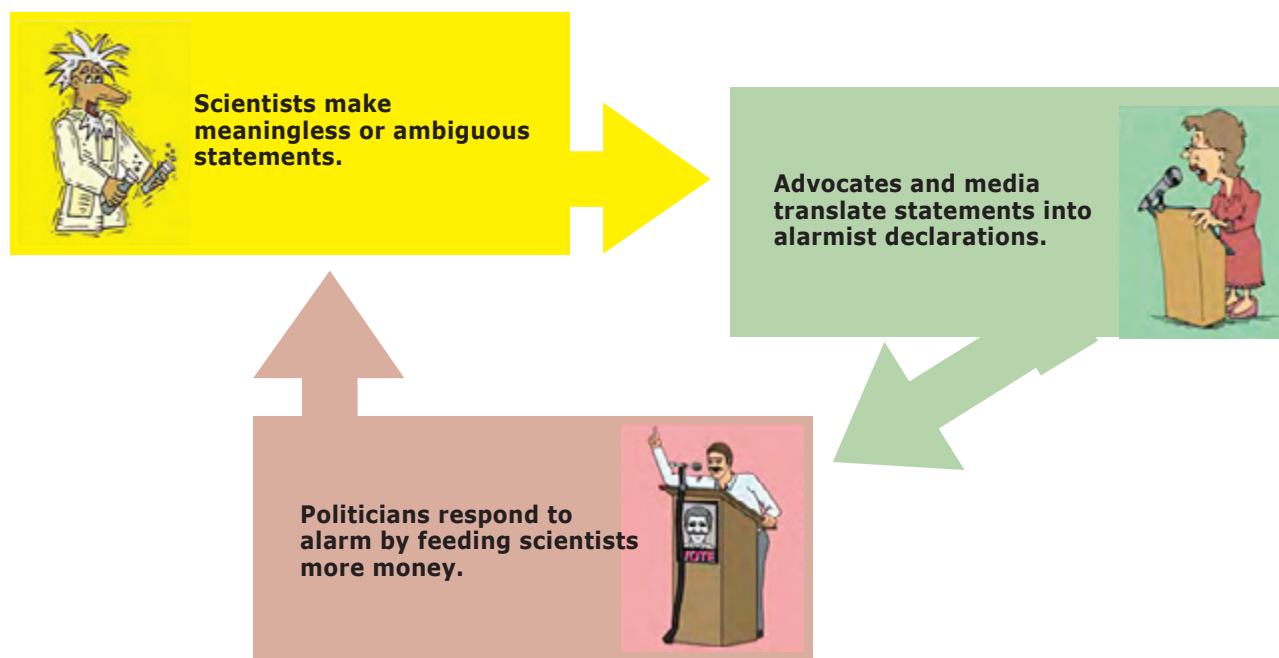


Academia joined bureaucrats, NGO officers and activists. Canada's public universities produce thousands of documents every year to demonstrate that rather than improving, our environment, air and water quality are degrading; our biodiversity and species protection is not stringent enough and we are teetering on a precipice of disaster.

A massive culture-wide funding of what must be correctly called the environmental industry has enforced a shift of purpose in academia. The Iron Triangle has produced a version of the Iron Rice Bowl, a phrase coined by Mao to describe secure and well paid jobs with lavish perks and benefits held by mandarins under former Chinese emperors. MIT atmospheric physicist Richard Lindzen redefined the Iron Rice Bowl to describe the men and women who have turned green activism into steady employment, excessive perks and benefits and safe pensions at the public expense. Lindzen illustrates the Iron Triangle and Iron Rice Bowl this way:

## CHART 2

## The Iron Triangle and the Iron Rice Bowl



Source: Richard Lindzen, "Science in the Public Square: Global Climate Alarmism and Historical Precedents," *Journal of American Physicians and Surgeons*, Volume 18, Number 3, Fall 2013.  
<http://www.jpands.org/vol18no3/lindzen.pdf>.

Whether employed by federal or provincial ministries, running foundations or ENGOs, working within the sustainable divisions of private enterprise or movement-funded media outlets or in the mainstream media, environmentalists block questioning of their purpose or any independent evaluation of their work by accusing observers of wanting to pollute for profit. Despite the many enviro-caused disasters,<sup>9</sup> the environmental profession has become immune to oversight.



## The Environmental Kuznets Curve

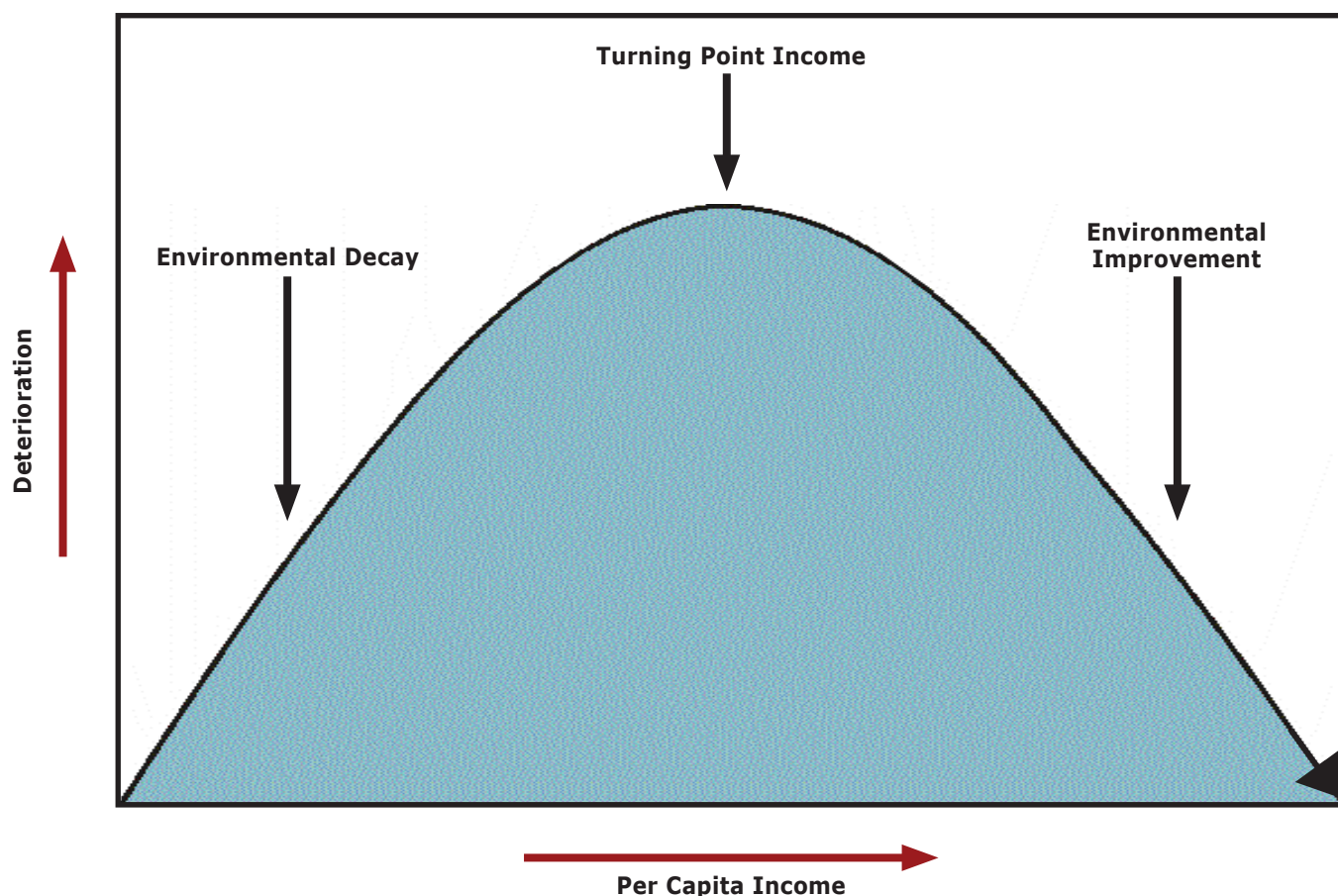
The Environmental Kuznets curve demonstrates that as annual incomes increase, people naturally demand cleaner water and air, green spaces, parks and protection for vulnerable species.<sup>10</sup> Wealth and economic prosperity correlate strongly and positively with environmental health.

Property rights strongly align with an increase in Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Nevertheless, thinking that property rights promote private sector rapaciousness, the environmental movement has worked for the past 30 years to erode property rights in Western democracies.<sup>11</sup> Enough time has passed to be able to evaluate the results.

In 1990, after lobbying from the environmental movement, the forests of the U.S. Pacific Northwest were effectively shut down when the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service formally listed the spotted owl as threatened under the *Endangered Species Act*. However, working forests need maintenance, care and tending. Using the designation of the spotted owl under the *Act*, the movement litigated against historical silviculture<sup>12</sup> and prevented even minor maintenance. As proved by Holly Lipke Fretwell, using audits

CHART 3

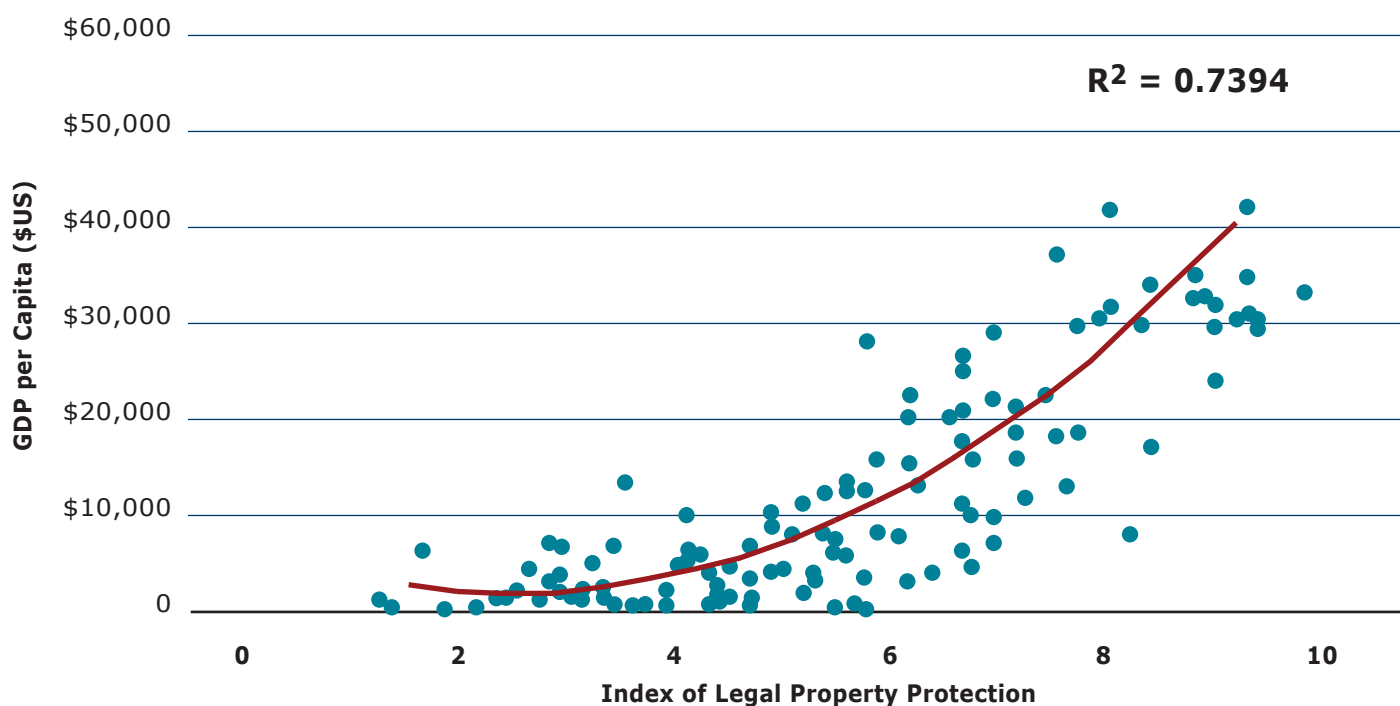
### Environmental Kuznets Curve



of the land managed by the U.S. Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management, in *Who is Minding the Federal Estate?: Political Management of America's Public Lands*, the public forests of the Western United States are dying. As well as mothballing once productive national forests, millions of cattle have been cleared from rangelands in order to preserve biodiversity. These rangelands, shorn of cattle and the care of ranchers, are turning to desert.<sup>13</sup> Warehoused or "sterilized" land begins to die.<sup>14</sup> On the other hand, property rights increase incentives for their owners to take care of their property.<sup>15</sup>

CHART 4

## Property Legal Protection Index and GDP per Capita



Source: James Gwartney and Robert Lawson, *Economic Freedom of the World - 2005 Annual Report*, Fraser Institute, 2005. <http://www.fraserinstitute.ca/shared/readmore.asp?sNav=pb&rd=789>, and CIA World Fact Book, <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/rankorder/2004rank.html>.

# Hurting the poor and choking opportunity

Many environmental policy innovations are harming the less advantaged. Unintended consequences are punishing the vulnerable among us while carrying out the desires of the most privileged. This is occurring as a result of a range of policies that have resulted in outcomes such as higher commodity prices, redistribution of wealth via environmental taxes, green certification costs, higher electricity bills and a reduction of job opportunities.

## Commodity prices

The most direct damage to those who are dependent and to those trying to start new businesses lies in the price of commodities. The Bank of Japan found that from 2000 to 2010, the price of commodities rose 600 per cent.<sup>16</sup> While some of this is attributable to what has been termed “financialization,”<sup>17</sup> large costs—in both application and assessment fees as well as time delays—are levied on resource extractors through government environmental and approval processes. Much once-productive land has been set aside in national and international land sequestrations. This has created artificial shortages. Furthermore, ENGOS are demanding excessively onerous environmental assessments on any proposed development for available land. If dissatisfied, ENGOS litigate,<sup>18</sup> tying up valuable resource wealth in the courts.<sup>19</sup> These two tactics make using land and the goods produced from that land, very expensive. The costs are passed on to the consumer.

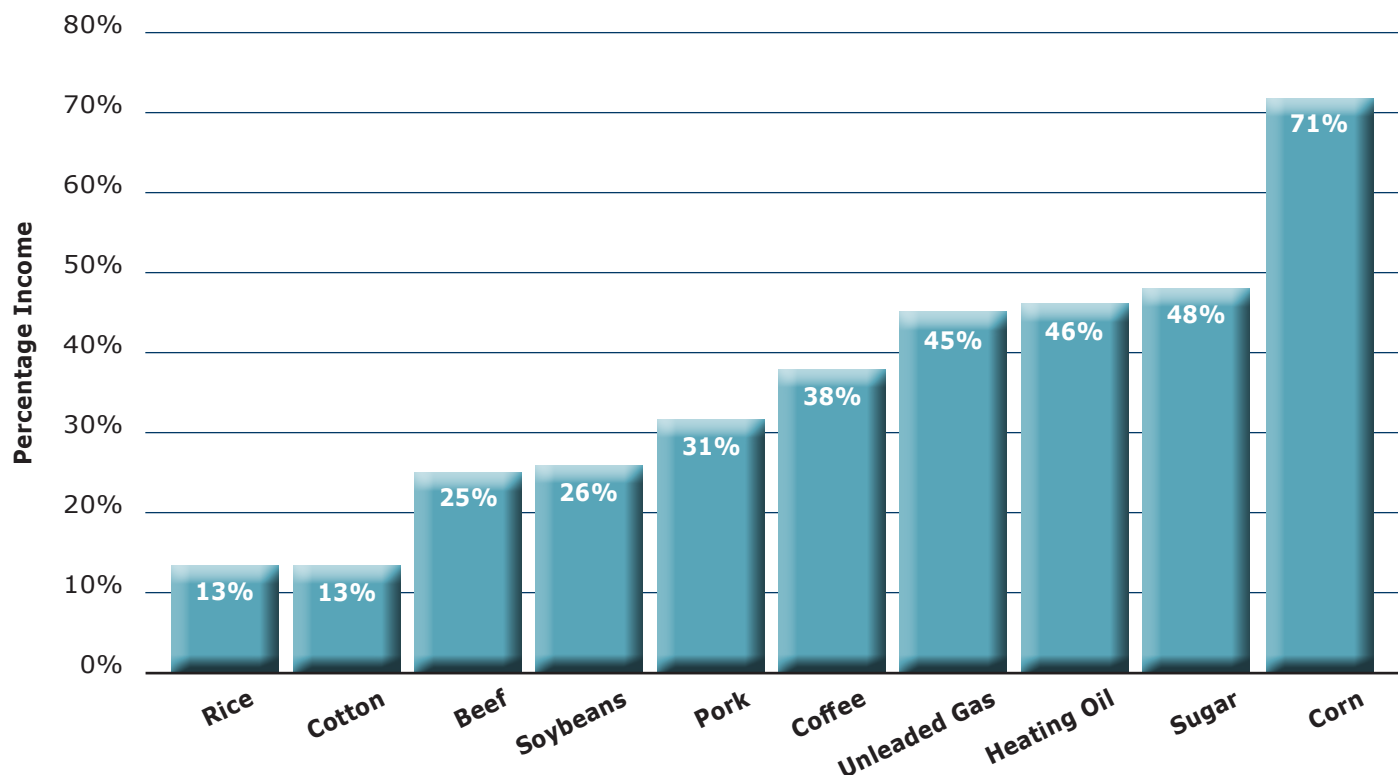
Since 2010 alone, the following costs have risen:

Unleaded gas:	45%	Heating oil:	46%
Corn:	71%	Soybeans:	26%
Rice	13%	Pork	31%
Coffee	38%	Sugar	48%
Cotton	13%	Beef	25%

These common commodities rose an average of 11.8 per cent a year for three years during the longest recession since WW2 when inflation is used to calculate GDP (the previous year’s GDP subtracted from this year’s GDP, less inflation) is officially said to be hovering between 1 per cent and 2 per cent annually.

CHART 5

## Commodity Price Increase Since 2010<sup>19</sup>



These commodities represent the necessities of life, the price of which disproportionately affects the poor.

In the developing world alone, we have set aside more land than comprises the entire continent of Africa: 30.2 million square kilometres.<sup>20</sup> In the United States, within a few years, over half of the land base of 2.3 billion acres will lie under strict conservation.<sup>21</sup> Canada has preserved an estimated 40 per cent of its land base under various land sequestration schemes,<sup>22</sup> and only 3 per cent is developed,<sup>23</sup> counting both urban and rural (paved) development. Vast transnational land sequestrations are planned, ultimately taking most land outside of the cities. As we will show, the land sequestrations in process currently place control in the hands of NGOs that are international in their reach and goals. Local and national interests are thereby overridden.

A disproportionate amount of environmental regulation acts to diminish wealth, and most of this legislation is hidden until a citizen decides to create a business, sell a piece of land, develop a resource that he or she actually owns or a corporation decides to grow a division, creating value for shareholders and customers alike. Regulation, as recently shown by a 2013 study in the *Journal of Economic Growth*, has cut growth in the U.S. by 2 per cent a year. "As a result, the average American household receives about \$277,000 less annually than it would have gotten in the absence of six decades of accumulated regulations. Dawson and Seter attribute a substantial part of this regulation to environmental regulation that is not included in the more commonly used datasets that count product market and employment

regulation.<sup>24</sup> While no one would contest many necessary and good environmental regulations, far more of these regulations, and the nest of rules written from these regulations act as a restrictive harness on the economy. Further, the opportunity cost of land sequestration is high, and it is highest for the marginal.<sup>25</sup>

## Green energy

As has become increasingly obvious with the embarrassment of Europe's green energy policies, those hurt most by environmental public investment are the least advantaged. As economist Dino Falaschetti points out "Productivity differences between politically and market-driven investment, for example, suggest that every \$100-billion of public support for clean energy can shave more than 0.40 per cent from the GDP. Compounded over a generation, annual reductions such as this would approximate today's per capita income gap between the United States and Italy,"<sup>26</sup> which is to say a drop in annual median income of one-third.

It was reported in *The Australian* that: "German households will pay a renewables surcharge of €7.2bn this year alone. In addition, consumers will be affected by indirect costs because industry, trade and commerce pass on their rising energy costs in product prices. And because green energy subsidies are guaranteed for 20 years, the costs threaten to rise exorbitantly as more schemes are being agreed. Energy bills are going through the roof, fuel poverty is rising and renewable energy policies face a growing public backlash. What is more, governments are increasingly concerned about the threat to Europe's industrial base."<sup>27</sup> As reported by James Delingpole, in February of 2014, the "CEOs of 137 major companies signed an open letter warning that European industry was being crippled by climate policies and rising energy prices... [and] Jim Ratcliffe, majority owner of chemical giant Ineos, has written to EU Commission President Jose Manuel Barroso, warning that a 'toxic cocktail' of high energy costs (inflated by green taxes, stratospheric feedstock prices, and uncompetitive labour) could drive Europe's \$1 trillion-a-year chemicals industry out of business within ten years."<sup>28</sup>

Above all, it is the poor, young families, the working and productive middle classes and the elderly who are hurt by the rise in energy prices, whether through carbon taxes or green energy mandates. As *DIE WELT* pointed out in 2011, 800,000 Germans were fuel poor, this in the richest country in Europe.<sup>29</sup> The reasons for the high rate of energy poverty are varied. The stated policy goal of producing 80 per cent of electricity requirements from renewables by 2050 has placed upward pressure on electricity costs. This is due to the higher costs of renewables, need for backup generation in the case of intermittent wind and solar, as well as the phase-out of relatively cheap nuclear power.

According to *The Australian*: "Germany's green energy transition alone may cost consumers up to €1-trillion by 2030, the German government recently warned."<sup>30</sup> Equally, by failing to control the cost of guaranteed subsidies, Spain is saddled with



€126-billion of obligations to renewable energy investors.<sup>31</sup>

The U.K. countryside is at war with windmill mandates and the cost of green energy.<sup>32</sup> In 2010, *The Telegraph* reported that more than 500,000 pensioners spent Christmas in bed<sup>33</sup> because they could not afford their fuel bills,<sup>34</sup> and the subsidies promised when green energy mandates raised fuel bills did not materialize. This last, we will see, is typical of green schemes. The Iron Triangle promises that money will come in the place of that which is taken away: PILT<sup>35</sup> (payment in lieu of property tax revenue lost), eco-tourism,<sup>36</sup> the green economy,<sup>37</sup> new sources of cheap energy<sup>38</sup> in the developing world to avoid the building of the conventional electrical system. The list of un-kept promises by ENGOs is long and substantial. Again, the cost has not been comprehensively quantified.

## Carbon Taxes

Aldyen Donnelly deconstructs the so-called revenue neutrality of British Columbia's carbon tax, which is promoted as the first in North America. Economist Donnelly has been the president of GEMCo, the Greenhouse Emissions Management Consortium, since 1996. GEMCo is a not-for profit corporation formed by Canadian energy companies to demonstrate industry leadership in the development of market-based approaches to greenhouse gas emissions management.

*The BC CTax shifts tax burden from large, profitable and, particularly, resource extracting businesses to the public sector, small [less profitable] businesses and low income families.*

*Also, CTaxes are before income tax operating expenses and at least partially deductible from royalties payable by resource extractors (while families pay out of after tax income). When we account for the offsetting reduction in BC corporate income tax and royalty revenues, the revenue gap in BC's income-to-carbon tax shift is closer to \$600-million.*

*There is nothing revenue neutral about this. My question: Would B.C.'s general population be as accepting of this tax had it really been 'revenue neutral' for government?*

## Looking at the whole population of CTaxed goods, not just gasoline

*When we look only at gross CTax revenues, it looks as if businesses remit roughly 50 per cent of B.C. CTax revenue. But after we account for the portion of corporate CTax payments that are offset by reductions in their income tax and royalty remits, business accounts for less than 30 per cent of the B.C. government's net revenue increase from the income-to-carbon tax shift.*

*Note that 85 per cent of the reduction in total B.C. CTaxed goods that was realized post-2007 was reduction in industrial energy demand. This reduction correlates closely with the historically unprecedented rate of B.C. pulp, paper and lumber mill shut downs. [Manufacturing employment in B.C. has fallen over 26 per cent since 2007 compared with a 15 per cent national average decline. Construction employment in B.C. has fallen almost 6 per cent compared with a 1.5 per cent increase nationally.]*

*I do not argue, nor do I believe, that B.C. CTax caused the plant shut downs. But 85% of the reported decline in demand for CTaxed goods was caused by the plant shut downs. One cannot attribute decline in overall demand for B.C. CTaxed goods on the CTax without, by definition, blaming the plant shut downs on the CTax.*

## "Recycling" tax revenue to low-income families

*We can use Statistics Canada CANSIM Table 128-0016 to roughly break down gross carbon tax remits by taxed product and consumer class: families, large industry, forestry, construction, agriculture, etc. We can also roughly breakdown families' gross CTax exposure by looking at Stats Canada's household expenditure survey data, which shows us estimates of families' direct spending on energy and other products in total dollars. We can use the breakdown of total sales by income group to estimate the share of total CTaxes paid by family-income group.*

*This analysis clearly shows that by 2010 the total value of B.C. carbon tax credit payments to low-income families was less than the gross CTaxes paid by low-income families.*

*And this addresses only CTaxes directly paid by low-income families. In a survey that Stats Canada terminated in 2009, but is likely still valid, the national Statistics agency found that for every 1 TCO<sub>2</sub>e<sup>39</sup> that arises from families' direct energy use, more than 2.5 TCO<sub>2</sub>e are embedded in their purchases of goods and services [food, rental accommodation, transit, etc.]. B.C.'s low-income carbon tax budget is insufficient to offset 100 per cent of low-income families' direct CTax costs and does not begin to offset the other 2.5x cost embedded in their essential product and service purchases.*

*Ironically, two of the five largest 'corporate' carbon taxpayers in B.C. are BC Ferries and BC Transit.<sup>40</sup>*

So, in short, B.C.'s Carbon tax cost the province's taxpayers \$600,000,000, anything but revenue neutral. The tax did not benefit low income families as expected; it cost them money as well. Nor, for low-income families, did the carbon tax offset their essential product and service purchases. It was a failure on every available metric.

## Cap and Trade

Andrew Chamberlain of the Tax Foundation also found that any future cap and trade scheme would disproportionately hurt the less advantaged.

*Using the newly-released 2002 input-output accounts we present new estimates of the distributional impact of a typical cap-and-trade system by income, age, U.S. region and family type. In total, households would face an annual burden of roughly \$144.8 billion per year **with costs disproportionately borne by low-income households, those under age 25 and over 75 years, those in Southern states, and single parents with dependent children.** [Author's emphasis.] Using RIMS II multipliers we estimate the broader economic impact of cap and trade. Depending on how the system is structured, cap and trade could reduce U.S. employment by 965,000 jobs, household earnings by \$37.8 billion, and economic output by \$136 billion per year or roughly \$1,145 per household. Lawmakers weighing the costs and benefits of climate policy should be aware that cap and trade would impose a significant and regressive annual burden on U.S. households, and would not represent a 'tax free' way to reduce greenhouse gas emissions.<sup>41</sup>*

## Green certification

The Earth Summit-inspired Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) has managed to bring certification of the world's forests to public notice, and while FSC certifies only 25 per cent of the world's certified forests today, the organization drives the agenda toward ever-increasing restrictions on forest resources around the world. Canada was one of the first countries in the West to adopt certification of its vast forests, the third largest in the world. Certification acts as extra-government taxation, and while some benefits have arisen from certification, there remain serious questions both as to its economic viability and its positive impact on forests.

During the Rio Summit in 1992, the Convention on Forests was not adopted because Brazil and Malaysia, which were dependent on timber exports, saw that forest certification would harm their economies. Since then, Brazil and Malaysia<sup>42</sup> have seen substantial growth, which is not the case with developing countries that signed on to subsequent certification plans. Canada, as the world's largest forest product exporter, refused to sign as well, which made the country the primary focus of forest activists, the environmental NGOs and foundations which supported the activists.

ENGOS, principally the World Wildlife Fund, Greenpeace and the Rainforest Alliance,

developed the initial certification schemes, which grew out of the Statement of Principles on Forests (formally called the Non-legally Binding Authoritative Statement of Principles for a Global Consensus on the Management, Conservation and Sustainable Development of All Types of Forests 1992), developed at the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development. Ostensibly meant to establish a globally recognized methodology of sustainable forestry, FSC-certified operators were allowed to stamp FSC on their timber products.

The governance structure of FSC guarantees that decision-making powers lie in the hands of ENGO members. Private forestry operators are numerically outvoted. Sixty per cent of Canada is covered by forest, and with certification requirements and the Canadian Boreal Forest Agreement (CBFA), increasing amounts of Canada's forests are virtually being transferred into the hands of ENGOS or environmental "citizen/scientists". The recent and groundbreaking Canadian Boreal Forest Agreement was funded initially by a U.S. foundation, the Pew Charitable Trusts, a founder of which was also the owner of Sun Oil (now doing business as Suncor), the initial oil company in the oil sands. Questions have been asked of Pew's motivation,<sup>43</sup> since the CBFA restricts exploration for and development of future oil sands.

FSC receives money from European Union ENGOS that operate internationally, such as the World Wildlife Fund,<sup>44</sup> further alienating Canadian control, particularly control by the communities that sit bracketed by these forests and resources. While only 17 per cent of Canada's forest lies formally *under* the aegis of the CBFA, attempts to increase the acreage are unceasing. FSC forests in Canada already cover 50 million hectares, with 1,000 chain of custody certificates, which prove that the lumber is FSC certified. As will be typical of the forests controlled by the CBFA, stakeholders in the Great Bear Rainforest recently reached an agreement to set aside yet more of the forest for conservation.<sup>45</sup>

No independent audit of any Canadian FSC forest has been performed; ENGOS that have agitated for certification and conservation and forestry companies or government ministries do all the evaluations. There has been no independent evaluation of the health of Canadian communities that are located in working forests that were forced to comply with FSC standards. There is little analysis of the diminution of tax dollars contributed to the public purse from national forests or privately owned forests forced to FSC standards. FSC sells the notion that FSC-certified forests are healthier, that the FSC standard is the "gold standard for responsible forest management," and that the FSC has sterling social, economic and environmental credentials. These claims have not been audited.

However, we do know that the forested communities of Western Canada and the United States have been in steep decline since 1993, when the forest movement began advocating for restrictions. U.S. Forest Service audits of the health of the western forest shut down by the 1993 Spotted Owl listing (endangered species protection is a primary concern of FSC certifiers) demonstrate conclusively that the forest is severely damaged. It is overgrown, has root rot and is overstocked. The immune systems of trees are weakened, leaving them vulnerable to pests.<sup>46</sup>

The owl has been found to breed in clear cuts,<sup>47</sup> and the diminishment of its numbers is largely caused by the migration of the larger Barred Owl from the east, a migration that began 100 years ago.<sup>48</sup>

Today, many of the forested communities of the U.S. West describe themselves as welfare counties.<sup>49</sup> The people in these communities are decidedly not thriving, and resident families whose histories in those forested communities reach back 150 years say the forests are dying.

Below is the estimate of the number of U.S. jobs eliminated by regulation in the U.S. forest sector since certification, endangered species and wetland restrictions began. In rural towns, the elimination of a mill—and many hundreds, large and small, have been eliminated—means that the town’s economy is damaged. Direct and indirect jobs that depended upon the mill were eliminated. Schools and hospitals closed. Town and county budgets were diminished. Further, Nigel Innis, of the Congress of Racial Equality in New York, points out that FSC raises the prices of all paper goods, unduly burdening the struggling middle and working classes.<sup>50</sup>

**CHART 6**

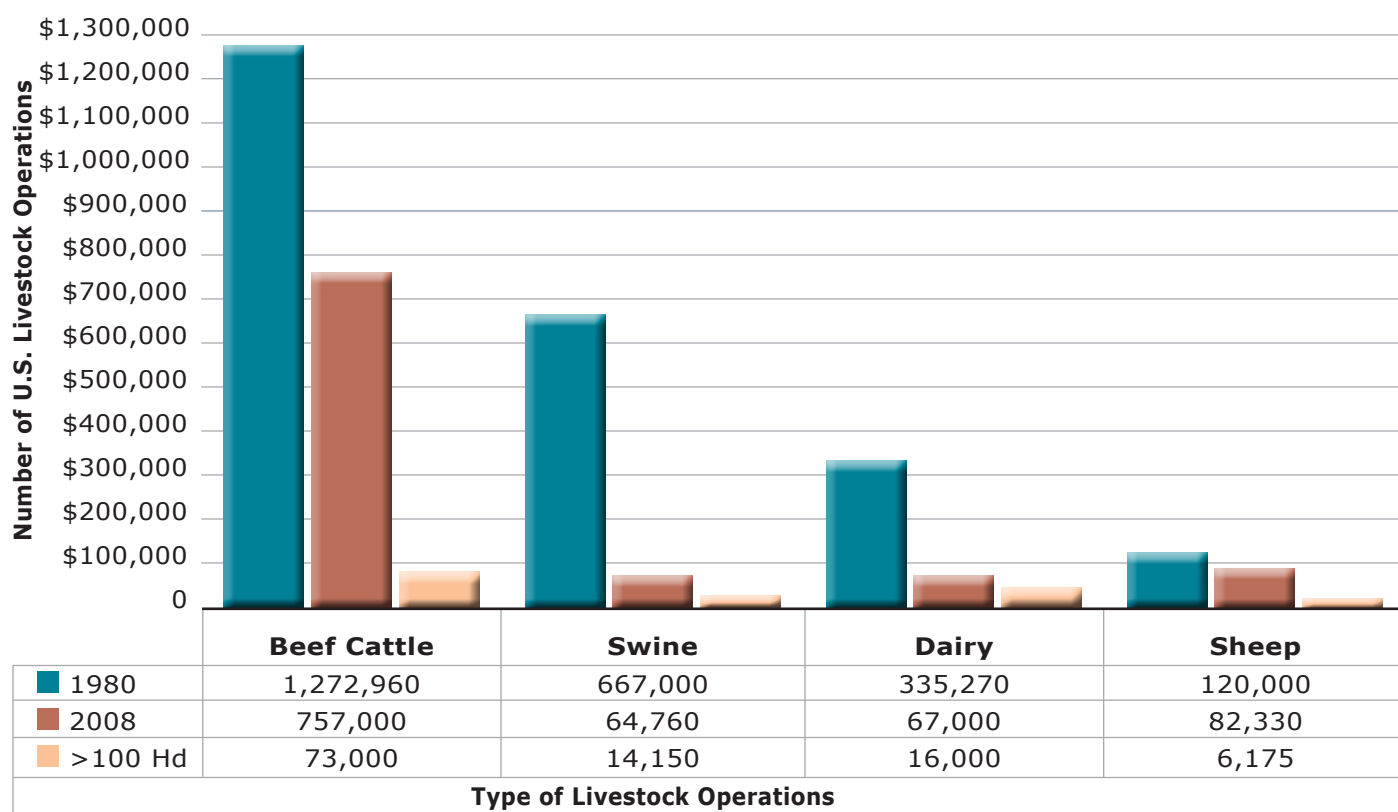
## Direct and Indirect Rural Clearance By Economic Sector<sup>51</sup>

Economic Sector	Direct Clearance	Indirect Clearance	Total Clearance
Forestry	2,704,000	6,760,000	9,464,000
Farming	1,800,000	2,700,000	4,500,000
Ranching & Livestock	8,400,000	16,800,000	25,200,000
Mining	72,000	180,000	252,000
Fishing and Hunting	7,500	15,000	22,500
<b>Total</b>	<b>12,983,500</b>	<b>26,455,000</b>	<b>39,438,500</b>



CHART 7

## Loss of U.S. Livestock Operations (1980-2008)

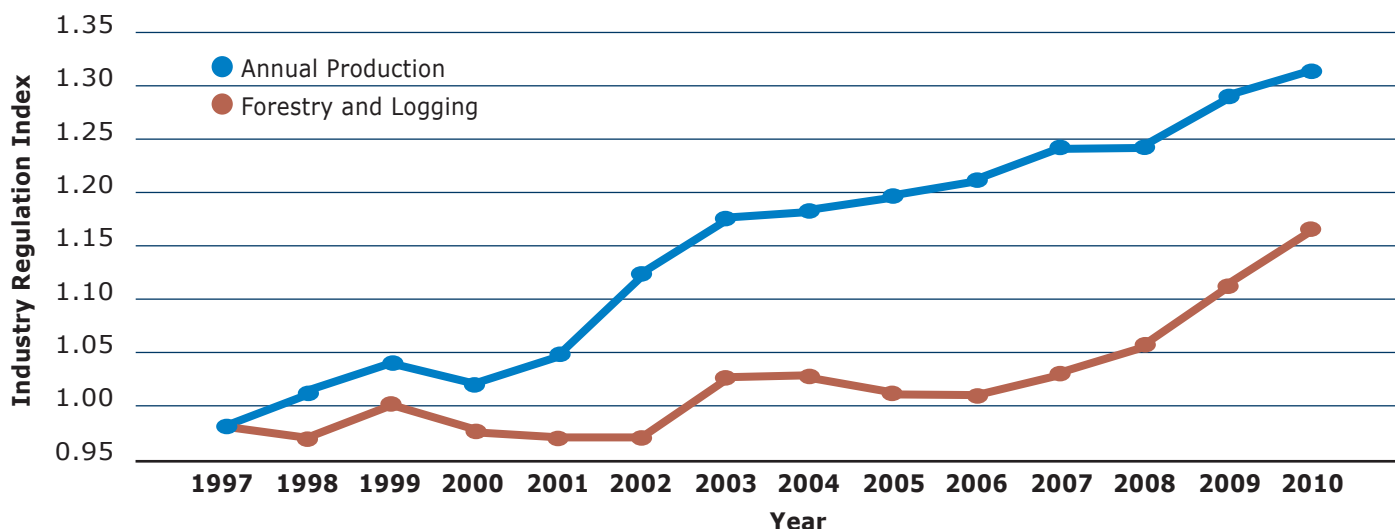


Source: USDA-NASS.

The Mercatus Center at George Mason University in Washington, D.C., charted the rise of regulations in ranching and forestry to demonstrate the parallel track between job losses and a tsunami of new regulation forced by the environmental lobby.

CHART 8

## Industry Regulation Index Number of Regulations on Ranching and Forestry (2012)



Source: Mercatus Institute.

## The myth of the green economy

A useful case study of the costs of renewable subsidies and government involvement in the energy sector is illustrated by the Spanish experience. In a comprehensive report by Spanish researchers it was noted that: "... since 2000 Spain spent €571,138 to create each 'green job,' including subsidies of more than €1-million per wind industry job." Furthermore, it calculated that: "the programs creating those jobs also resulted in the destruction of nearly 110,500 jobs elsewhere in the economy, or 2.2 jobs destroyed for every 'green job' created" and "each 'green' megawatt installed destroys 5.28 jobs, on average, elsewhere in the economy."<sup>52</sup> Further, tax receipts fell, hurting those who are dependent on public wealth.

In British Columbia, the cost of publisher and businessman David Black's initial proposal for a refinery in Kitimat that will refine the output of the proposed Northern Gateway Pipeline before it is shipped was doubled after criticism "from both the B.C. NDP and the federal Green Party leader, Elizabeth May."<sup>53</sup> "A decision to adopt a new technology that would cut the carbon dioxide emissions by half, and other costs with the project, brought the total capital investment to \$25-billion."<sup>54</sup> This cost will be borne by investors, consumers and taxpayers.

In the United States, many of President Obama's green ventures have failed—Solyndra, Beacon Power, A123 Systems, Ener1, Abound Solar and Evergreen Solar. Each green job created is estimated to have cost the public \$11.45-million.<sup>55</sup>

In Germany, Peter Loescher, the CEO of Siemens, was fired because, as reported in August by *Investors Business Daily*, the company "lost patience after Loescher's expansion into green energy and expensive acquisitions led to a fifth profit-forecast cut."<sup>56</sup> And on September 6, 2013, Australia voted out its Green-Labor Government in a landslide in favour of the Liberal-National Party coalition. The then Prime-Minister elect, Tony Abbott, declared the country was "open for business" and that he would "scrap the carbon tax so your family will be [AUD]\$550 a year better off."<sup>57</sup> Even in Norway where the state-run oil company is held up as a beacon by environmentalists for all oil-rich nations—a conservative government was elected in early September. The dominant plank of its platform was the reform of that program.<sup>58</sup>

Ontario's green energy expenditures have given Ontario residents the highest marginal prices for electricity, well into the double digits per kWh, and they are predicted to eliminate 250,000 manufacturing jobs over the next 10 years.<sup>59</sup>

# ***Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland***

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## **The foundational myth of the Canadian environmental movement**

In the late 1970s, under Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau, Canada developed the most powerful procedural tool used by today's environmental movement. This tool damages economies, privileges the wealthy and connected, and erodes democratic rights. Furthermore, it introduced a new form of conflict to Canada, creating new fault lines.

As Barry Cooper first pointed out and John Ibbitson and Darrell Bricker further described in *The Big Shift* (Harper Collins 2013), Eastern Canadian culture developed in resistance to that of Britain and the United States, becoming a "loser" culture that celebrated and tried to stop the necessary (though at times regrettable) train wrecks of creative destruction. This was seen as a more compassionate agenda, a superior way: the Canadian way. Cooper, Ibbitson and Bricker call this group of people—who ran Canada for 150 years—the Laurentian Consensus. The authors claim that the Laurentian Consensus is much less influential, though it does not know it yet, and that the new Canadian identity is based on a western ethic. The Canadian West, they say, never thought of itself as inferior to the United States or Britain. New immigrants and what is called the 905 area code (indicating the large region of Toronto suburbs that use this telephone code and repurposed to indicate suburbs across the country) join the West to make it the dominant political group going forward for at least, say Ibbitson and Bricker, a generation.

After the multicultural experiment, which elevated French Canadian folk culture and native hunter-gather culture to the same status as the modern state with its grim universal virtues of progressive inclusion, hard work and self-denial, the Consensus moved on to the environmental brief. There, they could truly distinguish Canadian culture from that of vulgar,<sup>60</sup> material-goods obsessed and unnervingly successful America.

Environmental goals and methodology were formalized in the 1970s and adopted without much in the way of discussion or critical thinking, largely because few thought our superior virtue would cost us very much.<sup>61</sup> Environmental values were written into regulation, codified and enforced, again without discussion with the public. It was assumed that ordinary Canadians had an acute emotional relationship with nature and wanted very much to protect it.

The first formal blow to the modernist idea of Canada as a fully industrialized, broadly egalitarian, inclusive and wealthy state was the striking, under Trudeau, of Thomas Berger's Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry. In that inquiry, as a country, we invented the system by which the movement operates all over the world today.<sup>62</sup>

**“...Berger found his inspiration in the fear of creative destruction in British Columbia.**

This system acts, we argue, to hamper development, to mire indigenous peoples in perpetual marginalization, to cheat the middle class of growth and hope, and it benefits (largely) the Iron Triangle, which clings to its Iron Rice Bowl as fiercely as any mandarin serving under any Chinese emperor.

On March 21, 1974, the Ministry of Indian Affairs and Northern Development commissioned an inquiry to examine the “social, environmental and economic impact regionally” of an oil and gas pipeline traversing the Yukon and Northwest Territories.<sup>63</sup> The informal name of the inquiry comes from Justice Thomas Berger, who was commissioned to lead the study. “The Inquiry cost \$5.3-million dollars and produced over 40,000 pages of text and evidence, comprising 283 volumes.<sup>64</sup> The final report recommended that no pipeline be built through the northern Yukon and that a pipeline through the Mackenzie Valley should be delayed for 10 years.”<sup>65</sup>

Berger found that there would be no significant economic benefit from the pipelines and that the pipelines would undermine fishing, hunting and trapping.

Working from the counter-culture ferment in Vancouver in the 1970s, Berger found his inspiration in the fear of creative destruction in British Columbia. Habituated to the boom and bust cycle of resource extraction, the province and its residents wanted to normalize that cycle and increase their stability. Creative destruction typically follows in the wake of development, and people feared that their family and community lives would be substantially changed for the worse by the pipeline. The media joined in, marrying fear of wilderness degradation with a dislike of big business. It was a perfect storm of fear mongering.

Today, Berger boasts that he is responsible for 50 per cent of the native land claims in Canada.<sup>66</sup> He also set the standard for the environmental review process, allowing the conduct that now reigns in many jurisdictions whenever development is proposed.<sup>67</sup>

In the developing world, he is hailed as a saviour, although he now admits that the main projects he prevented are scheduled to go through. Importantly, the native activists who were most vehemently against the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline are agitating for a pipeline today. The then-young radical chief Frank T’Seleie of Fort Good Hope said the following to Robert Blair, president of Foothills Pipe Lines of Calgary, in 1975:

*You are like the Pentagon, Mr. Blair, planning the slaughter of innocent Vietnamese. Don’t tell me you are not responsible. You are the twentieth-century General Custer. You are coming with your troops to slaughter us and steal land that is rightfully ours. You are coming to destroy a people that have a history of thirty thousand years. Why? For 20 years of gas? Are you really that insane?*

T’Seleie is again the chief at Fort Good Hope, but this time he is a strong advocate for the pipeline.<sup>68</sup>

The environmental damage that Berger claimed would occur in the river valleys has not occurred in Alaska; the caribou walk on top of the pipelines and shelter beneath them in bad winter storms.<sup>69</sup> After-the-fact studies found little disruption by the pipeline to either caribou or fur-bearing creatures, although calving females understandably avoid man-made structures. A review of scholarly literature found that, in fact, a preponderance of evidence shows that the herds have increased substantially over the course of the Alaska pipeline operation and that the shrinking footprint of ever-improving and highly engineered pipeline construction and operation mitigated the few negative effects actually observed (rather than assumed).<sup>70</sup>

When Trudeau took his sons camping on the land where the pipeline would start, he was convinced that a no-build recommendation was necessary. Man's machines would pollute this magnificent wilderness. Yet, had the pipeline been built and he had camped 15 miles away, his experience would have been of pristine nature, with no whiff of degradation by man. The decision made by Trudeau, Berger, environmental groups and the natives was made on scientific and emotional grounds that depended on hypotheticals and hysteria over cultural loss that it turns out has not happened in comparable native villages that have embraced oil extraction and transportation.

William H. Whyte noticed a facet, or quirk, of people's ordinary perceptions about development in the countryside—a seemingly built-in tendency closely related to Bendick's discovery about the cloak of invisibility that development sometimes casts over adjacent landscapes. Whyte's name for this phenomenon was "tremendous trifles." Whyte also saw that people start to discount a landscape and lose their sense of connectedness to it as soon as even a few blemishes crop up.<sup>71</sup> Albert Appleton, a regional planner and the environmental protection officer for New York City under then mayor David Dinkins, believed that "[t]he first five percent of development in a countryside region generally does 50 percent of the damage, in altering people's mental geography of an area.... And the second five percent of development enlarges this damage by another 50 percent."<sup>72</sup>

This fear of loss contributed to the creation of environmental institutions that today, under the guise of saving nature, impede progress and have become extractive (as explained below), even exploitative. This has reversed the process of inclusion in Canada and impeded the slow inexorable movement toward bringing every societal group into the larger whole.

As Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson point out in 2012's groundbreaking *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity, and Poverty*, extractive political institutions (such as the Iron Triangle) can impede and even block economic growth and, as they strongly argued and deeply researched work claims, contribute to the failure of nations. Inclusion, together with secure property rights, say Acemoglu and Robinson, forge the magic key to economic prosperity. In contrast, the environmental movement has methodically stripped Canadians of individual property rights, restricted access to our own resources and brought into being special classes of people, thereby dividing us against each other.

The Berger Inquiry took three years to complete its first stage. Berger claims



***“In the Berger inquiry, we have the template for the process of all large-scale natural resource and development projects of any size.*”**

today that he was the first to provide environmental groups with money with which to examine the possible negative environmental results of installing the pipeline. Most importantly, he gave them the time to do their research and make their recommendations, thereby institutionalizing wealth-consuming delay in the regulatory review process. In addition, Berger was the first to make First Nations full participants in the hearings. He travelled to 35 communities along the length of the putative pipeline and held formal hearings in Yellowknife.

*Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland* has been cited in almost 10,000 academic works about environment protection and native policy, and Berger's work has been widely imitated around the world. In many countries, he has been treated as a conquering hero, especially as indigenous peoples see him as being able to bring economic benefits without any attendant creative destruction of a traditional way of life. However, native bands that have accepted some form of property rights, whether held by individuals or the band, and subsequently developed or leveraged that property in some manner are the only fiscally healthy native bands in the country,<sup>73</sup> and they are independent of government transfer payments. Their culture is secure because they can afford to maintain it.

Berger takes credit, rightly, for inspiring the creation of several large-scale sanctuaries and protected areas for threatened and endangered species, including the charismatic beluga whale and the porcupine caribou. This created a pattern where emotional values are attached to charismatic mammals and sea creatures and exploited without any acknowledgement that good conservation can happen within development and without impoverishment, cultural loss and species decline.

Ironically, in 1999, Aboriginal leaders from the NWT attempted to build a gas pipeline down the Mackenzie Valley. The project foundered.

In the Berger inquiry, we have the template for the process of all large-scale natural resource and development projects of any size. The admixture of bad and good policy fuses so that on the face of it, it is impossible to tease out which to keep and which to jettison.

First, the Berger Inquiry took far more time than any other such study on whether an infrastructure project should take place. Infrastructure investment needs to be made in a timely fashion in order to capture all the benefits for the participants, including the public. In fact, waiting out the economic cycle so the project never reaches a final investment decision is the movement's most effective tactic.

Second, Berger made a group of activists who were, to be polite, in their infancy equal to the citizens of Canada and the corporations that were prepared to spend millions of dollars. This placed at risk an economic boost that would be benefiting Canada

today and vitiated the possibility of tens of thousands of direct and indirect jobs.<sup>74</sup> The welcome surprise of lavish (to them) government funding understandably led to a drawing out of environmental assessments, an expansion that continues to this day, where the time spent by developers trying to placate environmental concerns and measure environmental impact produces excessive and inflationary costs and is a huge boon in funding for environmental activists.

Third, Berger favoured, without any attendant encumbering, native culture over the culture of the country that held the natives and upon which native bands depended for medical services and transfer payments. The responsibility of those bands to the general Canadian populace was never considered. This, too, is common today in public hearings.

As Daniel Kemmis, author of *Community and the Politics of Place* and a former mayor of Missoula, Montana, wrote, “[P]ublic hearings invite people to assume an unencumbered stance—to shed any responsibility for the decision or for hearing or responding to one another.”<sup>75</sup>

Berger invented the public meeting as a major tool in industrial policy-making. He placed the well-being of Canadians at the mercy of unencumbered groups that bore no responsibility for the results of their actions.

This is a crucial point. Today, environmental activists at every level of the culture and conservation bureaucrats in government ministries bear no responsibility for the negative consequences of their activism or rule-making. There are countless examples of environmental policy creating economic and social harm, yet no environmental group has ever been held responsible.

Similarly, wherever environmental groups have intervened to prevent development—from an additional house on a rural property to a pipeline, mine, cut block or gas field—they bear no responsibility for the lost income to either individual, business or tax roll, nor are they held accountable for substantial opportunity costs. When ENGOs bring their claims to court, they are rarely obliged to pay court costs even in the face of failure of their petition and charges. This allows them to launch a number of suits against rural producers. They bear no liability for any of their actions or recommendations—a privilege held by no other group in modern society.

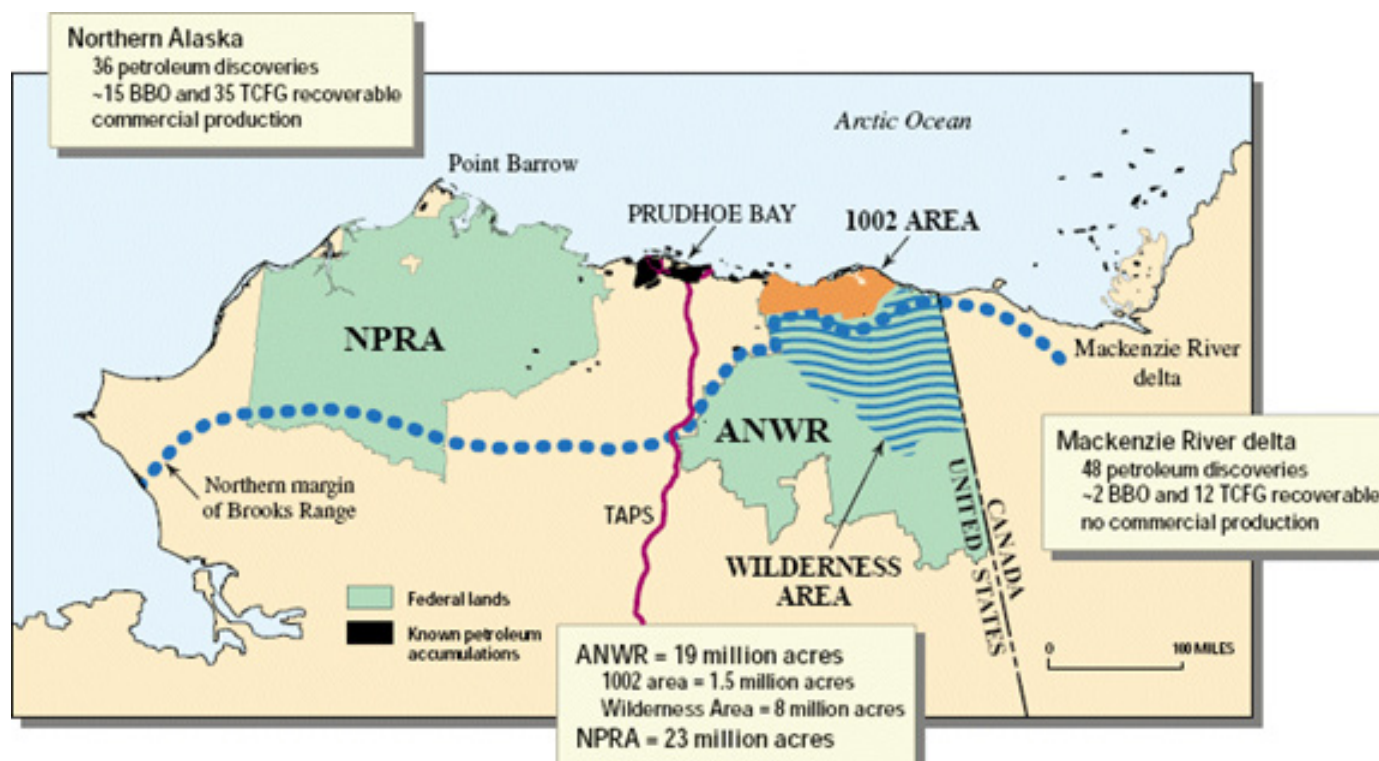
Through the medium of public process and environmental review, invented by Berger and enabled by ideologically sympathetic bureaucrats and politicians, natives in the Yukon traded the possibility of steady income, growth, independence, abundant heat and electricity for a romantic notion of a way of life.

A brief comparison of Old Crow and Prudhoe Bay native well-being is instructive. In Prudhoe Bay, the site of the Alaska North Shore development, the population has increased 43,280 per cent since 2000 (largely engineers and oil field workers of non-native extraction), and median income is \$124,260, twice the average of Alaska. Prudhoe Bay and Old Crow, however, have roughly similar native populations.

In Prudhoe Bay, the private sector employs 51 per cent of the people; many of them are native, and many now possess advanced degrees. Living expenses as of 2012 in

MAP 1

## Known Prudhoe Bay Petroleum Accumulations



Prudhoe Bay were 100 per cent of the average mainland living expenses, or roughly equal. There are stores, restaurants and hotels as well as recreational centres. The poverty rate among natives is 0 per cent, and overall native educational attainment is higher than the mainland average.<sup>76</sup>

In Old Crow, median income increased from \$21,000 in 2000 to \$53,000 in 2006<sup>77</sup> (2011 figures not available), but that is largely because of the gas tax. The band council, which receives more than \$1.9-million annually to service a population of 250, employs almost all the Old Crow natives. Fifteen adults in Old Crow have a college degree. The population has not grown and is expected to grow at a rate of .01 annually.<sup>78</sup> Old Crow expenses (there is no road since there is no pipeline) are substantially higher than the already high Yukon average.

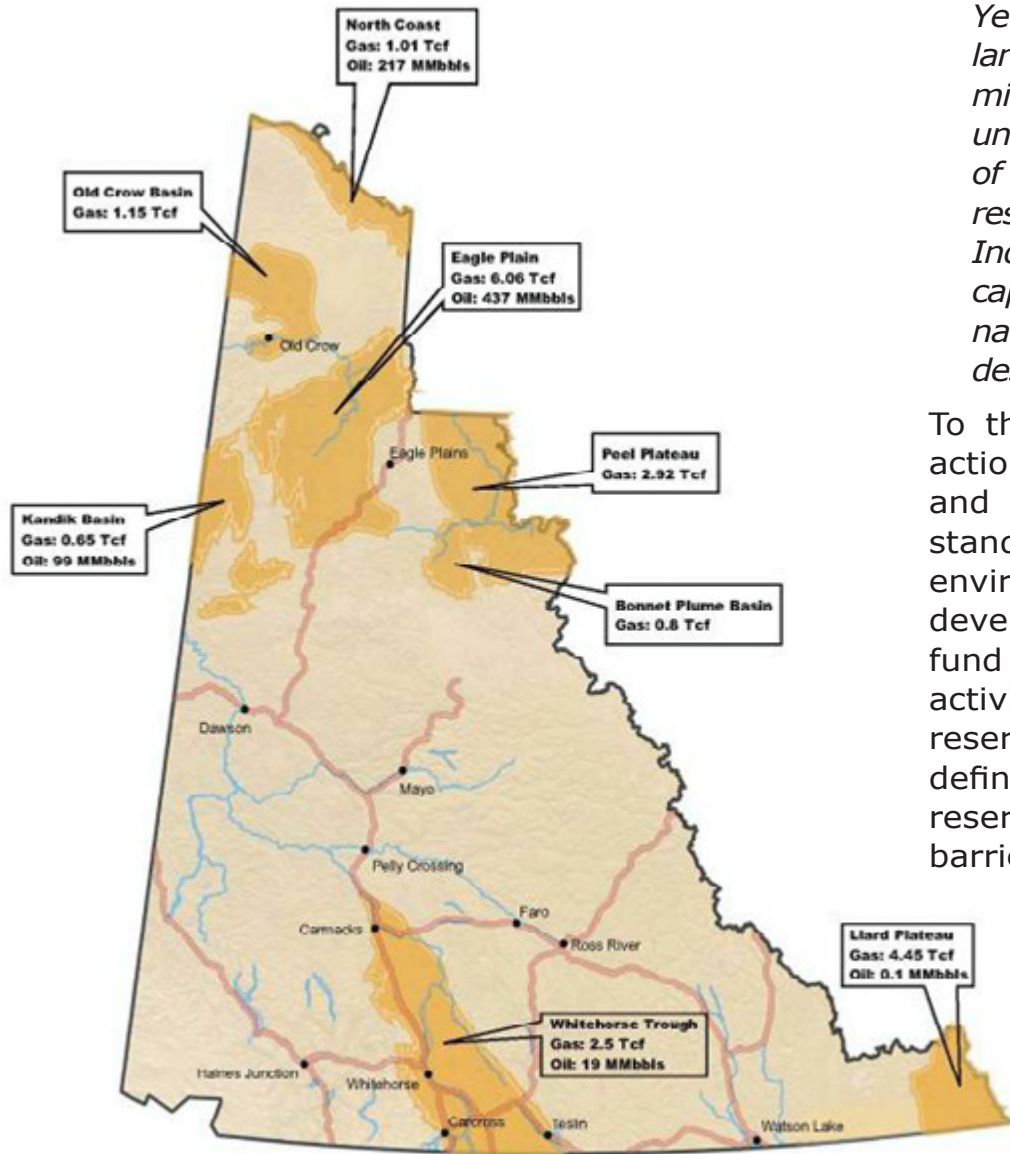
Since Berger headed up the Berger Inquiry in 1978, the development of Canada's resources has been redirected toward emotional goals: the preservation of native heritage, the sustainability of imagined well-being of both native and non-native populations and the preservation of the environment. Unfortunately, none of this is measurable, so proponents are able to claim success with virtually no evidence other than an absence of economic activity.

In mid-2013, the Property and Environment Research Center (PERC) released a study with the George W. Bush Institute titled "The Energy Wealth of Indian Nations," which stated:

*Indian reservations contain almost 30% of the nation's coal reserves west of the Mississippi, 50% of potential uranium reserves, and 20% of known oil and gas reserves—*

MAP 2

## Old Crow and Nearby Yukon Gas Basins



resources worth nearly \$1.5 trillion or \$1.5 million per tribal member.

Yet 86% of Indian lands with energy or mineral potential remain undeveloped because of Federal control of reservations that keeps Indians from fully capitalizing on their natural resources if they desire.<sup>79</sup>

To that, we would add the actions of ENGO activists and foundations that stand between rational, environmentally sound development and which fund anti-development activism on impoverished reserves. PERC identifies ill-defined property rights on reservations as the principal barrier faced by U.S. natives.

In Canada, if a native band decides to develop, all revenue goes to the department of Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development, and all too often, the band must sue to receive even a small portion of that revenue.<sup>80</sup> "The Other Bakken Boom: A Tribe Atop the Nation's Biggest Oil Play" by Sierra Crane-Murdoch outlines the true dilemmas facing native bands given their inability to participate as equal negotiators with oil companies because of insufficient property rights and the fact that their independence has been compromised by environmental NGOs and their junior citizen status as defined by senior governments.<sup>81</sup>



# The Money

The power of the movement would be lessened by several orders of magnitude had not the most august and respected private foundations such as Vancouver, McConnell, Bombardier, Richard Ivey and Walter Gordon Foundations in Canada, the Ford, MacArthur, Kellogg, Packard, Mellon and Rockefeller Foundations in the United States<sup>82</sup> and many others in Europe who supported, funded and provided top-flight strategic planning to movement leaders. Funding for environmental activism and its close companion, ex-officio policy-making by ENGOs and foundations, outpaces the funding of any other charitable sector in Canada. This has been the case for more than 20 years. Attached to this document is a chart that compares the incomes of the principal ENGOs operating in Canada (EnviroTrak Summary pdf) with the incomes of the think-tanks and NGOs that promote free market principles and the charitable organizations that help the poor and fund medical research. This chart shows that money for cancer research, as a case in point, is substantially less than the money that funds Greenpeace, the Nature Conservancy, the Sierra Club and their 3,000 cohorts. The chart includes money given to ENGOs by all levels of government, the corporate sector, foundations, libraries, schools and individuals. It does not include the money spent directly by all levels of government on environmental improvements that more often than not are lobbied for by activists and their organizations. Nor does it count the money spent by corporate Canada on making products and services sustainable, some of which amounts to greenwashing, with the costs passed on to taxpayers and consumers.

The private sector's audit and number crunching of the results of these massive and often ill-considered expenditures pale in comparison with the activists' onslaught of studies, public relations campaigns, presentations, media campaigns, conferences, colloquia and academic and mass-market publications. Industry associations also spend far less than green advocacy organizations.

For instance, in British Columbia, the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, which published Marc Lee and Amanda Card's 2012 paper "A Green Industrial Revolution: Climate Justice, Green Jobs and Sustainable Production in Canada"<sup>83</sup> was backed by an organization with staffing across Canada, and in B.C. alone, enough money for a staff of 16, with 50 researchers on call and on contract. In his acknowledgements, Lee thanks many publicly funded organizations for their help, and his acknowledgements alone are an impressive window into the culture-shaping collaborations that Canadians fund, including credit union VanCity, the Vancouver Foundation, and UBC's Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council through its Community-University Research Alliance program.

It is instructive to remember that this financial power is recent, having achieved this level within the last 20 years. All organizations cited work in the public sphere, which means their annual incomes are reported yearly and are accessible to the public and are meant to be in the public interest.



We did not have access to the annual income of the Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers (CAPP), which is an effective advocacy organization for the petroleum industry. CAPP does not claim to be neutral, but environmental NGOs must be, given their charitable status.

A comparison of the wealth of the environmental movement can be seen in Appendix 1. However, the following provides a window into the surprising dominance of green funding in Canada, funding which outstrips almost every other charitable category, some by orders of magnitude:

- In the past 13 years, the top two ENGOS in Canada took in as much as the Canadian Red Cross in the same time period. The Canadian Red Cross was created in 1909.
- The top five ENGOS in Canada took in more than \$5-billion between 2000 and 2013.
- The top 20 ENGOS in Canada took in more than \$6.3-billion between 2000 and 2013.
- Canada's environmental NGOs and funding organizations first coordinated in a campaign to change the way forestry is practised in Canada. During that time, Canadian foresters funded their own education campaigns to the tune of \$60.9-million. Canadian foresters spent only one-hundredth of the amount of the environmental movement.
- Canadian free market think-tanks that advocated for good government policies *including* good environmental policies took in \$427-million over the same period of 2000 to 2013. This is less than one-tenth of the money spent by the top two ENGOS in Canada. Further, most free market think-tanks spend less than 10 per cent of their capital on researching environmental policy.

# Tzeporah Berman

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## Profile of an Activist

Political movements need charismatic leaders, and one of Canada's most effective is Tzeporah Berman. In early 2013, Ms. Berman announced to a gathering of her supporters (at which the author was present) that she and her NGO, ForestEthics, were raising tens of millions of dollars to empower native groups to litigate the Northern Gateway Pipeline as soon as the British Columbia government approved it. Berman boasted that her actions would ensure that by the time the British Columbia government resolved the question, any profits or benefits to British Columbia would be vitiated by the expenditures necessary to make the pipeline acceptable to the public. (*Salt Spring Forum*, January 11, 2013.)

Berman's career trajectory is typical of environmental activists all over the world, though few are quite as successful as she is in promoting her personal brand. Still in university when she became an activist, she initially studied fashion design in Toronto and moved later to environmental studies. While on a trip to study seabirds on the west coast of Vancouver Island, she became involved in fighting the clear-cutting by MacMillan Bloedel of the forests near the spectacular beaches on the west coast of Vancouver Island. As she puts it today, she found her voice during this 1992 protest, the largest civil disobedience action in Canadian history, wherein 850 people were arrested.

She worked on the Great Bear Rainforest campaign and the Boreal Forest campaign. She has been invited into many public sector organizations as an adviser, including philanthropic organizations, native bands and NGOs. She has been co-director of Greenpeace International's Global Climate and Energy Program, executive director and co-founder of PowerUp Canada and co-founder and campaign director of ForestEthics. Berman was "appointed by the Premier of British Columbia to the Green Energy Task Force in 2009 to design recommendations for the development of renewable energy in the region."<sup>84</sup> In the spring of 2013, she received an honorary doctorate from the University of British Columbia.<sup>85</sup>

In January of 2013, she predicted the Northern Gateway fight would be a much bigger action than the War of the Woods, which during the 1990s decimated forestry on the B.C. coast. While some Canadians support Berman, many more do not. Although Berman prefers broad support, she does not need it. No longer a rabble-rouser, she works principally through government committees, foundations, First Nations, legal actions, targeted protests against corporations that she disapproves of and the media, where she receives a positive response.

"Demarketing"<sup>86</sup> is an important part of Berman's multifaceted strategy. In fact, Berman and her associates first attempted environmental demarketing during the Clayoquot campaign where, all over the world, through a vigorous media campaign, the market for British Columbia's timber was damaged. In *Environmental Groups*

and the *International Conflict over the Forests of British Columbia, 1990 to 2000*, (SFU-UBC Centre for the Study of Government and Business, 2000), W.T. Stanbury outlines how the Clayoquot activists involved the international funding and activist NGO communities and learned how to demarket the forest products of British Columbia.

It is important to keep in mind that at the time the forestry industry was the largest contributor to British Columbia's public purse, and while not the only reason, it now it contributes just 18 per cent of its former stumpage. It is therefore true that Berman and her chums diminished not only the lives of tens of thousands of working rural men and women by eliminating their jobs but also the economic health of British Columbia's rural communities.<sup>87</sup> British Columbia's public accounts deteriorated during the 1990s, leading to an electoral repudiation of the government that allowed the rapid decline of the resource industry. These facts have not been measured, quantified or publicized, and as a result, Berman acquired new supporters and pressed on to larger battles.

**TABLE 1**

## British Columbia's Stumpage Rates (1995-2012)<sup>88</sup>

Year	Volume (m3)	Stumpage (\$)
1995	70,148,354	\$ 1,775,947,553
1996	70,601,456	\$ 1,755,831,925
1997	64,147,320	\$ 1,829,122,549
1998	59,587,542	\$ 1,465,316,537
1999	69,732,427	\$ 1,431,215,650
2000	70,413,696	\$ 1,531,897,140
2001	66,586,832	\$ 1,233,956,485
2002	67,263,614	\$ 1,281,531,528
2003	55,417,217	\$ 915,122,062
2004	85,525,068	\$ 1,349,773,416
2005	77,368,412	\$ 1,184,174,244
2006	77,891,084	\$ 1,037,096,613
2007	70,830,406	\$ 901,291,487
2008	59,348,752	\$ 519,697,934
2009	46,083,577	\$ 240,816,942
2010	60,535,488	\$ 232,605,495
2011	68,110,646	\$ 246,764,019
2012	67,945,768	\$ 309,652,355

# Northern Gateway

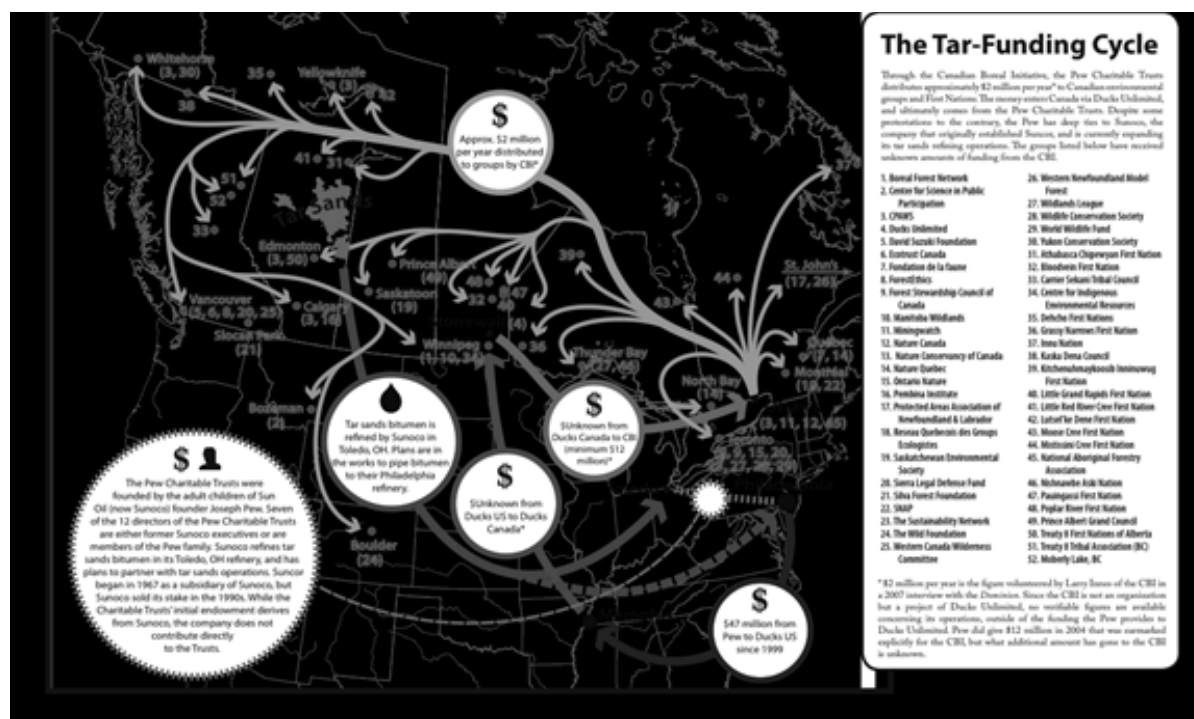
## A Case Study

Lead actors in the environmental movement co-ordinate a large number of organizations and institutions, local, regional, national and international, including government agencies, to carry out their plans. The ForestEthics plan to shut down Northern Gateway is part of a larger action against Canada's oil sands, a plan which has been in the works for more than a decade. The aim is to remove the oil sands' social licence<sup>89</sup> to operate.

Below is the funding mapping for the Pew-Rockefeller spearheaded campaign to remove the oil sands' social licence to operate. As researcher Vivian Krause has pointed out exhaustively in the *Financial Post* over the past ten years, there is a great deal of U.S. involvement in the demarketing of Canada's oil sands. What is perhaps more precise is that Canadians run the campaigns with a great deal of strategic advice and funding from the United States, but they are also helped by NGO personnel and financing from Europe and Asia. Relevant Canadian foundations and ENGOS are fully coordinated internationally, acting as one monolithic lobbying force on a project-by-project basis that when fully activated is the most powerful lobbying force in the world. The chart below from *The Dominion* describes the funding map for demarketing Canada's oil sands.

CHART 7

## The Tar-Funding Cycle



Macdonald Stainsby and Dru Oja Jay, "Offsetting Resistance, the Effects of Foundation Funding and Corporate Fronts from the Great Bear Rainforest to the Athabasca River," *The Dominion*, March 2010. See <http://wrongkind-ofgreen.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/03/offsettingresistance5.pdf>.

In May of 2010, as the Keystone and Northern Gateway pipeline plans progressed, the campaign stepped up its planning. The principal funder-planner, the International Funders for Indigenous People's (IFIP), held its ninth annual conference in Tofino, British Columbia. The following foundations funded the conference:<sup>90</sup>

Ford Foundation  
 Garfield Foundation  
 Grassroots International  
 Kalliopeia Foundation  
 Kenny Family Foundation  
 Mitsubishi Corporation Foundation for the Americas  
 The Christensen Fund  
 The Mailman Foundation  
 SEEDS for Communities  
 Tides Canada  
 The Ocean Foundation  
 Walter and Duncan Gordon Foundation

Foundation officers heading up foundations located in Canada, the United States, Europe, Asia and the United Kingdom provided work, planning and organization.<sup>91</sup>

Gary Martin, Executive Director, Global Diversity Foundation  
 and Co-chair of the Planning Committee  
 Susan Balbas, Executive Director, Tierra Madre Fund  
 Timothy R. Dykman, Co-Director, Ocean Revolution, a Project of the Ocean  
 Foundation, and Co-chair of the Planning Committee  
 Lilian Autler, Institutional Giving Co-ordinator, Grassroots International  
 Meaghan Calcari, Program Officer, Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation  
 Cliff Fregin, CEO, New Relationship Trust  
 Marion Gracey, President, The Muttart Foundation  
 Anne Henshaw, Ph.D., Program Officer, Oak Foundation  
 James Stauch, Vice-President, Walter and Duncan Gordon Foundation  
 and IFIP Board Member  
 Scott Rehmus, CEO, and Neil Philcox, Director of Projects,  
 Coast Opportunity Funds  
 Ross McMillan, Executive Director, Tides Canada Foundation  
 Elena Moreno, Executive Director, Circulos  
 Paul Kenny, Kenny Family Foundation



Susan Smitten, Communications Director,  
 RAVEN, Respecting Aboriginal Values and Environmental Needs.

It is instructive to use the words of the activists in order to examine their campaign. Michael Marx of the Tar Sands Fund and the Tides Foundation ran the session described below. Marx reveals how The Co-operative Bank in the United Kingdom, together with a fund from Visa, the credit card issuer, the WWF and BankTrack combined international forces to end the expansion of the oil sands.<sup>92</sup>

*Participants will learn about one of the largest collaborative efforts ever that is emerging between ENGOs and First Nations to slow the expansion and minimize the impacts of Alberta's tar sands operations. First Nations and ENGOs will explain the collaborative lessons learned along the way, and how challenges became opportunities to work together in new ways. Presenters will describe their campaign strategies and share lessons from past collaborations, good and bad, and how they are being applied to the current campaign.*<sup>93</sup>

Jack Woodward is the head of Woodward and Company, a successful environmental law firm in Vancouver. Woodward has made his reputation by advocating for indigenous peoples in British Columbia land-claims disputes. He explains how the money for these campaigns comes together:

*I am inspired by 'Respect Aboriginal and Treaty Rights' on their posters. But our slogan is "Enforce Treaty Rights. Take them to court." The Beaver Lake Cree Nation has spent \$500,000 of their own money and they have partnered with a cooperative bank. The co-operative bank is a member owned bank with millions of members in the UK. As part of their process, they take part of the deposits and put it to a vote as to what to do with it. The members of the cooperative bank left it to the executives to decide what to do with the money. They are concerned about climate change and they (the UK cooperative bank) decided the biggest threat to the climate was the Tar Sands. They contacted Chief Lameman, they have contributed \$300,000 toward the campaign. We have raised another \$15-20,000 from a Visa donation fund.*<sup>94</sup>

The demarketing of Alberta oil is so successful that bank members in the United Kingdom want to eliminate its social licence to operate, and Visa apparently feels the same. The list of activist NGOs and foundations that lent a hand to this conference is a blue-chip list of foundation and NGO officers from every major market who have access to decision-makers. This is masterful planning. How is it possible that shareholders in a bank in the United Kingdom want to demarket Alberta oil? It seems preposterous.

According to a diplomatic cable released by WikiLeaks in 2010, former Alberta environmental minister, and current Alberta premier, Jim Prentice said he was surprised by how strongly the Norwegian public resisted investment in the oil sands by Statoil, Norway's national oil company.<sup>95</sup>

## Campaign: Rethink Alberta

At the conference, Michael Marx explained how he would destroy the \$5-billion tourism industry in Alberta. Keep in mind, the industry employs more than 109,000 people. (The following is from a redacted transcript of the conference.)

*"Indigenous People and Environmentalists are fighting back with a multi-media campaign that is meant to tell the public just how bad the Alberta Tar Sands is for the environment and what businesses are funding the project. Michael Marx expects the government to significantly ramp up its public relations and promote the tar sands as being 'green.' 'We think that they're obviously sensitive to how they're perceived, and we don't want them to get away with being able to present an image of being environmentally friendly when in fact they're promoting the most environmentally destructive project on the planet.'*

*Marx went on to explain that the campaign is about trying to persuade business to stop establishing offices in the province. In addition to billboards, the campaign will draw heavily on social media with a full website, Rethink Alberta, online banner and flash ads on major tourism websites and Google ad buys for search terms like 'Alberta' and 'tourism' to help direct Internet users to its website. "The campaign is expected to go on for several years. 'We think it will have implications not just for tourism but also for the willingness of companies to do business there and to establish headquarters or affiliates there,' Marx said. A number of U.S. groups are backing the effort, including Rainforest Action Network, Forest Ethics, Global Community Monitor and Friends of the Earth. In Canada, Marx said the campaign would have mostly 'silent' supporters, suggesting that was for their protection. 'We're expecting a lot of backlash from Alberta,' Marx said. According to Marx, **'the campaign's "big goal" is to end expansion of the oil sands.** Key to that, he said, is blocking approval of a \$7 billion pipeline under review by the U.S. Department of State.<sup>96</sup> [Author's emphasis.]*

Removing 109,000 jobs would create "backlash." The accusations made against Canada's oil sands are emotional and if true, frightening. Each can be easily refuted by established science.<sup>97</sup> However, the science and the advocates for the science have not had anything near the financial or strategic support enjoyed by the participants in the IFIP conference. Using exaggerations, misstatements, elisions of the truth as tools, and enabled by lavish funding, for every \$1,000 spent by environmental NGOs, their opponents—operating in the tax-exempt, charitable sector—spend \$1.<sup>98</sup> How can we be surprised that the public is so alarmed by the state of Canada's environment?

## Aboriginal Buy-in

Because of British Columbia's unresolved land-use issues, international activist NGOs fund the multi-million-dollar Coast Opportunity Funds for First Nations in order to enlist native bands in their fight. Before the Clayoquot campaign, the North and Central coast native bands were employed, sporadically, but employed—in forestry, fishing or mining or in the many support—direct and indirect—jobs. After economic activity was drawn down slowly after three decades, natives could only rely on transfer payments and suing the government over land rights.

The Coast Opportunity Funds stepped up. It encompasses all the bands in the coastal inlets from Alaska to Vancouver, all the way through the Great Bear Rain Forest as mapped below.

MAP 3

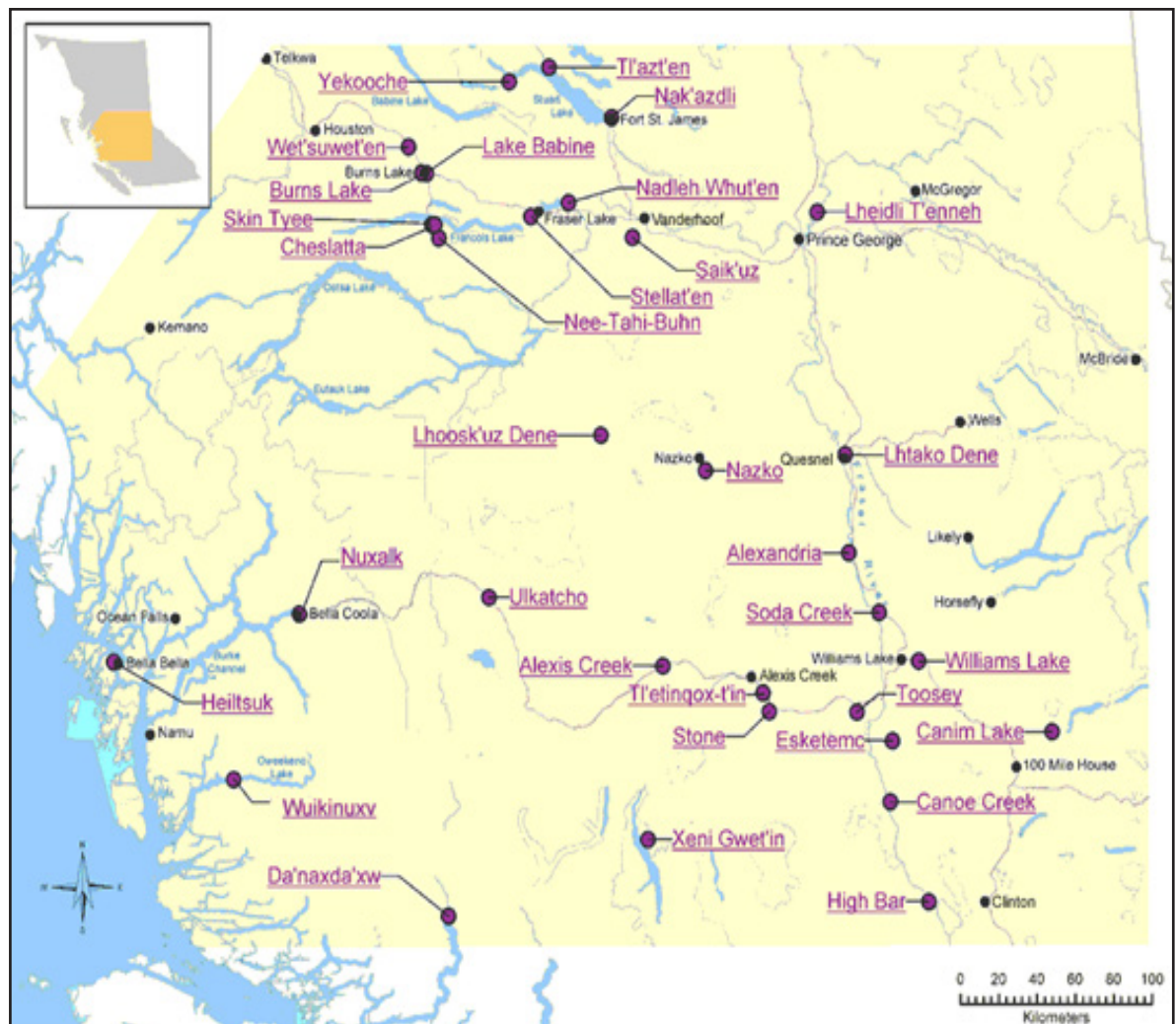
### Coast Opportunity Funds' Project Area





MAP 4

# BC Coastal Area Aboriginal Clans and Families



The Coast Opportunity Fund is geared toward training activists, not starting businesses to support the families and clans of the coast. Instead, native energy and purpose focuses on environmental activism. Susceptible natives represent the well-funded shock troops of the environment. Natives are guaranteed sympathetic support from the press. The Coast Opportunity Funds trained and funded the participants in the 2012 Idle No More, a native protest that embarrassed the government of the day.

The action funded by Coast Opportunity is merely one of the campaigns launched against Canada's oil sands. The Beaver Lake Cree Nation has collaborated with four other First Nations, and together they form the central native action (with support and funding from transnational and national ENGOs) fighting the oil sands.<sup>99</sup>

The Northern Gateway Pipelines project is the most current example of how co-ordinated, strategic and long-term the focus of ENGOs and their funders has become.

# Klemtu and salmon farming

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## A Case Study

In 2002, the author accompanied Vivian Krause, who was then working for Marine Harvest, a fish farming corporation operating in many countries, to Klemtu, a fishing village on the mid-coast of British Columbia. As we flew in, a magnificent antique yacht, a twin-masted schooner built entirely of mahogany and teak in the 1920s, was also arriving. It was filled with foundation employees from the U.S and Canada and activists who were on Klemtu to persuade the chiefs to stop fish farming and act as watchers on the coast for industrial depredation and incursion, for which the band would receive grants.

The village coffee shop did not serve vegetables; the roads were pitted; and the housing stock dilapidated. But on the farms, young men and women talked about future educational opportunities available because of the money earned on the fish farms and of the job opportunities that would come from that education. Excitedly telling us about the boat trips they would have to take to the colleges on Vancouver Island, they showed us their immaculate pens and equipment and talked about helping to develop their coastline in the future.

Chief Percy Starr, back in his office after the offer from the foundations and NGOs had been made, was signing paycheques. "The best thing for the self-esteem of an Indian," he muttered, "is a paycheque."

Today, Klemtu is drawn down by the movement's activities and its furious protests against fish farming. The media treats the principal actor, Alexandra Morton, like a modern-day Joan of Arc. Today, life in the village has degraded to the point that tuberculosis is flourishing.<sup>100</sup> There is no more hopeful talk about the future from Klemtu's youth.

Lawyer, Jack Woodward:

*Why do we have the Coast Opportunity Funds? It goes back to the war of the woods. The trees are valuable to loggers, environmentalists want to protect the diversity and the Native groups value their cultural land and heritage. The difficult war in the woods was that environmentalist groups were putting pressure on the loggers to change the way they work. It was extremely effective. Next, **the First Nations started suing businesses and the government. There was so much conflict that change had to happen or no one could go forward.** [Author's emphasis.]*

*The solutions process involved the First Nations, Loggers, Environmentalists and the Provinces. For the first time the Provincial Government recognized the First Nations and began conversations government to government. Secondly, there was conservation. They shifted from feeding the timber mills with lumber and logs with something more that was concerned with the long term health of*



*eagles, bears and salmon. That is simplifying it, but it was a change in business practice that they called: Ecosystem Based Management.*<sup>101</sup>

Could this Woodward-Aboriginal-caused conflict be a contributor to the current “creative destruction” in the resource industries? Lumber and logs feed people and the long-term health of eagles, bears and salmon is an emotional value, importantly *not* mutually exclusive with logging, mining and development. One cannot eat future health.

Ecosystem-based management has proved a broad-based failure in the U.S. Pacific Northwest forest and on the ranges of the American West, where the lands have been cleared of cattle. Ecosystem-based management is based on a new, flawed science—conservation biology—which has caused ecological and human harm, and which has not been properly tested or audited for results.<sup>102</sup> In many of the areas in the world where ecosystem-based management has been put in place, the lands are failing, as are the human communities that depend upon those lands. The broader culture is starved of its natural resources, and commodity prices shoot up, impoverishing the vulnerable.<sup>103</sup>

On a region by region basis, the money launched against rural producers is not inconsiderable, and \$113,040,452 over seven years in one sparsely populated region acts as a battering ram.<sup>104</sup>

The Coast Opportunity Funds goes by a wide range of names:

**Alias Name**

CCEFF  
CEDS  
Coast Conservation Endowment  
Fund Foundation  
Coast Economic Development Society  
Coast Opportunity Fund  
Coast Opportunity Funds  
COF

Revenue declared on tax returns total \$133,040,452 over seven years:

Year	Source	Amount (\$)
2012	IRS 990	2,650,389
2011	IRS 990	3,709,024
2010	CCRA T-3010	2,305,281
2009	IRS 990	2,409,033
2009	CCRA T-3010	2,736,636
2008	CCRA T-3010	56,783,582
2008	CCRA T-3010	58,371,391
2007	CCRA T-3010	2,046,460
2007	IRS 990	2,028,656

The Rockefeller Bros. Fund was the first funder of the Coast Opportunity Funds with \$1,000,000. Other funders include the Tides Foundation, the David and Lucile Packard Foundation, the Moore Charitable Foundation and the Nature Conservancy of Canada.

# Planned transnational and national land sequestrations

The following massive land sequestrations are in process. Some are cross-boundary. Only 13 per cent of Canada is in private hands, so the moving of millions of acres from Crown land designation into protected areas has raised less public protest in Canada than has land sequestration in the U.S.

- Y2Y – Yellowstone to Yukon Conservation Initiative
- The Canadian Boreal Initiative
- A2A – Algonquin to Adirondacks
- The Taku – also known as the Transboundary Waters
- B2B – Baha, California, to Bering Sea Region
- The Great Bear Rainforest
- Plan Nord Quebec.

**Y2Y** is a major environmental/ First Nations initiative, a five million acre land sequestration intended to be a vast nature reserve and wildlife corridor ranging through B.C. and Alberta, from Alaska to the mainland United States (Map 5).

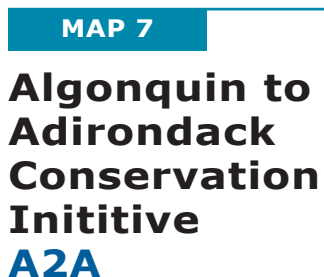
**The Canadian Boreal Initiative** is a 720,000 square kilometre sequestration of land; more than 50 per cent of this land will eventually be placed under permanent conservation.<sup>105</sup> CPAWS is spearheading the current campaign for more conservation within the CBA (Map 6, next page).

**A2A** will join Algonquin Park to Adirondack Park by, over time, adding land to create a wildlife corridor between the two parks (Maps 7, 8 next page).

MAP 5

## Western N.A. Ecosystems







**“The International Watersheds Initiative** is implementing a new paradigm for transboundary basins.”<sup>106</sup> The Taku River is one transboundary bioregion and includes Northwest British Columbia and Southeast Alaska, covering more than 32 million acres of spectacular landscapes. Another transboundary initiative includes Hudson’s Bay and drainage, the Great Lakes water system, the St. Lawrence Seaway and the headwaters of the Canadian and U.S. water systems along the border of the United States and Canada (Map 10).

#### ONTARIO

Premier Dalton McGuinty committed to protecting 50 per cent of Ontario’s Northern Boreal Forest on July 14, 2008.

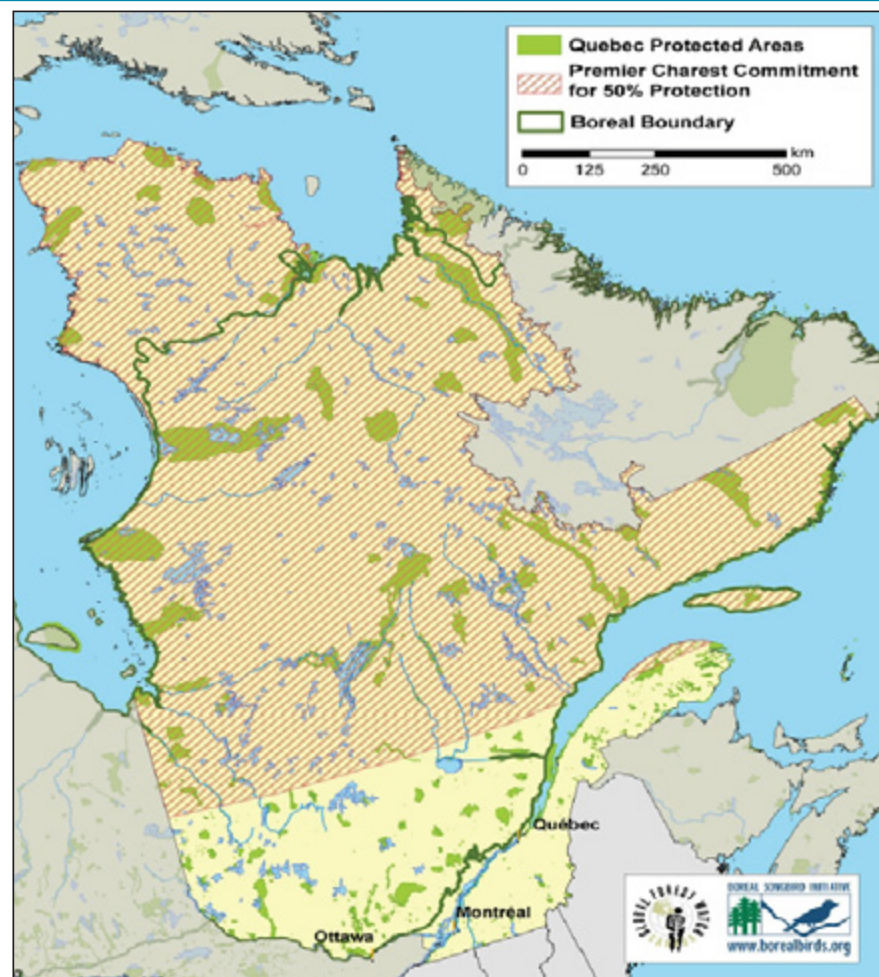
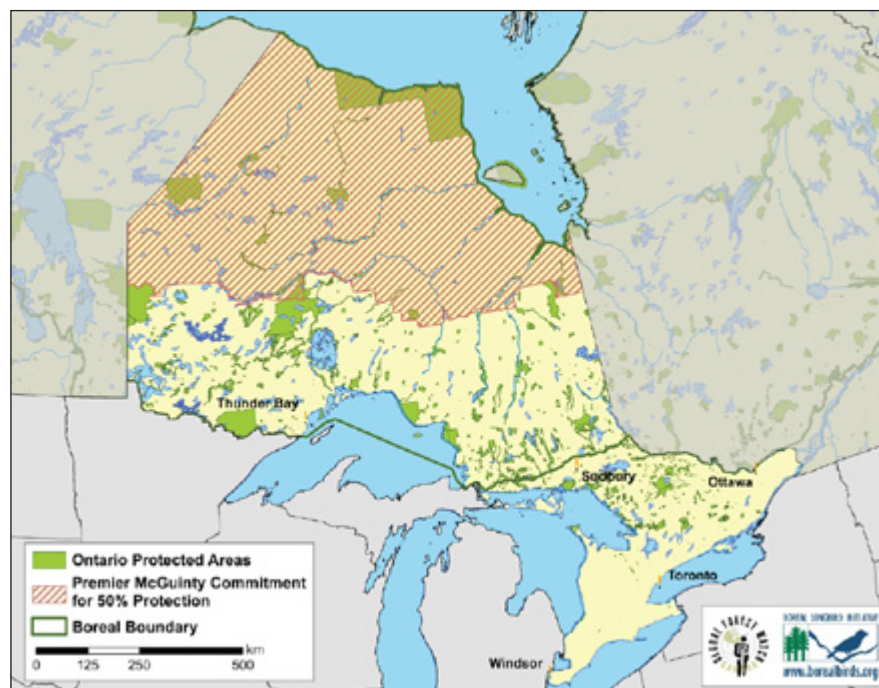
#### QUEBEC

Premier Jean Charest committed to protecting 50 per cent of Quebec’s Northern Boreal Forest on November 16, 2008. Maps provided by Global Forest Watch Canada.

As with all water-rich regions, these transboundary regions are also home to gas, oil, strategic minerals, timber, wildlife and people. To prevent that which movement officers call “short-term profit seeking,” these cumulative 100,000,000 acre land sequestrations will be managed through (as recommended by the UNEP’s Protection of the Quality and Supply of Freshwater Resources division) ecosystem management, sustainable community economic development, and watershed planning efforts led by First Nation communities

MAP 8

### Boreal Protection Commitments A2A





MAP 9

## International Watershed Initiative



MAP 10

## Transboundary Watersheds



MAP 11

## Plan Nord (QC)





that “consider the needs of all of the region’s inhabitants”<sup>107</sup> (Map 9, 10).

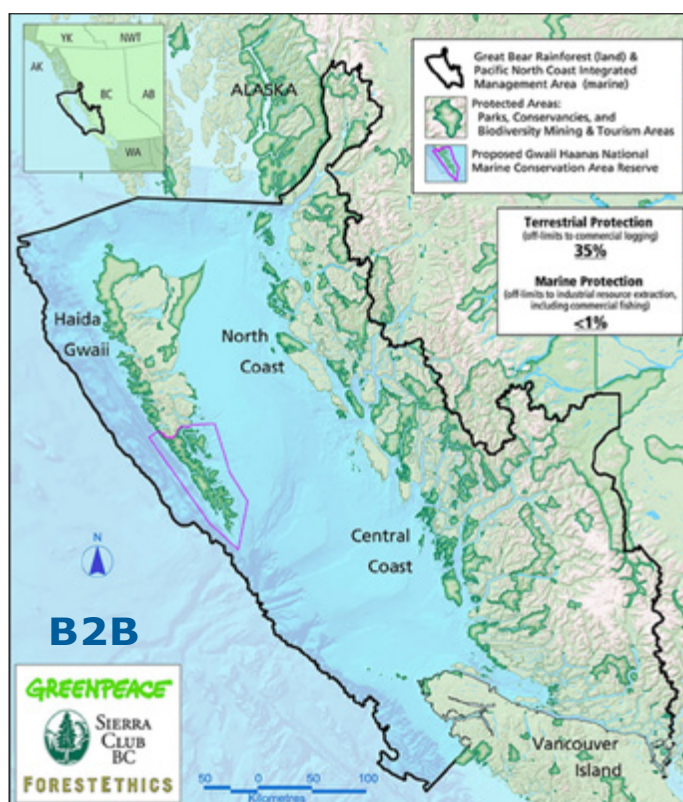
Quebec policy calls for 50 per cent of Plan Nord to be set aside for conservation by 2035 (Map 11).<sup>108</sup>

**B2B** will hinder or stop both offshore oil and gas exploration on the rich continental shelf and any mining of rare earth minerals. It will draw down the fisheries, ban fish farming and strictly control shipping, most especially oil transport, on the West coast. Concern over collapsing salmon stocks is the principal tool, though oil spills rank a close second (Maps 12, 13, 14).

All development in these regions of Canada is to take place under effective control by native communities and environmental NGOs whose officers will have a cumulative greater standing than local communities, national or provincial governments or resource producers. In these regions, the environmental Iron Triangle is creating new regulatory regimes that erode traditional democratic process.

MAP 12

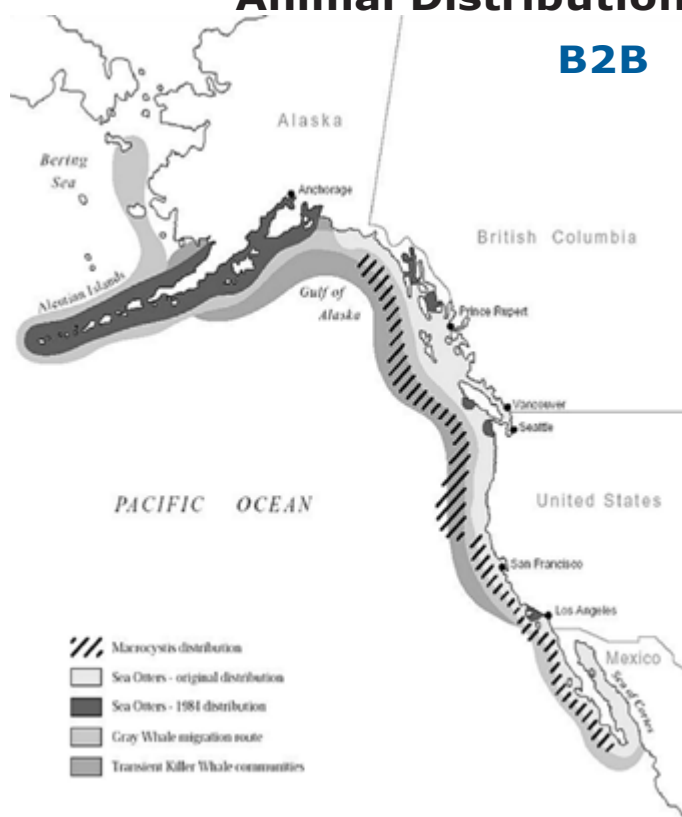
## Land and Sea Together



MAP 13

## West Coast Marine Animal Distribution

**B2B**



MAP 14

## Salmon Nation



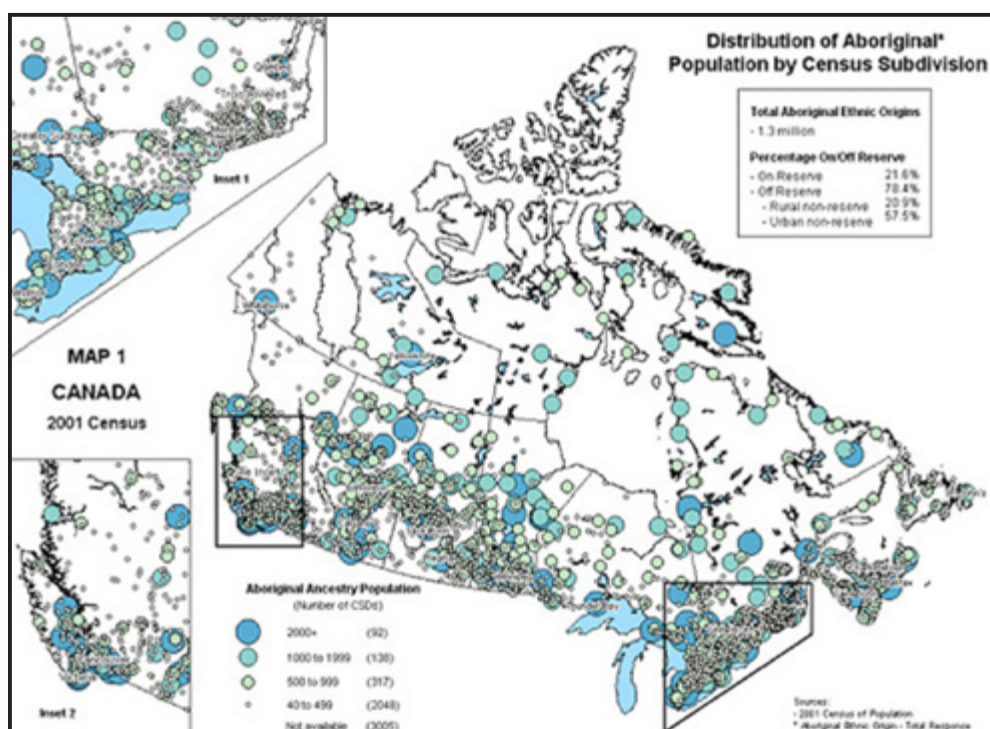
MAP 15

## Coast Opportunity Funds' Project Area



MAP 16

## Aboriginal Distribution

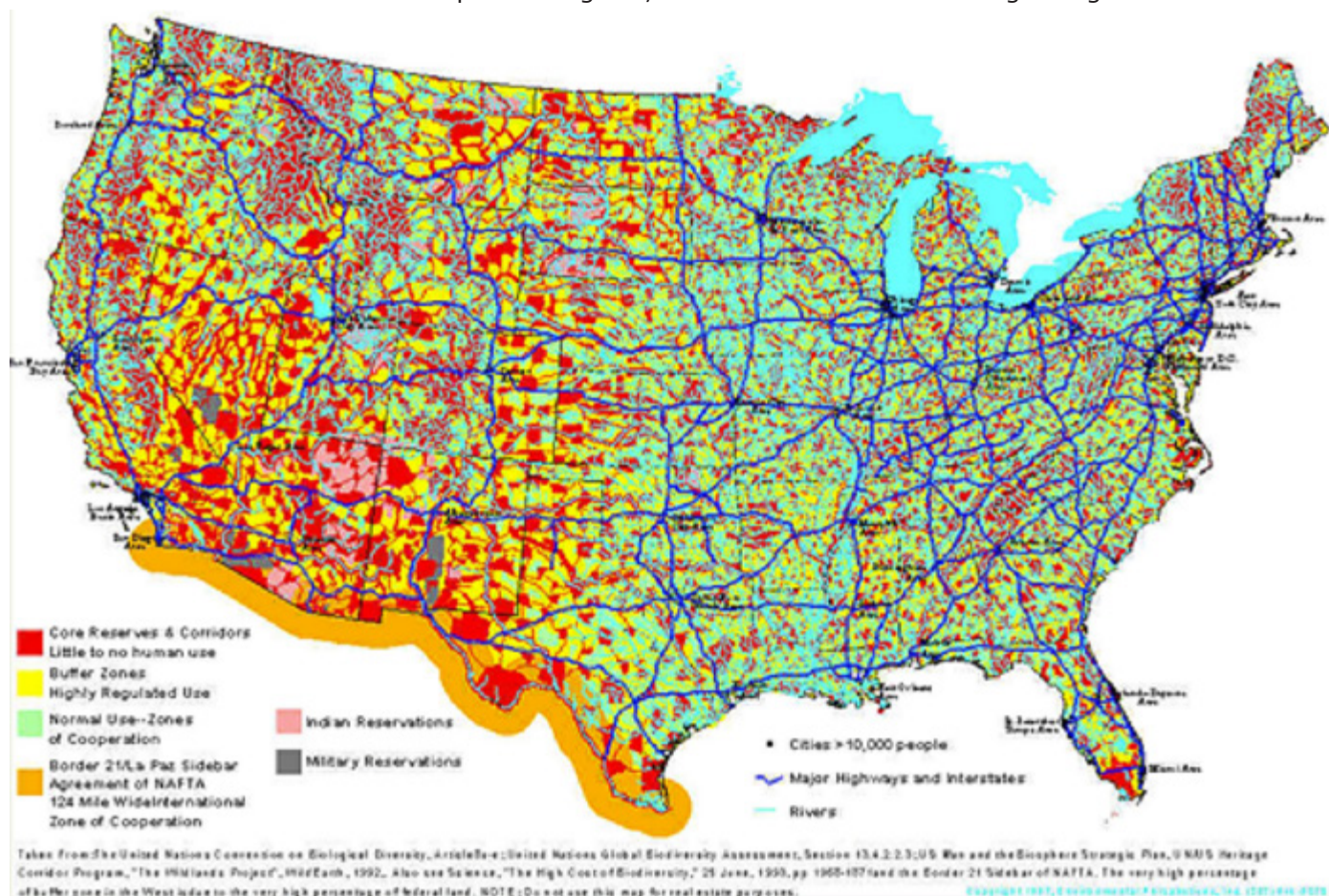




MAP 17

## Simulated Reserve and Corridor System to Protect Biodiversity

As mandated by the Convention on Biological Diversity, The Wildlands Project, UN and U.S. Man and Biosphere Program, various UN and U.S. Heritage Programs and NAFTA.



# Further regulatory restrictions in process

The goals of the movement are far-reaching and expansive in scope. However, it is useful to describe them in order to fully understand the system-changing drive behind some elements of the environmental movement.

The expense of a shift to a low-carbon economy will be borne by taxpayers who will see their annual incomes fall (by degrees) by as much as 50 per cent, their opportunities shrink and the consumption of non-necessities vanish. The modern economy is envisioned to wind down to less than 50 per cent of its current capacity. Carbon will, therefore, no longer be a problem. Eliminating property rights through regulation on warehoused lands, along with all other conserved lands, set asides and parks as well as conservation easements, open space, Smart Growth,<sup>109</sup> densification and green space will sharply restrict economic activity, making a 50 per cent drawing down of consumption not as ridiculous as it sounds.

The *Alberta Land Stewardship Act*<sup>110</sup> redefines the use of Alberta's public lands and cancels many property rights on private lands. Each province has such an Act, either in legislative process or waiting in the wings. The *Alberta Land Stewardship Act* is impressive because the province most dedicated to free enterprise is diminishing democratic rights, especially property rights. After enactment, these regulatory schemes tighten up over time. Each Act is placed within a larger context so that a piece of land is governed by several different pieces of legislation, any one of which can be used to stop even reasonable use, and especially any resource exploration.

The Western Climate Initiative, Inc. is developing a one-size-fits-all regulatory scheme for climate mitigation in two Canadian provinces and seven U.S. states.

All land sequestrations have ENGO oversight built into their governance. Canadian access is restricted and private ownership of land is discouraged. Increasing sequestration of Crown lands, cancellation of all leases and permits to enter land including uses like campsites, recreation, firewood collection, biking, hiking, hunting and access to fishing are embedded in most ENGO long-term plans. Increased regulation of all water on those lands and increased permit requirements for all economic activity will discourage economic activity by local citizens, increase rural poverty and encourage rural people to move to cities.

The movement's wish list includes limiting house sizes, limiting lot sizes and refusing to install water and power services beyond the green belts of cities.

In order to house displaced rural people, stack and pack housing around big-box stores and transportation and energy corridors are being built. This kind of land-use planning is in place in Ontario. Recently, California passed One Bay Area, the largest Smart Growth plan in existence. Private property rights in One Bay are sharply diminished. Associated with what is called "Smart Growth" or "densification" are mandates to force a correct mix of people in every neighbourhood so as to create

social equity. Some movement-associated academics and activists openly discuss allowing rural people in the developing world to starve.<sup>[111/112](#)</sup>

Other plans include a shifting of industrial activity in low-income communities, to bring hybrid cars and solar panel construction jobs to such neighbourhoods.

Federal agencies are increasingly required to set their agendas using scientific “consensus”, rather than depending upon independence of thought and research, disagreement and vigorous debate.

Activists campaign to force environmental protection as an explicit part of bilateral trade agreements with developing countries such as China. This protection is already part of NAFTA, which established the North American Commission for Environmental Cooperation (CEC). While this, on the face of it appears reasonable, the CEC is an enabler of ENGOs, providing them with a judicial forum to launch complaints and retard economic activity.<sup>[113](#)</sup>

Activists also campaign for the creation of markets for water-quality trading. Just as in the carbon market, farmers will be allowed a limited amount of nitrogen and phosphorus run-off from fertilizers and manure. These chemicals, when flushed into water sources, contribute to dead zones, killing off aquatic species and shutting down fisheries. A farmer who comes in under the limit would be able to sell his or her remaining credits. These schemes generally ignore technological fixes for run-off, which are proliferating given the real (rather than imagined) nature of the problem. A primary goal of the movement is that water will be metered and all water will be owned by the state.



# Conclusions

Canada's environmental movement has become one of the most powerful and effective actors in the Canadian economy. Its financial heft is equal or superior to any category of charitable endeavour, including the Red Cross and the Canadian Cancer Society and far outclassing the cumulative impact of think-tanks on the left and right. Its wealth and power far outclasses any institution in the public sector that would track, measure and judge the progress of environmental goods.

The movement has become a tightly controlled juggernaut that vigorously fights any criticism of its motives or activities, all too often on an emotional level. Even fact-based defences are couched in hysterical language and accompanied by crude accusations of ethical crimes<sup>114</sup> committed by those who oppose environmental orthodoxy. Any mild criticism of environmental legislation, regulation and rule-making raises a hailstorm of criticism,<sup>115</sup> impugning the moral character of the critic and accusing him or her of being in the pay of oil companies.<sup>116</sup> This tactic, and it is a deliberate tactic, has effectively dampened rational debate.<sup>117</sup>

A methodical examination of the contributions that the Canadian environmental movement has brought to Canadian communities, our collective wealth as well as individual health and well-being is necessary. Are our natural systems best managed under Ecosystem-based management, or are they failing as they are elsewhere? We need to know what is failing, so we can fix it. As indicated by this paper, the movement has inserted itself into nearly every sector of the economy, including education, native economies, health care, resource extraction, land use, town and city planning, energy markets and food production. Many of the movements' innovations do not work and are expensive. We need a thorough examination of each incursion, with an analysis of the correct policy tools required to fix the problem.

Conservation and environmental policy must not conflict with good economic development. If economic policy and environmental policy are not developed in tandem, accompanied by rigorous audits of each innovation, we will remain mired in sclerotic growth, the impacts of which fall most heavily on the disadvantaged.

Source: *Florida State Board of Education*.

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# Endnotes

1. The following definition of post-scarcity economics is shorn of ideological cant: Drawing from the example of modern agriculture that feeds more people every year with fewer resources, this idea is extrapolated to all 'scarce' resources: "Where economics is classically seen as the study of the allocation of scarce resources, this classical mindset has been consistently subverted to the point that it is time to explore shaking economics from this foundation. At the epicenter of this paradigm earthquake is technological change, and most notably the advances in computing technology. While the abundance mindset doesn't deny the existence of scarcity, it simply admits that a single-minded focus on scarcity is as inefficient as it is destructive. Instead of relying on conservation, restriction, and rationing to allocate resources, an abundance economy relies on innovation, freedom, and sharing to succeed." Miles Mason, Post-Scarcity Alliance. <http://www.postscarcityalliance.com/the-post-scarcity-mindset/>.
2. <http://www.unep.org/Documents.multilingual/Default.asp?DocumentID=52&ArticleID=52>.
3. Maude Barlow and Tony Clarke Blue Gold, *The Fight to Stop the Corporate Theft of the World's Water*, The New Press, 2005. This book is cited repeatedly in discussions about water regulation. [http://thenewpress.com/index.php?option=com\\_title&task=view\\_title&metaproductid=1022](http://thenewpress.com/index.php?option=com_title&task=view_title&metaproductid=1022).
4. Ben Eisen and Romy Yourex, "The Environmental State of Canada: 2013 Update," p. 14, The Frontier Centre for Public Policy.
5. EnviroTrak is a database that informs Surviving Sustainability. It tracks the organizations, money, people and legislation that created the environmental business in Canada.
6. Dambisa Moyo, *Winner Take All: China's Race for Resources and What It Means for the Rest of the World*, Harper Collins, 2013; also, Aaron L. Freidberg, "'Going Out': China's Pursuit of Natural Resources and Implications for the PRC's Grand Strategy," National Bureau of Asian Research, 2006. Many others assert a similar claim.
7. Barry Cooper, *It's the Regime, Stupid! A Report from the Cowboy West on Why Stephen Harper Matters*, Key Porter Books, 2009.
8. *Dictionary of the Social Sciences*, edited by Craig Calhoun, Oxford University Press, 2002.
9. This is described by Iain Murray, vice-president of the Competitive Enterprise Institute, in *The Really Inconvenient Truths: Seven Environmental Catastrophes Liberals Don't Want You to Know About—Because They Helped Cause Them*, Regnery Publishing, 2008.
10. David I. Stern, "The Environmental Kuznets Curve," *International Society for Ecological Economics*, June 2003, Department of Economics, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, New York, 2003.
11. James L. Huffman, "Property Rights Showdown," *The Wall Street Journal*, July 21, 2007; Elizabeth Brubaker, *Property Rights in the Defence of Nature*, Earthscan Publications Limited, 1995; Michael Coffman, "How Private Property in America is Being Abolished," *Range Magazine*, Fall 2005.
12. Holly Lipke Fretwell, *Who is Minding the Federal Estate?: Political Management of America's Public Lands*, Lexington Books, 2009.
13. Allan Savory, *How to Fight Desertification and Reverse Climate Change*, Ted Talks. Available online at [http://www.ted.com/talks/allan\\_savory\\_how\\_to\\_green\\_the\\_world\\_s\\_deserts\\_and\\_reverse\\_climate\\_change.html](http://www.ted.com/talks/allan_savory_how_to_green_the_world_s_deserts_and_reverse_climate_change.html).
14. Removing cattle from ranges triggers desertification. Not maintaining forests, as environmentalists demand in the service of "natural regulation," causes overgrowth, root rot and compromised immune systems. Allan Savory has done the groundbreaking work on this issue. His Ted Talk is available at [http://www.ted.com/talks/allan\\_savory\\_how\\_to\\_green\\_the\\_world\\_s\\_deserts\\_and\\_reverse\\_climate\\_change.html](http://www.ted.com/talks/allan_savory_how_to_green_the_world_s_deserts_and_reverse_climate_change.html). Also, see "Greener Pastures," *Conservation*, June 2011. Available online at <http://conservationmagazine.org/2011/06/greener-pastures/>; also Holly Lipke Fretwell, op. cit.
15. Brubaker, op. cit.; also Tom Bethell, *The Noblest Triumph: Property and Prosperity through the Ages*, St. Martin's Press, 1998.
16. Yasunari Inamura, Tomonori Kimata, Takeshi Kimura, Muto, March 2011, "Recent Surge in Global Commodity Prices—Impact of Financialization of Commodities and Globally Accommodative Monetary Conditions." Bank of Japan Review, March 2011.
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## Further Reading

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## The Green Plague: How Biofuels are Damaging the Environment

By Eric Merkley

<http://www.fcpp.org/posts/the-green-plague-how-biofuels-are-damaging-the-environment>

May 2013

## The Environmental State of Canada 2013 Update

By Ben Eisen and Romy Yourex

<http://www.fcpp.org/posts/the-environmental-state-of-canada-2013-update>

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