

# POSING AS CANADIAN

How Big Foreign Oil  
captures Canadian energy  
and climate policy

---

by Gordon Laxer

DEC. 2021



*All major oil corporations in Canada are majority foreign-owned*

**Co-published by:**  
The Council of Canadians  
CCPA Saskatchewan Office  
CCPA BC Office



# About the author

Gordon Laxer is a political economist, professor emeritus at the University of Alberta, and the founding Director of Parkland Institute. He is the author of two award-winning books, *After the Sands: Energy and Ecological Security for Canadians* and *Open for Business: The Roots of Foreign Ownership in Canada*, and the editor of several books. He has published over 40 journal articles and refereed book chapters and reports. He was Principal Investigator of a \$1.9 million, four-country research project, *Neoliberal Globalism and its Challengers: Reclaiming the Commons in the Semi-periphery*. His op-eds have been published in *The Toronto Star*, *The Globe and Mail*, *The Edmonton Journal*, *The Vancouver Sun*, *The Calgary Herald*, *The Montreal Gazette*, *El Universal* (Mexico), and other publications. He has also been a regular guest on current affairs radio and television programs, including the CBC's *The Current*, *As It Happens*, and *Face Off*.

## Acknowledgements

I want to thank Kat Topinka for her extensive and insightful research that underlies much of this report. I also want to thank Nathan Lemphers for access to his 2012 and 2019 research on foreign ownership of bitumen corporations and for his many insights. I am grateful to Alison Kirsch (Lead Researcher for the Climate and Energy Program at Rainforest Action Network in San Francisco) for her pro bono work on foreign ownership levels of corporations on CAPP's board. A big thank you to Laurie Adkin, Sven Biggs, David Climenhaga, Eriel Deranger, Simon Enoch, Shane Gunster, JP Sapinski, Mike Sozan, Gillian Steward, Keith Stewart, Kevin Taft, Tim Wood, and other reviewers for their critiques and suggestions. Thanks as well to the eagle-eyed editing of Donya Ziaee, Nik Barry-Shaw, Christina Warner, and Dylan Penner at the Council of Canadians. I am responsible for any errors.

### **EDITORS**

Donya Ziaee, Nik Barry-Shaw

### **LAYOUT**

Eagleclaw Thom



# Contents

Executive summary	4
Introduction	7
1. The manufactured outrage against “foreign-funded environmentalists”	9
2. The real menace: CAPP and the dominance of foreign corporations in the oil sands	16
3. Social cover for Big Foreign Oil	25
4. Influencing elections	30
5. Lobbying and government capture	39
Conclusion	44
Endnotes	48

In this report, the terms oil sands, Sands, and bitumen are used interchangeably.

## Acronyms

API: American Petroleum Institute

BFO: Big Foreign Oil

CAPP: Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers

CEC: Canada’s Energy Citizens

CNRL: Canadian Natural Resources Limited

UCP: United Conservative Party



# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Alberta's recent public inquiry into "anti-Alberta energy campaigns" targeted a molehill and missed the Rockies.

Tasked with investigating the vast sums that allegedly flowed from U.S. foundations to Canadian environmental groups, inquiry commissioner Steve Allan followed the trail of money and found a pittance. Allan's report identified between \$2.21 to \$3.46 million a year in "foreign funding directed to Alberta resource development opposition" – a drop in the bucket for the dozens of groups concerned.

If, as Alberta Energy Minister Sonya Savage stated, the aim of the inquiry was to expose the influence of foreign actors over domestic policy, it missed the mark badly. Right under its nose was a far larger source of outside money influencing Albertan and Canadian politics: Big Foreign Oil.

Oil corporations in Alberta and Canada are overwhelmingly foreign-owned. This report examines how Big Foreign Oil (BFO) hinders climate action in Canada by capturing and controlling the lion's share of the industry, policy-making, and profits.

BFO maintains and asserts much of its power through control over the apex oil and gas lobby group, the Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers (CAPP). Through partially successful PR campaigns, CAPP has wrapped itself in the maple leaf and claimed to speak for Canada's national interest.

But as this report reveals, the Canadian-ness of Calgary's oil patch is an inch deep:

- Of the 48 corporations on CAPP's board, 30 were confirmed to be fully or majority foreign-owned, while seven more are very likely majority foreign-owned. Combined, that makes up 77 per cent of CAPP's board.
- The overwhelming majority – about 97 per cent – of the oil produced by corporations on CAPP's board in 2018 came from fully or majority foreign-owned corporations. Majority Canadian-owned corporations were responsible for less than three per cent of all oil production by corporations on CAPP's board.
- Most of CAPP's revenue comes from foreign-owned corporations because CAPP corporate membership fees are based on each member's oil production. The greater the production, the higher the fees. Since 97 per cent of the oil produced by CAPP's corporate board members comes from fully or majority foreign-owned corporations, their fees must account for about 97 per cent of CAPP's revenue.

For all its bravado as an independent, Canadian centre of oil and gas in the world, Calgary is in fact subordinate to Big Foreign Oil.

BFO's playbook for maintaining power and influencing policymaking in Canada and Alberta goes something like this:

### **Demonize your opponents as un-Canadian**

During the Conservative government of Stephen Harper, BFO and its political supporters in office began to accuse Canadian environmentalists of using funding from foreign groups to shut down the Canadian oil and gas industry. The demonization of oil industry critics as 'anti-Canadian' has gone hand-in-hand with an aggressive form of petro-nationalism: the attempt to portray resource extraction and the oil industry as a part of what makes us Canadian.

### **Summon an army of 'grassroots' supporters**

To accrue social licence, BFO and its supporters go to great pains to deepen the notion that the identity and economic well-being of Albertans – and Canadians at large – are inextricably linked to oil. One of their main strategies in gaining social legitimacy is through astroturfing: funding front groups that masquerade as "grassroots" citizen support for oil and gas extraction.

### **Get out the 'Energy Vote'**

CAPP has influenced individual voters in provincial and federal elections through micro-targeting, surveys, and massive advertising spending. Despite being dominated by BFO, the lobby group has benefited from a loophole that allows it to circumvent rules preventing foreign money interference in Canadian elections. As a well-funded, registered third party, it has been able to command the attention of voters and political leaders during election campaigns. And, the executives of oil corporations on CAPP's board of governors have used various techniques to circumvent bans on corporate donations, to make sizable contributions to politicians favourable to their agenda.

### **Lobby and influence governments to defang regulation**

CAPP's 36 full-time lobbyists are in perpetual contact with politicians and high-ranking bureaucrats in the federal and Alberta governments – and they have often gotten the results they want. In Alberta, whether the Conservatives or NDP held office, BFO has had great sway over policies. The province acts as chief champion of oil and gas corporations within the Canadian federation.

The accusations by Jason Kenney about the foreign funding of Canadian environmentalists assume that who pays the piper calls the tune. If that assumption has validity, then the power and influence of foreign-owned petro corporations in Canada is enormous, because the scale of their financial and organizational resources is vast.

That power has served as the single greatest barrier to effective climate action in Canada. As BFO's advocate in Calgary, CAPP is the main obstacle to Canada's ability to cut carbon pollution from the country's greatest and fastest growing source of emissions: the production of oil and gas.

If the Alberta government is truly concerned about how foreign money is unduly influencing our domestic affairs, it ought to shine a spotlight on wealthy foreign-owned oil corporations instead of portraying Canadian environmentalists as traitors.

To curtail BFO's power, this report makes the following recommendations:

1. Governments in Canada should prohibit foreign-influenced corporations from intervening in Canadian elections as third-party advertisers and in all other ways. To determine if a corporation is foreign-influenced, the following thresholds should be used: five per cent for a foreign government shareholder; 20 per cent for a single non-governmental foreign shareholder; and 50 per cent aggregate foreign ownership of total equity, outstanding voting shares, membership units or other applicable ownership interests of the corporation.
2. Prohibit foreign-influenced corporations from funding, through membership dues or in other ways, the political interventions and lobbying of corporate fossil fuel advocacy groups such as the Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers, the Canadian Gas Association, and the Petroleum Services Association.
3. Further restrict the maximum allowable individual political donations to both federal and provincial candidates and parties, to close the loophole of individual corporate executives making large political donations and thereby bypassing bans on corporate donations.
4. Pass legislation that empowers Elections Canada to prohibit groups from making deceptive representations for the purpose of promoting a political party. Enable the public to notify Elections Canada if they believe that a group or entity is making false representations.
5. Immediately end all direct and indirect subsidies to oil, gas, and other fossil fuel corporations.
6. Enact just transition legislation that reduces emissions by at least 60 per cent below the 2005 level by 2030, winds down the fossil fuel industry and related infrastructure, and provides generous supports for all impacted workers and communities.



# INTRODUCTION

**Foreign capital is able to determine possible governments by incarnating itself as a [national] ruling class.**

*George Grant, Philosopher, 1965*

When the report of the inquiry into so-called anti-Alberta energy campaigns was released in October 2021, Alberta Energy Minister Sonya Savage said it was a “real concern” that any group is “influencing political and regulatory change using foreign funding.”<sup>1</sup> But if political intervention by foreign money is the issue, why did the Alberta government not look at the much greater foreign funding intrusions by big oil and gas corporations? Size matters.

All the big oil and gas producers operating in Canada are either fully foreign-owned or else majority foreign-owned. None are majority Canadian-owned. Most call themselves Canadian and list their headquarters in Calgary. But being foreign-owned means being foreign-funded. When Big Oil intervenes in Canadian politics, it does so with foreign money, and on a huge scale.

The Alberta government’s accusations about the foreign funding of Canadian environmentalists assume that who pays the piper calls the tune. If that assumption has validity, then the power and influence of foreign-owned petro corporations in Canada is enormous – because the scale of their financial and organizational resources is vast. As this report will show, oil corporations in Alberta and Canada are overwhelmingly foreign-owned. And by capturing and controlling the lion’s share of the industry, Big Foreign Oil (BFO) exerts considerable power over provincial and federal climate and energy policies too.

BFO’s main vehicle for asserting its power is Canada’s apex oil and gas lobby group, the Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers (CAPP). While CAPP claims to champion Canadian interests, beginning with its name, it is dominated by some of the wealthiest BFO corporations in the world. The political power CAPP wields is the very definition of foreign-funded influence in the country.

Despite representing some of the world’s most powerful, well-heeled corporations, CAPP portrays itself as a victim. Two months before the 2019 Alberta election that brought Jason Kenney’s pro-Big Oil United Conservative Party (UCP) to power, CAPP CEO Tim McMillan virtually called for a public inquiry. Addressing Edmonton’s Chamber of Commerce, he forcefully urged that more light and visibility be shone onto “foreign-funded, anti-pipeline” activists. “They’ve made a concerted effort to shut down our industry,” he charged, “We have been the victims of a very well-orchestrated, well-planned foreign-funded attack on Canadian infrastructure, on pipelines, on LNG facilities.”<sup>2</sup>

## **While oil may still run our cars for now, it shouldn't run our government.**

*Keith Stewart, Greenpeace, 2012*

Jason Kenney heard CAPP's call loud and clear. In a demonstration of the lobby group's outsized influence in setting the political agenda, Kenney announced four days before Alberta's election that, if elected, his government would launch a public inquiry targeting the specific foreign funding that CAPP had denounced.

This report begins by reviewing the findings from Kenney's war room and the history of manufactured outrage against so-called "foreign-funded" environmentalists. I outline the petro-nationalist theories adopted by the UCP and Harper-era Conservatives, highlighting how BFO and their political supporters in power have relied on the maple leaf as fig leaf. The second section of the report takes a deep dive into the ownership of corporations on CAPP's board of governors, demonstrating the enormous extent of BFO's reach and power in Canada's most powerful oil and gas lobby group.

Section three describes CAPP's efforts at gaining greater social legitimacy through astroturfing – funding fake "grassroots" groups to bolster support for further oil and gas extraction. These front groups have allowed BFO to play an important role in influencing provincial and federal elections, as I demonstrate in section four. I also show how CAPP gets around rules preventing foreign money interference in elections by exploiting a loophole that allows it to register as a third party. As heads of foreign-financed corporations, oil executives also advance BFO's interests in elections by using various techniques to circumvent bans on corporate donations. Finally, section five of the report outlines CAPP's extensive lobbying on behalf of BFO and shows the latter's long-standing grip on Albertan governments regardless of political stripe.

Kenney's UCP government and the federal government may or may not know the extent of foreign money influence in CAPP and its board members that are headquartered in Calgary, but the end result is the same. CAPP has hindered Alberta and Canada from taking necessary climate action, including setting a timeline to phase out fossil fuel production. In its pathway to net zero, the International Energy Agency's 2021 report states that there can be no new oil and gas fields approved for development beyond projects already committed by 2021.<sup>3</sup> The 2021 report from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change notes that there are robust differences between allowing global warming to reach 2.0°C rather than holding it at 1.5°C, including hot extremes in most inhabited regions, heavy precipitation, and drought in some regions.<sup>4</sup> If global warming is not curtailed, humans and other animals and plants will progressively suffer the climate consequences. If the Alberta government wants to truly investigate the undue influence of foreign funding, it must switch attention to where it matters: the influence of Big foreign Oil and its central voice through the Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers.





# 1. THE MANUFACTURED OUTRAGE AGAINST “FOREIGN-FUNDED ENVIRONMENTALISTS”

As the chief champion of Big Foreign Oil companies’ interests, the Alberta government has since 1997 given them enormous amounts of oil for free (or close to it), subsidized them with taxpayer money, and absolved them from paying to clean up their enormous environmental liabilities. Shortly after coming to power, Kenney’s United Conservative Party (UCP) launched an offensive against “foreign-funded” environmentalists that effectively distracted the public from the massive influence of foreign oil money on climate action.

## Kenney goes to war

In 2019, the UCP set up a war room and public inquiry to investigate what it called “the existence of a foreign-funded anti-Alberta energy campaign.”<sup>5</sup> Kenney blamed “anti-Alberta” campaigns for the plunge in Alberta energy projects and loss of thousands of oil jobs. He promised the inquiry “will investigate all of the national and international connections, follow the money trail and expose all of the interests involved... It will find out if any laws have been broken and recommend legal and policy actions where appropriate.”<sup>6</sup>

Appointing Steve Allan, a forensic accountant and former head of the Alberta CPA (Chartered Professional Accountants), to head the Public Inquiry made it look like environmentalists’ actions to curtail oil sands production and emissions were illegal. So did Allan’s hiring of Deloitte Forensic, a corporate accountant firm. But despite those implications, no illegal activity was found. Commissioner Allan stated that he did not “find that participation in an anti-Alberta energy campaign is in any way improper or constitutes conduct that should in any way be impugned.” He found no suggestion of wrongdoing on the part of any individual or organization. “No individual or organization, in my view, has done anything illegal,” he wrote in his report, “Indeed, they have exercised their rights of free speech.”<sup>7</sup>

The inquiry report was ultimately an expensive google search on the public activities of environmentalists in Canada and the U.S. who aimed to halt and reverse growing oil sands production and emissions. It could have been completed in a summer by a graduate student or two. No forensic investigating was needed because all the information the inquiry gathered was in the public domain. While the environmentalists in question were public, the “public” inquiry was not. Strangely, it held no public hearings. Instead, as Vivian Krause noted, it opted for hearings by correspondence.<sup>8</sup>

Jason Kenney was front and centre when the inquiry was launched but nowhere to be seen when Allan’s report was released. Neither was Commissioner Allan present and available to answer questions. As the rhetoric and terms of reference around the report

were toned down, the cost of the inquiry rose from \$2.5 million to \$3.5 million. Its final report was delayed four times. The official newspaper of the Canadian accounting profession was embarrassed by the part that accountants Steve Allan and Deloitte had played in the inquiry, saying they “have been mired in the shambolic fiasco of a public inquiry.”<sup>9</sup>

The inquiry stated that its numbers are likely understated because it looked at only 31 environmental organizations. Nevertheless, the total sum could not have been very large because the inquiry found that only a tiny trickle of foreign money – \$2.21 to \$3.46 million a year – went to campaigns to curtail Alberta oil and gas projects between 2003 and 2019. That’s an annual sum a touch smaller than the public inquiry’s \$3.5-million budget itself – and far lower than the original \$30-million annual budget set aside for the Alberta war room.

Despite this, the United Conservative Party and its allies massively and misleadingly inflated the numbers. On the day Allan’s report was released, the UCP caucus tweeted that “the public inquiry into anti-Alberta energy campaigns has confirmed that foreign donors gave \$1.3 billion to Canadian environmentalists to harm Alberta’s energy sector.”<sup>10</sup> The *National Post* headline had similar wording. Such misleading messages will likely be repeated many times on social media. But they are not what the inquiry’s final report stated.

Table 1 lists the numbers detailed in the Allan report. It shows that only \$37.5 to \$58.9 million in total went specifically into what the inquiry called “opposition to Alberta resource development” over the 17 years between 2003 and 2019. That is 2.9 per cent to 4.6 per cent of the total foreign funds received by Canadian and non-Canadian environmental charities for environmental initiatives of all kinds related to Canada during the period. The table shows that the vast majority – over 95 per cent – of foreign funds had nothing to do with opposition to oil sands development. They included over \$400 million, a third of the total, that went to Ducks Unlimited, a waterfowl organization not unfriendly to the oil sands and headed by Jason Kenney’s former principal secretary, Larry Kaumeyer.<sup>11</sup>

**Table 1**  
**Foreign funding of Canadian environmental charities, 2003-2019, from the Allan Inquiry report**

Average annual funding from foreign sources for “opposition to Alberta resource development”	\$2.2 to \$3.5 million per year*
Total funds from foreign sources used by Canadian & U.S. environmental charities specifically to “oppose Alberta resource development”	\$37.5 to \$58.9 million
Total funds received by non-Canadian environmental charities related to Canada from foreign sources	\$353 million
Total funds received by Canadian environmental charities for Canadian initiatives from foreign sources	\$925 million
Total funds received by Canadian and non-Canadian environmental charities for initiatives related to Canada from foreign sources	\$1.28 billion

**Sources:** Allan Inquiry / Deloitte Forensic Inc report; David Climenhaga, “Sorting fact from fiction in Allan Inquiry commentary and coverage: That \$1.3 billion fib explained,” *Alberta Politics*, October 25, 2021.

\* Canadian dollars

## A conspiracy goes boom and bust

When Jason Kenney launched the war room, he shared the stage with blogger Vivian Krause and pointed to her writing as the inspiration for its investigation.<sup>12</sup> First whisked from obscurity by Stephen Harper, Krause has promoted the conspiracy theory that U.S.-based foundations have bankrolled the Tar Sands Campaign to “landlock Canadian oil” and promote the interests of American oil companies.<sup>13</sup> A former public relations officer for B.C.’s fish farm industry and briefly a constituency worker for a Conservative MP, Krause is not an academic researcher or a journalist. She became known for her blogs, and later for her op-eds in the conservative and foreign-owned Postmedia newspapers, Canada’s largest newspaper chain.<sup>14</sup> Corporate oil boosters pounced on Vivian Krause’s theory about foreign-funded environmentalists conspiring against hard-working Albertans in the oil patch – a theory that built on a long tradition of populist attacks against powerful outside forces working against the interests of Albertans.

Krause uses Canada Revenue Agency filings, U.S. tax information and publicly available strategy documents to outline a conspiracy theory involving American capitalists funnelling charitable donations to Canadian environmental organizations, to hobble Canadian oil exports to China and confine them only to the U.S.<sup>15</sup> She claims that the Tar Sands Campaign was launched “in 2008 by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, and the Tides Foundation,” possibly to force Canadian oil producers to continue selling cheap oil to American refineries, a form of “economic protectionism.”<sup>16</sup>

According to Krause, the U.S.-funded Tar Sands campaign uses “exaggeration and outright falsehoods” to sabotage interprovincial pipelines and prevent Western Canadian oil from getting to tidewater where it would fetch a higher international price. “The reason Alberta needs pipelines is so that local producers aren’t forced to sell only into the U.S. market, often at a steep discount,” Krause wrote just before the 2019 Alberta election. “Alberta forfeits billions of dollars in lost royalties and revenue because there’s no infrastructure for getting large volumes of oil to overseas markets where buyers pay more.”<sup>17</sup> (Krause is wrong on this point. Alberta bitumen oil fetches a lower price in China than in the U.S.<sup>18</sup>)

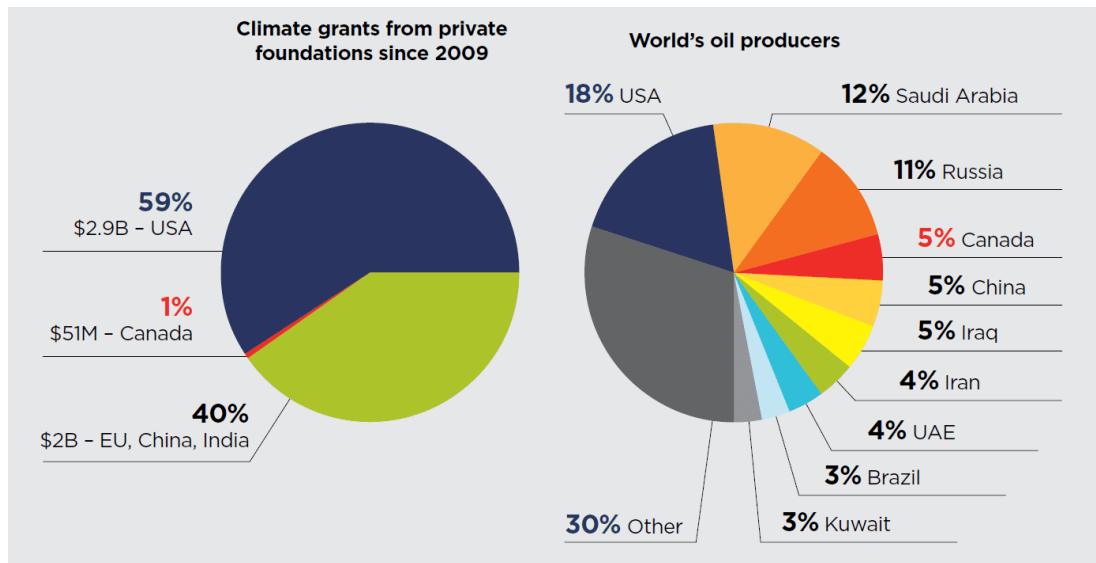
When the war room was first set up, Alberta energy minister Sonya Savage stated that it would be “a platform to amplify what has been uncovered by research from Ms. Krause, and other industry stakeholders who have been on the front lines of the effort to combat the misinformation about Alberta’s energy.”<sup>19</sup> Savage added that “thanks in a large part to the research of Vivian Krause, we know that the foreign-funded ‘Tar Sands’ campaign has links to bills C-69 and C-48, which are detrimental to the interests of Alberta’s responsible energy sector.” Bill C-69 overhauled how pipelines are reviewed, while Bill C-48 banned large oil tankers off B.C.’s northern coast. Journalist Markham Hislop has documented how much Kenney and CAPP relied on Krause’s writing in their outreach campaigns. When he asked CAPP if they had verified Krause’s research, the industry lobby group refused to comment or make CEO Tim McMillan available for an interview.<sup>20</sup>

Sandy Garossino, a journalist, lawyer, and former crown prosecutor, did in-depth research on Krause’s foreign-funding conspiracy theory that Kenney and CAPP endorsed. She found no evidence for it. A conspiracy like Krause alleges, Garossino wrote, “would necessarily involve senior foundation leadership acting in concert, and with malice, to subvert the bona fide charitable objectives of their organizations.”<sup>21</sup>

Garossino analyzed the level of foreign funding of environmentalists in Canada and found that they got a tiny portion of the international pie (Figure 1). She reviewed data from U.S.-based *Candid*, an inclusive monitoring site of foundations and charitable organizations in

the world.<sup>22</sup> From 2009 to 2019, she found that over 100,000 charitable foundations and non-governmental funders granted \$700 billion US to recipient organizations worldwide. Of that amount, only \$4.9 billion US – less than one per cent – went specifically to climate initiatives. U.S.-based recipients got 59 per cent of the foundations’ climate grants; almost all the rest went to the European Union, China, and India. Only \$51 million US or one per cent of the climate initiatives funding went to Canadian climate projects. That’s one per cent of one per cent. About \$40 million or almost 80 per cent of that small portion “went to dozens of small organizations organized as the Tar Sands Campaign.” Given that Canada is the world’s fourth largest producer and exporter of oil, it’s a remarkably small amount. Garossino’s research shows that charitable foundations were just not that into Canada.

**Figure 1**  
**Foundation Grants for Climate Change Work by country compared to Countries oil production**



**Source:** Environmental Defence, “Not just a Canadian Phenomenon: Citizen opposition to oil and gas production around the world,” July 2020, 20. (Environmental Defence’s figures were derived from Sandy Garossino’s research.)

Environmental groups in Canada get a small portion of their total revenue from foreign funding. Par Kristen Pue examined the revenue sources of the 1,372 registered environmental charities that reported to the CRA in 2017. About one-third of all environmental groups were not registered charities, but the ones cited by Krause and Kenney were.<sup>23</sup> They included Tides Canada, Environmental Defence and Ecojustice. Of all the registered charities, 95 per cent got no foreign funding at all. Only two per cent received more than a third of their total revenue from outside Canada. Pue found that overall, foreign funding made up six per cent of the Canadian environmental charities’ revenue, meaning that the overwhelming majority of their funding came from Canadian sources.

Even Stand.earth’s Canadian office, which gets more of its revenue from U.S. foundations than most Canadian environmental groups, reported that only 11 per cent of such funds go to fighting oil and gas expansion in Canada.<sup>24</sup> Notwithstanding this, Kenney targeted Stand.earth as one of the main culprits of what he called a foreign-funded “campaign of lies and defamation,” which he says caused economic hardship by landlocking Alberta crude.<sup>25</sup>

In reality, the Tar Sands campaign was led and overwhelmingly funded by Canadian environmentalists, scientists, and others critical of the harmful environmental effects of Alberta’s Sands. The campaign developed a coordinated strategy to curb the rapid growth

of the Sands and convinced many Canadians and Americans that tar sands oil was “dirty.” That perception, based on good evidence, helped to hinder the approval of oil export pipelines that were previously readily approved. It should be noted that the Tar Sands campaign’s first organizing meeting took place in 2006, not in 2008 as Krause contends. The Alberta government brought the existence of the Sands to Americans’ attention by ostentatiously placing a giant, 180-tonne dump truck of the type used to haul bitumen at the 2006 Smithsonian Folklife Festival, at the National Mall across from Capitol Hill in Washington, D.C.

Also left out of Krause’s theory is the fact that much of the money donated to Canadian environmental groups by the U.S.-based Tides foundation went to the Great Bear Rainforest Carbon Project. This was a conservation agreement that Harper’s government and Gordon Campbell’s right-of-centre B.C. Liberal government (2001-2010) had funded, in partnership with several American foundations, to protect the Great Bear Rainforest.<sup>26</sup> That agreement was negotiated by Tides Canada, the organization that Krause portrays as the arch villain in the Tar Sands campaign conspiracy.<sup>27</sup> The Harper and B.C. governments had put \$30 million each into the Great Bear Rainforest project, while U.S. foundations – including the Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, the David and Lucile Packard Foundation, and the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation – put in almost half of the total funding.<sup>28</sup> The stated purpose of the project was to promote environmentally sound practices in the world’s largest remaining, intact coastal temperate-rainforest. The project preserves the forest as a wilderness, but also sells carbon offsets that help justify the continuation of oil production. It is hard to construe the Great Bear Rainforest Carbon Project as anti-oil sands, funded by foreign money, but Krause failed to separate its sizeable funding from that of other foreign funding of environmental projects.<sup>29</sup>

In 2016, Vivian Krause wrote that “anti-pipeline activism says it’s about climate change but is really about U.S. economic protectionism.”<sup>30</sup> But, in a stunning development, Krause wrote in 2021 that she in fact never accused environmental groups of being used by U.S. interests to further that country’s oil industry. “I’ve seen no evidence of funding from commercial oil interests,” she wrote in a tweet in May 2021. In addressing the reversal, she told *The Globe and Mail* that the theory is an extrapolation by people who feel beleaguered by what they consider unfair criticism. “People look at me hoping to hear what they think would make sense, which is that the oil companies are behind it. I tell them all the time, ‘Sorry, guys, no. I don’t see that,’” she said. “[They] have jumped to a conclusion that is unsubstantiated. I can see why. It sounds logical. But you can’t make that assumption.”<sup>31</sup> Krause contends that this is not a reversal from her previous claims.

In Alberta’s grievance culture, economic problems are always someone else’s fault. These forces are politically powerful in Kenney’s government. Although there is little substance behind the goals of the war room and public inquiry, Premier Jason Kenney has used it to stoke the grievance culture. Jason Kenney’s decision to launch the ‘anti-Alberta’ inquiry was also partly to unite conservative forces in Alberta. The split between the Progressive Conservatives and the Wildrose Alliance had allowed Rachel Notley’s NDP to win a majority government in Alberta in 2015, with a minority of the vote.<sup>32</sup> Having recently reunited the right in Alberta, Kenney was keenly aware of the threat that right-wing populist parties posed to the UCP.

But the gamble he took with the public inquiry and war room was akin to the one Britain’s Conservative Prime Minister David Cameron took in 2015. Cameron had attempted to contain the right wing of his party by promising a referendum on Brexit, which he had hoped the stay-in-the-EU side would win. The wager backfired and Cameron was forced to resign after the leave side won the referendum. Like that gamble, Kenney’s also backfired and was widely ridiculed. By trampling on the fundamentals of democracy – free speech and the right to freely associate – Kenney’s “fight back strategy” against environmentalists

and their funding has discredited the oil industry and the oil sands in the eyes of many Canadians.

There are signs that Big Oil, too, has been wary of Kenney's war room, public inquiry, and grievance narrative. The CEOs of three of the biggest oil sands corporations (Cenovus Energy Inc., MEG Energy Corp., and Canadian Natural Resources Ltd.) implicitly broke ranks with CAPP when they took out full-page ads in Canadian newspapers shortly before the 2019 federal election campaign. They struck a more moderate tone than CAPP in their support for an "innovative energy industry," implying that it does not help big oil corporations in Alberta to have a show trial.<sup>33</sup> Blaming others makes Kenney and his government look foolish. The crucial question for most Albertans is what his government will do for Alberta's economy and jobs.

## Maple leaf as fig leaf

Soon after he released the terms of Alberta's foreign funding inquiry, Premier Kenney jetted off to New York City to raise money for foreign-owned oil corporations headquartered in Calgary.<sup>34</sup> It raises the question of whether his outrage over the pernicious influence of foreign money is genuine. His finger pointing is reminiscent of McCarthyist fear-mongering, hoping that the mere accusation of foreign influence would distract attention from the massive influence of foreign oil money.

In the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it was largely the political left and centre in Canada that raised the issue of foreign ownership and control as a threat to Canada's economy and political independence. These concerns faded from the political scene after the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) began in 1994. But they re-emerged two decades later, this time from the political right and oil industry supporters, who began an offensive against what they called the "anti-Canadian" influence of foreign funders of Canadian environmentalists.

In 2012, Stephen Harper's federal Conservative government launched a campaign against environmentalists for their foreign funding, calling them a national security threat. His government was a global pioneer in making such charges.<sup>35</sup> Soon, Vladimir Putin, India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi, and Brazil's President Jair Bolsonaro, and other government leaders also used the pretext of foreign interference to silence or criminalize dissent by environmentalists and land defenders.

Harper's campaign was a counter-attack by Big Foreign Oil and its supporters against environmentalists' successful portrayal of the oil sands as "dirty." It began with Joe Oliver, Natural Resources Minister under Harper, who accused "environmental and other radical groups" of using "funding from foreign special interest groups" to hijack the regulatory system and achieve their "radical ideological agenda."<sup>36</sup> After that opening salvo, several other Harper government spokespersons labeled environmentalists "eco-terrorists" who "laundered" foreign money in their campaigns.

Harper's government launched audits by the Canada Revenue Agency (CRA) of Canadian charity organizations, to root out those that received foreign funds and allegedly used tax breaks reserved for charitable groups to wage environmental attacks against the oil industry.<sup>37</sup> A few organizations lost their charitable status, but after five years of searching for misconduct, few instances were found.

The demonization of oil industry critics as 'anti-Canadian' has gone hand-in-hand with an aggressive form of petro-nationalism: an attempt to portray resource extraction and the oil industry as a part of what makes us Canadian. In 2012, Jim Prentice, former

environment minister in Harper's government and soon to be Premier of Alberta, urged Canadians to take pride in extracting resources. At a meeting of the Business Council of British Columbia, he painted a picture of Canadians' resource identity. "We should take pride in who we are and what we do," he said. "We extract resources from our abundant natural deposits and rely on the proceeds of those sales to help provide an exceptional standard of living ... We're blessed in every sense to profit as much as we do."<sup>38</sup>

Since Confederation, most Canadians have sought to move beyond their colonial economic role as mere exporters of raw resources. "Hewers of wood and drawers of water" was the quaint biblical expression for the "staples trap" of Canada's acute economic dependence on resource staples. But rather than decrying over-reliance on resource extraction as a throwback to Canada's colonial past, extractive populists like Jim Prentice celebrate resource exporting as a patriotic good. They attempt to mobilize the public to defend the oil industry, which they portray as serving the common good and as being unfairly attacked by powerful liberal elites. Extractive populism appeals to the common-sense wisdom of "the people," pictured as being derived from authentic lived experience as opposed to the rarified, abstract knowledge of liberal elites.<sup>39</sup>

Stephen Harper also used petro-nationalist discourse after the Chinese government-owned oil giant, CNOOC, bought bitumen operator Nexen Inc. in 2012. Ottawa allowed the takeover but said it would henceforth limit foreign state ownership of Canadian resource companies.<sup>40</sup> Even so, plenty of state ownership of the oil sands remained – by Norway, South Korea, Malaysia and China.<sup>41</sup> The problem is that no government ownership is Canadian, like it was when Petro-Canada was a major producer.<sup>42</sup> But, what's more, Ottawa made no attempt to limit the dominant kind of foreign ownership and influence: that by privately-owned, for-profit petro corporations.

While they sound off about the damaging effects of foreign actors on Canadians, Big Oil and their allies in government remain mum about the real culprits of foreign influence. There has been a dearth of recent research on the overwhelming source of foreign economic and political influence in Alberta and Canada. To remedy this omission, I took a deep dive into the ownership of corporations on CAPP's board of governors and made a startling discovery. Although Calgary is usually listed as the headquarters of oil and gas corporations in Canada, all the big ones are fully or majority foreign-owned. It's reminiscent of the ancient saying: "Why do you look at the speck of sawdust in your brother's eye and pay no attention to the plank in your own eye?"<sup>43</sup>

## 2. THE REAL MENACE : CAPP AND THE DOMINANCE OF FOREIGN CORPORATIONS IN THE OIL SANDS

Shane Gunster, communications professor at Simon Fraser University, has written that “the fossil fuel industry in Canada is a corporate-driven, for-profit capitalist enterprise, managed and operated first and foremost in the interests of (often global) shareholders, yet everywhere one looks it appears as if this industry has been nationalized and run to serve the interests of all Canadians.”<sup>44</sup> I started work on this report thinking that Calgary was the headquarters of a fair number of Canadian-owned and controlled oil corporations. I was wrong. Most Canadians likely have the same misperception.

Through partially successful PR campaigns, CAPP has wrapped itself in the maple leaf and claimed to speak for Canada’s national interest. But as this report reveals, the Canadian-ness of Calgary’s oil patch is an inch deep. For all its bravado as an independent, Canadian centre of oil and gas in the world, Calgary is in fact subordinate to Big Foreign Oil. The lion’s share of the corporations on CAPP’s board of governors are either fully foreign-owned or else majority foreign-owned. Foreign-owned corporations control \$284 billion of oil and gas industry assets in Canada, export over three million barrels of oil a day, and campaign for more oil exporting pipelines. They also remove from Canada an average of almost \$23 billion a year in net profits from bitumen alone.<sup>45</sup>

### Foreign-owned corporations dominate CAPP’s board

In 2016 and 2017, foreign-headquartered oil corporations sold more than 30 billion dollars in assets, mainly in the oil sands, to Canadian-headquartered but foreign-owned corporations. The trend produced headlines like “Canadianization of the Oil Sands” and “Foreign oil firms keep bailing on Canada’s energy sector” in recent years, giving the false impression that the oil sands are becoming more Canadian. “The silver lining in this whole process is that Canada owns Canada again, and we got it pretty cheap,” Rafi Tahmazian, senior portfolio manager at Canoe Financial, said in an interview in 2019.<sup>46</sup>

A forthcoming report I co-authored with Regan Boychuk, titled “Just Print Money: How Big Foreign Oil got the lion’s share of oil sands revenue in the age of climate emergency,” shows that this narrative is false.<sup>47</sup> The trend wasn’t one of Canadianization and was much less dramatic. Some Big Foreign Oil corporations that were headquartered abroad divested from Alberta’s Sands for two main reasons. First, the U.S. Securities Exchange Commission (SEC) changed an accounting rule that the Canadian securities regulators did not follow.<sup>48</sup> A second reason was the differential political pressure on oil corporations from different parts of the world to sell or reduce their most carbon-intensive assets. Pressure was greatest in Europe, and major corporations such as Royal Dutch Shell and France-based Total divested the most. It was moderate in the U.S. and a few petro corporations divested from the Sands. But pressure was the weakest in Asia, and corporations including Malaysia-based Petronas and CNOOC (China National Offshore Oil Corporation) stayed put.

Since the corporations that divested were even more highly foreign-owned than the Canadian-headquartered corporations that bought their assets, there was a small decline in the average level of foreign-ownership in Alberta’s Sands from 80 per cent to 72 per cent between 2012 and 2019.<sup>49</sup> The modest shift was not Canadianization. When no major bitumen corporation is majority Canadian-owned, and the average level of foreign ownership of oil sands corporations still tops 70 per cent, it was a minor shift towards a less extreme level of foreign ownership.



The dominance of foreign-owned corporations in the oil sands is reflected in the composition of the 48 corporate governors of CAPP's 2020 board.<sup>50</sup> Most represent corporations that are fully or majority foreign-owned. Of the 48 governors on the board, 16 corporations (or one-third) are foreign-owned subsidiaries (see Table 2, which also lists the locations of the headquarters for parent companies).<sup>51</sup> Of those, 14 corporations are 100 per cent foreign-owned, while ExxonMobil's Imperial Oil subsidiary and Husky Energy are 94 per cent and 97 per cent foreign-owned, respectively.

**Table 2**  
**Foreign-owned subsidiaries on CAPP's 2020 Board of Governors**

Corporation	Executive	% foreign owned	Full or partial subsidiary	Barrels of oil & equivalent (BOE) a day, 2018 <sup>52</sup>	Headquarters location of parent corp
Petronas Energy Canada Ltd (formerly Progress Energy)	Mark Fitzgerald (Past Chair CAPP)	100%	100% Petronas subsidiary	75,648	Malaysia
BP Canada Energy Group ULC <sup>53</sup>	Adrienne Bosch	100%	100% BP subsidiary	25,167	UK
Canbriam Energy Inc. <sup>54</sup>	Paul Myers	100%	Private. Not publicly-traded	31,591	Indonesia
Chevron Canada Resources <sup>55</sup>	Frank Cassulo	100%	100% Chevron subsidiary	116,167	U.S.
Nexen (100% subsidiary of CNOOC - China National Offshore Oil Corporation)	Quinn Wilson	100%	100% subsidiary of CNOOC	69,776	China
ConocoPhillips Canada Resources <sup>56</sup>	Kirk Johnson	100%	100% ConocoPhillips subsidiary	70,000	U.S.
Husky Energy <sup>57</sup>	Rob Peabody	97%	70% owned by Li Ka-Shing <sup>58</sup>	252,300	Canada
Imperial Oil (subsidiary of ExxonMobil) <sup>59</sup>	Brad Corson	94%	90% (ExxonMobil owns 70% of Imperial)	475,833*	U.S.
Japan Canada Oil Sands Ltd (JACOS) <sup>60</sup>	Satoshi Abe	100%	94% subsidiary of JAPEX	20,000	Japan
Murphy Oil Co Ltd <sup>61</sup>	Eric Hambly	100%	100% Murphy subsidiary	57,867	U.S.
Orlen Upstream Canada Ltd <sup>62</sup>	Lukasz Brodowski	100%	100% Orlen subsidiary	17,000	Poland
PetroChina Canada Ltd	Jilin Fu	100%	100% Petro China subsidiary	35,000**	China
Repsol Oil & Gas Canada <sup>63</sup>	Paul Ferneyhough	100%	100% Repsol subsidiary	59,361	Spain
Shell Canada Energy <sup>64</sup>	Michael Crothers	100%	100% Shell subsidiary	202,575	Netherlands
Total E&P Canada Ltd <sup>65</sup>	Christine Healy	100%	100% Total subsidiary	95,000	France
Woodside Energy (International) Canada <sup>66</sup>	Paul Baker	100%	100% Woodside subsidiary	3,107	Australia
<b>Total</b>				<b>1,606,392 bbl/day</b>	

**Sources:** Ownership data on outstanding shares reported by Bloomberg Professional Services on several trading days in May 2020. Oil production numbers for 2018 drawn from KPMG Daily Oil Bulletin:

[http://s3.ca-central-1.amazonaws.com/media.jwnenergy/reports/Top100-2019-Report\\_FINAL.pdf](http://s3.ca-central-1.amazonaws.com/media.jwnenergy/reports/Top100-2019-Report_FINAL.pdf)

\* ExxonMobil's total oil output listed on KPMG Daily Oil Bulletin. The latter lists Imperial's output at 383,000 bb/d.

\*\* 2018 oil production numbers were drawn from Oil Sands Magazine. They were not available from KPMG Daily Oil Bulletin.

Table 3 lists the 24 non-subsiary corporations on CAPP’s 2020 board whose shares were publicly traded, as well as the percentage of their foreign ownership and headquarters location. Only two of the 24, Athabasca Oil and Freehold Royalties (both small oil producers), were confirmed as majority Canadian-owned. Prairie Sky came close at 49 per cent Canadian-owned. Ownership of Hemisphere Energy Corp, a very small oil-producer, is likely majority Canadian-owned. But data is available for only 32 per cent of its shares – too few to determine where a majority of its shares are owned.<sup>67</sup>

A clear majority of the outstanding shares of the other 20 corporations in Table 3 are owned by residents outside Canada. Included in that list are the big three oil producers in Canada: CNRL, Suncor, and Cenovus. Together, these three big foreign-owned oil corporations accounted for almost half (46 per cent) of the estimated total oil, or barrels of oil equivalent, produced by all CAPP board members in 2018.<sup>68</sup>

Questerre is among the publicly-traded, non-subsiary corporations on CAPP’s Board. Only six per cent of Questerre’s shares appeared on the Bloomberg Terminal. Its website shows that it is overwhelmingly foreign-owned.<sup>69</sup> Most of its “top 20 shareholders” are European banks. Questerre’s CEO Michael Binnion, a Canadian, owns 9.5 per cent of the shares of the top 20 shareholders.<sup>70</sup> Mr. Binnion is very active in Canadian politics. That is his right as a Canadian. But being head of an overwhelmingly foreign-owned and financed corporation gives him much more clout than he would have as an individual citizen. He is chair of the Canadian Taxpayers Federation and founder of the Modern Miracle network that celebrates the “modern miracle of hydrocarbons.” And as we will see, Binnion has made big donations to Alberta and federal conservative parties.<sup>71</sup>

**Table 3**  
**Publicly-traded, non-subsiary corporations on CAPP’s 2020 Board of Governors,<sup>72</sup> by country of ownership<sup>73</sup>**

Corporation	Executive	% foreign owned, as reported on Bloomberg	% of its shares on Bloomberg	Barrels of oil & oil equivalent (BOE) a day, 2018 <sup>74</sup>	Headquarters location of parent corp
Birchcliff Energy Ltd <sup>75</sup>	Jeffrey Tonken <b>Chair of CAPP</b>	77%	45%	77,096	Canada
Cenovus <sup>76</sup>	Alex Pourbaix <b>Vice Chair CAPP</b>	72%	83%	483,458	Canada
ARC resources Ltd <sup>77</sup>	Terry Anderson	68%	55%	132,724	Canada
Athabasca Oil Corp <sup>78</sup>	Rob Broen	11%	27%	39,203	Canada
Bonavista Energy Corp <sup>79</sup>	Jason Skehar	89%	48%	69,154	Canada
Bonterra Energy Corp <sup>80</sup>	George Fink	98%	36%	13,206	Canada
Canadian Natural Resources (CNRL)	Bill Clapperton	55%	77%	1,025,484 <sup>81</sup>	Canada
Crescent Point Energy <sup>82</sup>	Craig Bryksa	82%	46%	140,027	Canada
Enerplus Corporation <sup>83</sup>	Ian Dundas	71%	68%	14,929	Canada
Freehold Royalties Ltd <sup>84</sup>	Tom Mullane	43%	65%	11,410	Canada
Hemisphere Energy Corp <sup>85</sup>	Don Simmons	unknown	11%	1,111	Canada

InPlay Oil Corp <sup>86</sup>	Doug Bartole	58%	43%	4,653	Canada
NuVista Energy Ltd <sup>87</sup>	Jonathan Wright	74%	57%	40,353	Canada
Ovintiv Inc (formerly Encana)	Doug Suttles	87%	71%	224,500	U.S.
Painted Pony Energy Ltd <sup>88</sup>	Patrick Ward	89%	30%	57,879	Canada
Peyto Exploration & Development <sup>89</sup>	Darren Gee	72%	62%	92,012	Canada
Prairie Sky Royalty Inc. <sup>90</sup>	Cameron Proctor	51%	83%	23,358	Canada
Questerre Energy Corp <sup>91</sup>	Michael Binnion	Mainly foreign-owned <sup>92</sup>	Owned by European banks & Binnion	1,871	Canada
Seven Generations Energy Ltd <sup>93</sup>	Marty Proctor	75%	61%	202,578	Canada
Suncor Energy Inc <sup>94</sup>	Mark Little	66%	79%	684,800	Canada
Tamarack Valley Energy Ltd <sup>95</sup>	Brian Schmidt	86%	50%	24,237	Canada
Tourmaline Oil Corp <sup>96</sup>	Mike Rose	74%	53%	265,044	Canada
Vermilion Energy Inc <sup>97</sup>	Michael Kaluza	67%	51%	48,630	Canada
Zargon Oil & gas Ltd <sup>98</sup>	Craig Hansen	100%	28%	1,666	Canada
<b>Total</b>				<b>3,679,383</b>	

**Sources:** Ownership data on outstanding shares reported by Bloomberg Professional Services on several trading days in May 2020.<sup>99</sup> Oil production numbers for 2018 were drawn from KPMG Daily Oil Bulletin: [http://s3.ca-central-1.amazonaws.com/media.jwnenergy/reports/Top100-2019-Report\\_FINAL.pdf](http://s3.ca-central-1.amazonaws.com/media.jwnenergy/reports/Top100-2019-Report_FINAL.pdf).

Bloomberg Terminal shows that 13 corporations on CAPP's board as majority foreign-owned with 50 per cent or more of their shares listed:

Cenovus	Ovintiv (formerly Encana)	Suncor
ARC	Peyto	Tamarack Valley
CNRL	Prairie Sky	Tourmaline
Enerplus	Seven Generations	Vermilion
NuVista		

When these 13 majority foreign-owned corporations are added to the 16 foreign subsidiaries on CAPP's board of Governors in Table 2, 29 of the 48 corporate CAPP board members represented fully or majority foreign-owned corporations. Questerre brings the total to 30. That's 63 per cent of CAPP's board who were confirmed as representing foreign-owned oil corporations. Seven other corporations in Table 2 appeared on Bloomberg Terminal as majority foreign-owned. But, since only a minority (27 to 48 per cent) of their outstanding shares appeared on Bloomberg, we list them as likely, but not confirmed, as majority foreign-owned. They are: Birchcliff, Bonavista, Bonterra, Crescent Point, InPlay, Painted Pony, and Zargon.

When we add these seven corporations to the 30 above, 37 of the 48 members of CAPP's 2020 board – a whopping 77 per cent – are either confirmed or likely majority foreign-owned. Tables 3 and 4 show that only four oil corporations on CAPP's board (Athabasca, Freehold royalties, Kainai and Perpetual) are confirmed as majority Canadian-owned. Aspenleaf Energy (Table 4) is presumed to be majority Canadian-owned. Collectively, the five Canadian-owned companies produced 70,252 barrels of oil a day – a mere 1.3 per cent of the 5,399,688 million barrels a day produced by CAPP board members in 2018.<sup>100</sup>

Six more privately-held corporations are assumed to be Canadian-owned (Table 4). Oil production was not publicly available for two of them (Chance Oil and Gas and Enhance Energy). Their combined oil output was likely so small that it would not appreciably alter the percentage of oil produced by majority Canadian-owned oil producers.<sup>101</sup> For three others, I could only find estimates, not actual production numbers: Longshore Resources, Mancal Energy, and NAL Resources (Table 4). Their combined estimated output totals 83,000 barrels a day, about 1.5 per cent of Canada's total in 2018. Once that amount is added to the output of the five confirmed or presumed to be Canadian-owned corporations, only about 2.8 per cent of Canadian oil production occurred in majority Canadian-owned corporations in 2018.

**Table 4**  
**Privately-held corporations on CAPP's board of governors**

(Privately-held corporations are not required to reveal ownership data)

Corporation	Executive member	Percentage Canadian-owned	Barrels of oil & oil equivalent (BOE) a day, 2018	Headquarters
Aspenleaf Energy Ltd <sup>102</sup>	Bryan Gould	Unknown. Presumed majority Canadian-owned	9,045	Canada
Chance oil and gas ltd. <sup>103</sup>	Richard Wyman	Unknown. Presumed majority Canadian-owned	Unavailable*	Canada
Enhance Energy Inc <sup>104</sup>	Kevin Jabusch	Unknown. Presumed majority Canadian-owned	Unavailable*	Canada
Kainai Energy Ltd <sup>105</sup>	Clayton Blood	100% Canadian-owned	Unavailable*	Canada <sup>106</sup>
Longshore resources Ltd <sup>107</sup>	Byron Nodwell	Unknown. Presumed majority Canadian-owned	14,000 boe/d estimate**	Canada
Mancal Energy Inc. <sup>108</sup>	Byron Lutes	Unknown. Presumed majority Canadian-owned	6,000 boe/d estimate***	Canada
NAL Resources Limited <sup>109 ****</sup>	Kevin Stashin	Unknown. Presumed majority Canadian-owned	63,000 boe/d estimate*****	Canada
Osum Oil Sands Corp. <sup>110</sup>	Steve Spence	Unknown. Likely majority Canadian-owned	11,274	Canada
Perpetual Energy Ltd	Susan Riddell Rose	Canadian-owned	10,594	Canada
<b>Total</b>			<b>113,913 estimate</b>	

**Sources:** Various: See endnotes on each company; Daily oil output drawn from KPMG Daily Oil Bulletin. Top Operators 2018, [http://s3.ca-central-1.amazonaws.com/media.jwnenergy/reports/Top100-2019-Report\\_FINAL.pdf](http://s3.ca-central-1.amazonaws.com/media.jwnenergy/reports/Top100-2019-Report_FINAL.pdf).

\* Not found on KPMG Daily Oil Bulletin, nor in searches on Orbis Database.

\*\* Over 14,000 boe/d capacity rather than actual production; "Longshore Resources Ltd. announces transformational transaction and creation of a premier oil weighted entity," *EnergyNow Media*, June 8, 2020, <https://energynow.ca/2020/06/longshore-resources-ltd-announces-transformational-transaction-and-creation-of-a-premier-oil-weighted-entity> (75% oil weighted).

\*\*\* Production surpassing 6,000 boe/d. Mancal Energy: <https://www.mancal.com/energy.html>, accessed August 6, 2021.

\*\*\*\* Whitecap Resources Ltd bought NAL in 2020.

\*\*\*\*\* "Whitecap Resources Inc. Announces Closing of NAL Resources, Strong Finish to 2020 and Robust First Quarter Drilling Program," *Cision*, January 4, 2021, <https://www.newswire.ca/news-releases/whitecap-resources-inc-announces-closing-of-nal-resources-strong-finish-to-2020-and-robust-first-quarter-drilling-program-899948132.html> . Expected 4<sup>th</sup> quarter of 2020 output.

The overwhelming majority of the oil produced by corporations on CAPP's board in 2018 came from fully or majority foreign-owned corporations. We know that the vast majority of CAPP's revenue also comes from foreign-owned corporations because CAPP corporate membership fees are based on each member's oil production. The greater the production, the higher the fees. Since 97 per cent of the oil produced by CAPP's corporate board members comes from fully or majority foreign-owned corporations, their fees must account for about 97 per cent of CAPP's revenue.

CAPP has never revealed its total budget. But an endnote on its producer membership form lists its annual operating budget at \$19,500,000. That is far below the ballpark estimate of Markham Hislop, publisher and journalist at Energi Media, who has written that CAPP's annual budget is rumoured to be well north of \$50 million a year.<sup>111</sup> In 2021, CAPP lists the annual fees of its corporate producer members as ranging from a minimum of \$5,000 a year to a maximum of \$2,925,000, depending on the volume (mill rate) of the member's output of barrels of oil equivalent. In 2021, CAPP's mill rate was \$3.99 a barrel.<sup>112</sup>

Take the example of CNRL, CAPP's highest producing member. CNRL's Canadian output was 1,025,484 barrels of oil a day equivalent in 2018. If its output was at that same level in 2021, that means that its annual 2021 fee would be over \$4 million. But CNRL's fee would be limited by the maximum of just under \$3 million dollars a year.<sup>113</sup> That is a significant amount to pay CAPP for lobbying on CNRL's behalf. CNRL's owners must expect to get a good return from such an outlay.

## Foreign-owned, foreign-controlled, or foreign-influenced: A note on methodology

Does majority foreign ownership imply foreign control? Not necessarily. Corporations' secrecy over their internal governance makes it difficult in many cases to determine whether a corporation is controlled in Canada or abroad. It makes any single definition of foreign control controversial. The country of residence of a majority of owners is one indicator of foreign control, but it is an oversimplification to assume that it *necessarily* means foreign control. It does, however, certainly means the corporation is *foreign-influenced* and *foreign-funded*.<sup>114</sup>

This report uses a combination of ownership data from Bloomberg Professional Services and CAPP's website to determine whether petroleum corporations in Canada are majority foreign- or Canadian-owned.<sup>115</sup> The heuristic value of using ownership data is that it relies on indisputable facts.<sup>116</sup> StatCan also calculates the percentage of foreign ownership as required by the Corporations Returns Act. Unfortunately, StatCan does not publish percentages of foreign ownership of the oil or any other industry or of specific corporations.

This report disputes StatCan's definition of foreign control. An internal Natural Resources Canada (NRCan) document, obtained through access to information, is revealing. The document criticized a 2012 report on foreign ownership in the tar sands from Forest Ethics (now Stand.earth).<sup>117</sup> That report, and Stand.earth's 2020 follow-up report, used share ownership to determine whether a corporation is majority foreign-owned. This report calculates foreign ownership the same way. NRCan's internal document stated that CAPP's estimates of foreign ownership closely matched that of the Forest Ethics study but argued that the use of ownership of shares inflates the extent of foreign control of the oil sands. NRCan advocated using StatCan's definition of foreign control instead.<sup>118</sup> That is problematic.

StatCan admits it systematically underestimates foreign control. It uses three components to measure foreign control: assets, operating revenue, and operating profits. It determines the country of control based on the country of residence of the ultimate foreign-controlling parent corporation.<sup>119</sup> It designates a corporation as foreign-controlled only if more than 50 per cent of its shares are owned by a foreign company.<sup>120</sup> Thus, StatCan assumes Canadian control as a default position unless it has evidence to the contrary. That systematically overestimates Canadian control. I asked StatCan why they list Cenovus as Canadian-controlled, when in May 2020 Bloomberg listed 72 per cent of its outstanding shares as foreign-based. StatCan replied that:

“Foreign ownership does not automatically indicate control unless one corporation or individual, or a group of related corporations or individuals own more than 50%. Foreign ownership can be spread across many corporations from many countries without giving any one corporation control over the day-to-day decisions of the target corporation. *Unless we have a majority foreign ownership situation, or evidence to support assigning control to a certain country, the control remains Canadian.*”<sup>121</sup> (emphasis mine)

StatCan is right that a minority of shares held by one entity can control a corporation if the rest of the shares are widely held by small shareholders. But what is the justification for the default being Canadian control? This report has shown that the major oil and gas corporations in Canada are overwhelmingly foreign-owned. It would make more sense for the default – if there is to be a default – to be foreign control unless evidence proves Canadian control. But it would be far better for StatCan to drop a default assumption. Instead, it should add a third “undetermined” category if evidence is lacking about the country in which control lies.

A February 2015 memo by Finance Canada economists, obtained by CBC News under the Access to Information Act, stated that foreign ownership of the oil and gas sector is higher than reported by StatCan. The economists estimated the number of foreign stockholders and added them to foreign-owned or controlled firms to determine the total level of foreign ownership.<sup>122</sup> This report uses a similar method. The location of a head office in Canada does not mean the corporation is Canadian-controlled. Most bitumen producers have “head offices” in Calgary, but except for two very small producers, none were majority Canadian-owned in 2020.<sup>123</sup> Take the outlier case of Harvest Operations, whose head office is in Calgary’s Scotia Centre. Harvest is 100 per cent owned by the Korea National Oil Corporation (KNOC). It would be absurd to argue that that makes Harvest Canadian-controlled. Conacher Oil and Gas also has its headquarters in Calgary but is 97 per cent foreign-owned and obviously not Canadian-controlled. When foreign ownership is 80 per cent or more, we can safely assume the corporation is foreign-controlled. But the closer we get to 50 per cent foreign or Canadian-owned, determining where control lies gets murkier.

At the very least, a substantial level of foreign ownership signifies foreign *influence*. The principle of *fiduciary duty* dictates that managers’ primary obligation is to maximize profits for shareholders. Stockholders invest to receive a good return, not for any common interest. John C. Coates argues that when a U.S.-based company is owned by foreigners, the managers, even if they are U.S. citizens, would breach their fiduciary duties if they spent company resources other than in the best interest of their foreign owners. Coates is a Harvard Law School professor and Acting Director of the Securities and Exchange Commission’s division of corporate finance. Michael Sozan’s report, “Ending Foreign-Influenced Corporate Spending in U.S. Elections,” compellingly argues that “managers of foreign-influenced U.S. corporations are aware of how their foreign parent companies or foreign investors would want the corporation’s money to be spent to influence elections. In essence, it is their job to know.”<sup>124</sup> “Democratic self-governance presumes a coherent and defined population to engage in that activity,” Coates contends. “Foreign nationals have a different set of interests than their U.S. counterparts.”<sup>125</sup>

The fiduciary duty principle operates in Canada too. We saw that foreign control is wielded in the 16 subsidiaries on CAPP’s board. For most other corporations on the board, foreign control is very likely – because by the principle of fiduciary duty, foreign owners typically wield ultimate power over managers, even though most managers are Canadian citizens.<sup>126</sup>

There are several definitions of what constitutes a foreign-influenced corporation. A 2019 bill in the U.S. House of Representatives titled *For the People Act* and sponsored by every Democrat member, aimed to protect against corruption and election interference. It set foreign ownership thresholds at five per cent for a foreign government shareholder, 20 per cent for a nongovernmental shareholder, and 50 per cent aggregate ownership.<sup>127</sup> In the recommendations laid out at the end of this report, I adopt these thresholds. In a report for the Center for American Progress, Michael Sozan set much lower bars. He defines the thresholds as one per cent for a foreign government shareholder, five per cent for a single non-governmental foreign shareholder, and 20 per cent aggregate foreign ownership of total equity, outstanding voting shares, membership units or other applicable ownership interests of the corporation. One per cent seems like a small amount, but the U.S. Security and Exchanges Commission found that investors who own one per cent of equity are able to communicate directly with corporate managers.<sup>128</sup> Seattle City Council recently banned foreign-influenced

corporations from local election political spending, using the American Center for Progress criteria to determine which corporations are foreign-influenced.

An in-depth study of whether a corporation is foreign or Canadian-controlled would need to use a combination of a concentration of direct or controlling ownership in one entity and passive or portfolio investment to determine the country from which control is exercised. Ownership is the direct way to control a corporation. But financiers can also exercise a lot of control. When a petroleum corporation goes to New York City, London, or Toronto in search of a huge loan, financiers place conditions, a form of control, on the loan. Since this is not a study of foreign control per se, we use majority foreign ownership as a straightforward criterion to indicate foreign influence and funding. It also indicates how much of the enormous profits from oil and gas leak out abroad rather than touch down in Canada.

## Wither the made-in-Canada oil industry?

From the 1960s to 2000, most Canadians thought that foreign ownership and control was the biggest threat to Canada's economy.<sup>129</sup> An astonishing 84 per cent of Canadians supported the modest steps taken by Pierre Trudeau's federal Liberal government to boost Canadian control of the assets of the oil and gas industry from nine per cent in 1973 to 50 per cent by 1990.<sup>130</sup> It's very rare for that many Canadians to agree on anything. Even a small majority of Albertans initially supported Canadianization – until BFO and their Alberta Progressive Conservative allies waged an effective PR offensive claiming it was these policies, rather than the collapse of the international oil price, that caused the sharp contraction of the oil industry in Alberta.<sup>131</sup> Although it was still popular outside Alberta, Canadianization was reversed after 1984 by Brian Mulroney's federal Conservative government, and later buried by the 1989 Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, the forerunner of NAFTA.

Years of privatization and deregulation undid efforts to build a made-in-Canada oil industry, effectively handing over public oil reserves to outside corporations on a silver platter. Since Suncor took over PetroCanada in 2009, no majority Canadian-owned corporation has produced a substantial amount of oil in Alberta's sands.

In a recurring Canadian pattern, corporations that began or became publicly-owned with the stated goal of serving the public interest, were later privatised and became foreign-owned. Often the bulk of their operations left Canada. The Canadian National Railway followed this route.<sup>132</sup> Bill Gates is now its largest shareholder. PetroCanada also took this path. It was set up by the federal government as a crown corporation in 1975 to help Canadianize the foreign-dominated oil sector and create a public transparency window on a secretive industry that was not pursuing energy security for Canadians during international oil shortages. Petro-Canada grew under public ownership, only to be privatized in stages and finally taken over in 2009 by Suncor, a majority foreign-owned corporation operating in Alberta's Sands.

Alberta-owned Alberta Energy Corporation (AEC) also followed this familiar trajectory and eventually metamorphosed into Ovintiv and moved its head office to Colorado. As part of a global wave toward public ownership of the oil industry in the first decade of the 1970s, Peter Lougheed's Progressive Conservative government set up the AEC in 1973 as a public-private vehicle for Albertans to own a stake in the oil sands. The AEC's mandate was to diversify Alberta's economy by upgrading its raw resources and provincialize its economy, Alberta's equivalent of economic nationalism. The Alberta government owned a controlling 49 per cent of the AEC; the other 51 per cent was initially bought widely by individual Albertans who got an advance shot at \$10 a share.<sup>133</sup>

In 1993, on neo-liberal grounds, the Klein government sold all its shares in the AEC. AEC then merged with the PanCanadian Energy Corporation to become Encana, the largest oil and gas corporation in Canada in the mid-2000s.<sup>134</sup> Through twists and turns, Encana became Ovintiv and moved to Denver Colorado in 2020. This completed its metamorphosis into just another foreign-owned and headquartered petro corporation with holdings in Canada.<sup>135</sup> It was not a tale of a caterpillar transforming into a butterfly.

Peter Lougheed (1971 to 1985) had tried to develop a more Alberta- and Canadian-controlled oil industry. In 1971, he started the Progressive Conservative dynasty that lasted 44 years in Alberta, until its defeat by Rachel Notley's NDP in 2015. Lougheed led an activist government, raising royalties on oil and gas and creating the Alberta Heritage Trust Fund that saved 30 per cent of oil and gas revenues and participated in diversifying Alberta's economy by drawing from the Fund.<sup>136</sup> The Fund's activities included setting up the Walter C Mackenzie Health Sciences Centre at the University Hospital in Edmonton, the Kananaskis provincial park, and irrigation projects, and helping to kickstart the petrochemical industry in Alberta. "The oil sands are owned by the people," Lougheed repeatedly insisted, "they're not owned by the oil companies." He urged Albertans to "think like an owner" and to get more revenue from oil and gas and save it for the day when oil no longer dominated Alberta's economy.<sup>137</sup>

By the 1990s, Peter Lougheed was dismayed by the neo-liberal shift and the "decline of collectivity" in the country. "We seem to be becoming increasingly Americanized, which imposes a rugged and un-Canadian individualism on our ethic," he said.<sup>138</sup> Lougheed lamented the movement of oil corporations and head offices out of Alberta. "I know people will fall from their chairs to hear me say this, but maybe right now we need to return to the Foreign Investment Review Agency [from the Pierre Trudeau era]," he said. "We need to be more interventionist. The passive approach isn't working. If [the present trend] continues, we are going to look at our country ... and say: What have we got left?"<sup>139</sup>

The Progressive Conservative government of Ralph Klein (1992-2006) sharply shifted toward privatization, austerity and the market fundamentalism of lower taxes, very low royalties on bitumen oil, and reducing regulations that made corporations respect the public interest. The new turn was captured by Klein's refrain of "getting out of the business of business."<sup>140</sup> The policy shift helped lead to the hollowing out of Calgary as the headquarters location of several major oil corporations.<sup>141</sup>

The pivot from Lougheed's policy of getting Alberta and the federal and Ontario governments to invest in the oil sands in the late 1970s to a hands-off approach led to more foreign ownership and control of the oil industry. Unless governments in Canada act as counterweights to Big Foreign Oil, the latter have the muscle to come in and fully dominate.





## 3. SOCIAL COVER FOR BIG FOREIGN OIL

In 2014, CAPP ramped up its public relations efforts to establish the Canadian-ness of the oil industry and gain greater social legitimacy. Rebranding began shortly after a speech by Greg Rickford at a secret CAPP strategy meeting at the Banff Springs Hotel. As Natural Resource Minister in Harper's government, Rickford gave political and communications advice to the very industry his ministry was supposed to regulate. He said that the oil industry's message was no longer resonating and that a new "shared energy story" is needed. Rickford's speech, released to Greenpeace in an Access to Information request, marked a decisive shift in CAPP's public relations campaigns. CAPP described it as the industry "embarking on a different level of engagement," and "moving to a ground campaign to activate industry supporters."<sup>142</sup>

CAPP has gone to great pains to deepen the notion that the identities of Albertans – and Canadians at large – are inextricably linked to oil. It is keenly aware that a lack of a "social license to operate" (SLO) could greatly jeopardize its operations. The concept of the SLO was introduced at a World Bank conference in 1997 by mining executive Jim Cooney, who argued that building community support for mines in developing countries is as important as gaining a legal licence. The social licence concept has since spread far beyond mining and the global south. Interest in gaining a social licence to operate rose as public trust in government and democracy fell in Canada and elsewhere. Social licence came to dominate public debates on pipeline proposals in Canada and was boosted after Justin Trudeau repeatedly used the term.

Social licence assumes that government approval is not sufficient and that stakeholders have the power and influence to stop projects or impose high costs on them.<sup>143</sup> Oil executives take the idea seriously and recognize that the more trust and support they win, the more likely and speedily their oil initiatives will be approved. They also recognize the opposite. The stronger the opposition to their projects, the costlier it is to their bottom line. Without consultation and a semblance of alignment with community values, oil projects lose legitimacy and will likely spark active opposition. Delays cost money.

In their theory of social licence, Robert Boutilier and Ian Thomson identify four distinct but cumulative aspects of legitimacy: economic, social-political, interactional, and institutional.<sup>144</sup> If a project is perceived to offer a benefit, it gains economic legitimacy. Socio-political legitimacy happens when "the project/company is seen as contributing to the well-being of the region, respects the local way of life, meets expectations about its role in society, and acts according to stakeholders' views of fairness." Interactional trust is gained when stakeholders perceive that "the company and its management listens, responds, keeps promises,

engages in mutual dialogue, and exhibits reciprocity in its interactions.” Finally, the authors define institutional trust as the perception “that relations between the stakeholders’ institutions (e.g., the community’s representative organizations) and the project/company are based on an enduring regard for each other’s interests.”

If a project wins on all four kinds of legitimacy, the result is golden for the corporation because the community “sees its future as tied to the future of the project [and] there is a willingness to fight for the interest of the project.”<sup>145</sup> With that level of legitimacy, quick approval of the project is almost certain. On the other hand, a corporation or project that fails to gain any of the four kinds of legitimacy faces an extremely high risk of resistance and rejection.

CAPP has had the least success on the interactional and institutional legitimacy fronts. It has gained the most social licence on the economic legitimacy side – even though its member corporations are steadily cutting oil sands jobs and the total oil and gas sector directly employs fewer than one per cent of Canadian workers.<sup>146</sup> Nevertheless, it’s convinced many across the country that the oil sector is crucial to Canadians’ economic well-being.<sup>147</sup> It has also been successful in getting people in Alberta and Saskatchewan to strongly identify with the oil industry, but has had less much success in that regard among other Canadians.

## Canada’s Energy Citizens: grassroots or astroturfing?

One of Big Foreign Oil’s main strategies for gaining a social licence has been to organize and fund front groups masquerading as ‘grassroots’ citizens to defend carbon-heavy oil sands extraction in Canada – a practice known as astroturfing. Astroturf is a synthetic sod substitute for real grass that’s used to cover sports fields. Former Texas Senator Lloyd Bentsen coined the term astroturf for fake grassroots groups in 1985, when his office got a sudden influx of letters. “A fellow from Texas can tell the difference between grassroots and astroturf,” he remarked. As Tim Wood notes in his 2018 doctoral thesis, astroturf became a pejorative term for the relationship between special interest groups and their citizen supporters.<sup>148</sup>

CAPP first got into astroturfing at the turn of the 21st century, to stop Canada from taking action to meet its Kyoto emissions targets and thereby hurting Big Oil’s profits.<sup>149</sup> Rick Hyndman, CAPP’s senior policy adviser on climate change at the time, recognized that Canadians were unlikely to believe CAPP as a credible source on climate change. So, CAPP financed a front group to do the job.

In 2014, shortly before the 2015 federal election, the lobby group stepped up its astroturfing game when it created Canada’s Energy Citizens (CEC). CAPP consulted with its U.S. counterpart, the American Petroleum Institute (AP), on how to design a Canadian version of their ‘Energy Citizens’ front group. The Energy Citizens campaign in the U.S. had been started five years earlier and was crafted by Chicago-based Edelman, the

world's largest public relations firm. Edelman has a reputation for dirty corporate campaign strategies, including its creation of a front group called the Working Families for Wal-Mart, which presented itself as grassroots but was in fact funded by Wal-Mart.<sup>150</sup> Edelman also worked on TransCanada's failed Energy East pipeline strategy. It undercut opponents and created fake grassroots groups.<sup>151</sup> Despite mimicking the API, with its particular brand of American petro-nationalism, the CEC claimed to champion Canadian interests and helped advance CAPP's most red-blooded version of Canadian petro-nationalism.

Canada's Energy Citizens searches out people who genuinely identify with and support the oil industry and its goals. According to an article in CAPP's industry magazine *Context*, the CEC finds its supporters among employees of CAPP's member companies, the oil and gas supply chain, members of trade unions, chambers of commerce, and passionate individuals who believe in Canada's oil and gas industry. It also finds them among communities heavily dependent on oil, and middle-aged, white conservative men.<sup>152</sup> The CEC seeks out supporters online and by sending staff out to many sites including business events, campus clubs, and town hall meetings, to directly meet potential recruits. It also shows up at major public events and Canada Day parades – mainly in Alberta, but also in Newfoundland, which has substantial oil production.<sup>153</sup> Occasionally, it shares posts from overtly racist groups including B.C. Proud.<sup>154</sup>

During intense public debates around Alberta's royalty review in 2007, oil corporations were dismayed that their supporters did not speak up for the oil industry. CAPP interpreted their reticence as a problem of silence rather than lack of belief. When it created Canada's Energy Citizens, it sought to find and prod these people to break the "spiral of silence," wherein a lack of visible support makes people feel isolated and unwilling to take a public stand. The CEC nudges supporters to become active "energy citizens" by making their participation easier, saving backers the effort of writing their own text by composing form letters to politicians to which supporters need only add their names. The CEC's homepage features an advocacy toolkit, offering advice on how to meet legislators, start a campus club, grow a personal pro-oil network, tweet, write an op-ed, comment on news articles, and reach journalists.<sup>155</sup> Energy citizens are urged to copy the code of professional communicators, by being positive and avoiding arguments rather than rabble rousing. The CEC website features scrolling banners with positive messages about energy industry safety, prosperity benefits for all Canadians, making continuous environmental improvements, and supporting community engagement.

An article by Clare Stanfield in CAPP's *Context* magazine, candidly stated that the CEC provides "social cover" for continued petroleum extraction. Almost any social movement, she argued, starts small with "a motivated and vocal core group of individuals facing a larger societal unwillingness or indifference to change." But, by speaking up and appealing to "people's emotional ideals and community values, this gave legitimacy for others to speak up," she added. "You can point to almost any social movement to see how social cover works," Stanfield contended.<sup>156</sup>

Is CAPP's Canada's Energy Citizens genuine grassroots, astroturf, or somewhere in between? *Context* magazine claims that the CEC is "a

grassroots organization.” The CEC website says the organization gives voice to 584,846 Canadians “who support a robust and responsible Canadian oil and natural gas industry.”<sup>157</sup> Its Facebook page gives the same impression, noting 273,690 likes and 269,920 followers in September 2021.<sup>158</sup> A joint investigation in 2018 by the *Toronto Star*, the *National Observer*, and *Global News* revealed that CAPP reached nearly 17.5 million people through the CEC in its pro-Trans Mountain pipeline expansion campaign.<sup>159</sup> The group relies on actual citizen backers, and broadcasts rather than hides its connections to CAPP. Sources for facts on the CEC’s web page often just state “CAPP.” In his study, Tim Wood described the CEC as CAPP partnering with civic allies, an amalgam of corporate public relations and citizen political participation, not a front group for Big Oil.<sup>160</sup>

In its own profiles of its members, the CEC excludes anyone recently laid off in the oil industry. Only the employed are highlighted. As we saw, fewer than one per cent of Canadians work directly in the oil and gas industry, but 36 per cent of the CEC profiles came from that sector.<sup>161</sup> Perhaps to show that CEC members are not just a self-interested bunch, a third of the CEC members who were profiled worked in non-profit charity or advocacy organizations. A high proportion of profiles were communication specialists.

In genuine grassroots groups, members decide on policy, leadership, and direction. But CEC members are passive supporters with little say in such matters. In his interviews with CEC members, Tim Wood wrote that “one supporter, in an admission shared by several respondents, said, “I honestly didn’t realize my profile was on Canada’s Energy Citizens [website].”<sup>162</sup> Members’ comments were genuine, but their statements and profiles were “top-down, controlled by CAPP’s staff,” Wood found. It may not be accurate to label Canada’s Energy Citizens as pure astroturf, but with subsidization, direction from above, and crafting member statements into messages that Wood’s survey found some did not intend, it is fair to ask if the CEC would have formed at all, let alone become effective, as a citizen-initiated group.

### **BFO support for fake ‘grassroots’ group: The case of Canada Action**

Canada’s Energy Citizens is just one of many such groups that sprouted after Stephen Harper’s Conservative government’s attacks in 2012 against the foreign funding of environmentalists. Many sport Canadian names and websites, but several are virtually carbon copies of pre-existing U.S. groups. They include Resource Works, British Columbians for Prosperity, Coal Alliance, Canadian Natural Resources Alliance, Pipeline Action, Oilsands Action, Made with Petroleum, Oil Sands Strong, Modern Miracle Network, Oil Respect, and Canada Action.<sup>163</sup> Some are oil advocacy groups, while others claim to be grassroots organizations.

Canada Action is perhaps the most effective pro-oil group. The group illustrates the great lengths that many subsidized pro-oil groups go to, to assert their independence and grassroots credentials and to hide who actually pays the piper. Canada Action claims to be citizen-based and financed. But as we shall see, it receives major funding from at least one majority foreign-owned oil corporation. The group was registered as a federal non-profit society in 2014, but began as a numbered corporation in 2012.

It was started by Calgary realtor Cody Battershill, who had previously started Oilsands Action, another very successful oil sands promotion group.

Canada Action makes a moral case for fossil fuels, arguing that oil and gas are not only good for the communities where energy workers live but critical to maintaining the Canadian way of life. The group rapidly responds to environmental critics of the oil industry. Echoing Vivian Krause, it promotes conspiratorial stories about rich elites and celebrities providing foreign funding for messages that hurt the oil industry and the lifestyles of Canadian workers. As a registered non-profit organization, Canada Action is not required to disclose its funding. Battershill has repeatedly refused to reveal the group's funding sources. But in response to questioning, Battershill said that he has spent tens of thousands of dollars out of his own pocket.<sup>164</sup> "There is nothing astroturf or fake about my passion for my country," he said. "I've put my money, my time and my actions where my mouth is."

But researchers have found close ties between Canada Action and petroleum corporations, the Conservative Party, and the Wildrose Party. The group had its coming out party in Fort McMurray Alberta in 2014, organized by Battershill and Kim Farwell, leader of oil sands extraction at Syncrude and a former president of Fort McMurray's Conservative Party riding association. Diane Slater, chief administrative officer at Fort McMurray's Chamber of Commerce also helped organize it.<sup>165</sup> Matt Gelinas, a veteran Conservative Party and Wildrose Party campaigner, was a director of Canada Action. Gelinas' company Alberta Blue Strategies has had the same Calgary address as Canada Action, and it was contracted by the Wildrose Party to do auto-dialer polls and electronic town halls during the 2012 Alberta provincial election.<sup>166</sup>

The group also receives large bulk orders for its apparel and merchandize from oil corporations, which can be seen as a form of corporate subsidy. Meanwhile, according to Maclean's journalist Jason Markusoff, "a handful of firms and associations each put up \$2,500 sponsorships for a 'grassroots' rally by Canada Action that ran alongside Calgary's annual Global Petroleum Show."<sup>167</sup> Canada Action claims it hosted over 30 resources rallies, including a joint one in 2018 in Ottawa with Canada's Energy Citizens, in support of the Trans Mountain oil pipeline, the same day the Canadian Chamber of Commerce organized a day of support for the project.<sup>168</sup>

In 2020, Big Foreign Oil funding for the group was publicly disclosed for the first time. A disclosure made by ARC Resources to Natural Resources Canada revealed a \$100,000 donation from the corporation to Canada Action.<sup>169</sup> Table 3 shows that ARC Resources is 68 per cent foreign-owned.<sup>170</sup> Bob Neubauer, a communications lecturer at Simon Fraser University, told the *Narwhal* that the disclosure of ARC's funding could shred Canada Action's credibility. "Canada Action has always made their claim to fame by saying, 'hey, we're just a bunch of grassroots concerned citizens,'" Neubauer said. "The fact that they're receiving a hundred thousand dollars from industry — it torpedoed their own descriptions of who they are and what they do."

## 4. INFLUENCING ELECTIONS

Despite being dominated by Big Foreign Oil, CAPP has benefited from a loophole that allows it to circumvent rules preventing foreign money interference in Canadian elections. As a well-funded, registered third party, it has commanded the attention of voters and political leaders during election campaigns. And as an organization with financial heft, it has influenced elections through advertising spending and indirect political donations.

### An election loophole a mile wide

After allegations of Russian meddling tainted the validity of the 2016 U.S. presidential election, Ottawa updated election laws to prohibit foreign interference in Canadian federal elections. The 2018 Elections Modernization Act forbade foreign third parties from participating in elections and incurring expenses for activities during pre-election and election periods.<sup>171</sup> Third parties may not use funds for a regulated activity “if the source of funds is a foreign entity.”<sup>172</sup> Yet, Elections Canada left a loophole as wide as a prairie sky. According to the Act, foreign entities include “corporations outside Canada,” but not foreign-owned corporations with headquarters in Canada.<sup>173</sup> Most foreign-owned oil corporations gaily wave the maple leaf and list their headquarters in Calgary, but being foreign-owned means being foreign-funded. When Big Oil intervenes in Canadian politics, it does so with foreign money on a huge scale. Size matters. Setting up shop inside Canada has long been a way for foreign corporations to pose as Canadian.

CAPP drove right through the Elections Canada loophole. Most of its board members head fully or majority foreign-owned corporations, yet CAPP has been permitted to intervene heavily in Canadian politics. For the first time, CAPP was allowed to register as a third-party advertiser in the 2019 federal election, letting it run ads supporting candidates and parties and advocating on key issues. Elections Canada permits third parties to spend up to one million dollars in the pre-writ period and up to \$500,000 during the election campaign. Big Oil has big money, and money talks in elections.

CAPP claims not to support or oppose any party or candidate.<sup>174</sup> Yet it made the federal Conservatives the main vehicle for its anti-climate action agenda. Six months before the October 2019 federal election, CAPP held a closed conference near Calgary with the federal Conservatives to map out a strategy to oust the Trudeau Liberals. As Sandy Garossino noted, it is the pinnacle of political influence and interference to have a day-long meeting with a party that may become government. Federal Conservative leader Andrew Scheer, who committed to ending “foreign-funded interference” in pipeline regulatory hearings, was a keynote speaker at CAPP’s BFO-funded conference. Other high-profile Conservatives also attended and spoke.<sup>175</sup> The event was organized by the Modern Miracle Network, a pro-oil advocacy group started by Michael Binnion, president and CEO of Questerre Energy. As we saw, Questerre is a Calgary-headquartered oil corporation on CAPP’s board of governors that is overwhelmingly owned by European banks. Heading Questerre gives Binnion the heft to intervene in Canadian politics in a big way. Binnion said that the Modern Miracle Network held similar events across the country.<sup>176</sup>

Members of CAPP’s board of governors from Painted Pony Energy and Tourmaline Oil Corp, both majority foreign-owned corporations, also attended the conference with the federal Conservatives. So did Perpetual Energy, a Canadian-owned corporation. The Petroleum Services Association of Canada was there too. Topics included how to sue environmental groups to silence oil industry critics, how to “rally the base” using pro-oil front groups, and how to push an agenda for more pipelines, lower

corporate taxes, and reduce regulation. A panel on “paths to federal election victory” was introduced by CAPP president Tim McMillan, who insists that CAPP is non-partisan.<sup>177</sup>

The secretive conference also featured Republican political operative Mike Roman, who according to an *Associated Press* story “got his start in politics by helping to persuade a judge to throw out hundreds of mail-in ballots” and organized an “army” of volunteers for Donald Trump’s 2020 re-election campaign to monitor voting in Democrat-leaning areas.<sup>178</sup> Roman was a special assistant to President Trump in 2017-2018 and had previously run an intelligence unit for Charles and David Koch, the billionaires who funded the rise of the radical right in the U.S.<sup>179</sup> Transcripts of what Roman told the gathering are not publicly available, but it is hard to find a more blatant example of foreign interference in Canada’s pre-election period.

## Swaying voters through ‘grassroots’ strategies

In 2015, CAPP asked its big brother organization, the American Petroleum Institute (API), how to use personal data to help sway individual voters. CAPP represents many of the same Big Oil corporations as the API. The latter used flyers, social media, and other ways to target voters in key electoral regions with the goal of electing oil-friendly politicians to repeal or halt climate action. In April 2015, CAPP hosted Deryck Spooner, the API’s external mobilization director, to instruct them on micro-targeted campaigns.<sup>180</sup> The first step, Spooner said, is to collect voter profiles through online surveys, consumer data, and electoral records – the way political parties do. Spooner claimed that the API had had great success with micro-targeting, gathering 32.8 million voter profiles in 34 states, which enabled them to “impact” 275 members of the U.S. Congress and 34 state governors, as well as “thousands” of local governments.<sup>181</sup> Armed with detailed voter profiles, API then created its fake grassroots group Energy Citizens, to mobilize voters on key issues.<sup>182</sup> Similar techniques were used in the 2016 U.S. presidential election that elected Donald Trump as well as in the Brexit referendum.

CAPP’s interventions in Canada’s 2019 federal election mirrored the same strategies, a *National Observer* investigation found.<sup>183</sup> Shane Gunster, communications professor at Simon Fraser University, noted that a central objective of CAPP’s public outreach campaigns in the last several years has been to collect data about Canadians who could be mobilized to politically support the oil industry.<sup>184</sup> CAPP-funded Canada’s Energy Citizens built a network of subsidized grassroots support in key ridings and micro-targeted people who the data suggested might be sympathetic to CAPP’s messaging.

In July 2018, the CEC sent out a survey over its email list called the “Energy Citizens Census,” which it said was authorized by the Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers. The survey’s stated goal was to help the CEC make “better content that is more relevant to your life” by “understanding our community of energy citizens.”<sup>185</sup> It asked recipients their age, income, employment status, gender, race, hobbies, and leisure activities. It also probed their views on provincial and federal energy policies and on the Trans Mountain oil pipeline expansion project that was financially struggling at the time. Canada’s Energy Citizens had more than 220,000 Facebook followers, nearly half as many as the Conservative Party of Canada.<sup>186</sup>

Surveys were just one of CAPP’s outreach tools. In the summer before the 2019 federal election, CAPP also created a “Vote Energy” platform to counteract Canadians’ increasing support for climate action. It asked supporters to sign a “pledge to Vote Energy” by voting for candidates who endorse rolling back environmental protection laws and expanding the oil and gas industry.<sup>187</sup> CAPP also spent tens of thousands of dollars on Facebook ads that led to its site, where visitors were urged to “join 562,622 Canadians raising their hands in support of Canada’s energy sector!”<sup>188</sup> “As Canadians, we are the owners of natural resources that make it possible for us to enjoy one of the highest qualities of life in the world,” its scrolling banner proclaimed. To appear like it was coming from everyday Canadians, the page was written in the first person.

Meaningful democratic participation depends on voters having access to accurate information. The Elections Act prohibits a person or entity from making or publishing a false statement during the election to affect election results. CAPP's Vote Energy platform asserted that "Canada's only credible path to meeting its Paris commitments is through increased exports of Canadian natural gas."<sup>189</sup> It wanted government to "acknowledge that Canada's oil and natural gas sector is not subsidized." Both statements are provably false. The production and use of natural gas is a major source of Canada's greenhouse gas emissions and the oil industry is heavily subsidized, to the tune of billions of dollars a year.<sup>190</sup> Melanee Thomas, a political scientist at the University of Calgary, called CAPP's Vote Energy platform "disinformation."

Environmental Defence urged leaders of Canada's major political parties to ignore CAPP's wishes and push for climate action instead. Its report showed that Canada's oil and gas sector was already the largest source of the country's emissions at 195 megatonnes a year, and that CAPP's 2019 election wish list would raise those emissions by 60 per cent to 311 megatonnes per year.<sup>191</sup> (Canada's total emissions were 730 megatonnes of CO<sub>2</sub> equivalent that year.) CAPP's wish list would have catapulted emissions produced by Canada's oil and gas sector above those of 170 countries in the world.<sup>192</sup> Mark Jaccard, professor of sustainable energy at Simon Fraser University, calculated that the Conservatives' plan would not only roll back existing emissions reduction measures but raise them.<sup>193</sup> The Conservative climate plan was very weak because it was virtually CAPP's wish list.<sup>194</sup> The barrage of advertising by the foreign-owned oil and gas corporations in the 2019 federal election was unprecedented.

Big Foreign Oil organized 'grassroots' campaigns for provincial elections too. In 2018, CAPP intervened in the Ontario provincial election through its front group, Canada's Energy Citizens. A joint investigation by the *Toronto Star*, *National Observer*, and *Global News* found that it targeted voters in 13 Ontario Liberal "swing ridings" with rallies, billboards in "high visibility locations" in the Toronto area, and 400,000 pieces of pro-pipeline literature.<sup>195</sup> Although the pro-oil message did not explicitly say vote Progressive Conservative, the campaign promoted policies closely aligned with PC election positions. It's not clear the campaign had an effect on the election outcome, which saw a massive, province-wide swing to Doug Ford's Progressive Conservatives and away from the very unpopular Liberal government led by Kathleen Wynne.

Since CAPP is mainly funded by foreign-owned petroleum corporations headquartered in Calgary, the money it used in Ontario's election campaign contravened the spirit if not the letter of Ontario's rules that non-Ontarians cannot contribute to Ontario political parties. Neither CAPP nor the CEC registered as third-party advertisers for Ontario's election. That sparked a demand by Greenpeace and Democracy Watch for Elections Ontario to investigate whether Ontario election rules on third-party advertisers were broken.<sup>196</sup> Elections Ontario ruled against the demand, arguing narrowly that CAPP did not break the rules, since it did not back a particular party. It's difficult to gauge the effectiveness of CAPP's campaign. The 13 ridings were not identified.

CAPP's campaign in 2018 went beyond the Ontario election and included 13 rallies across the country and 24,000 letters to "key decision makers" including B.C. Premier John Horgan, Alberta Premier Rachel Notley, and federal National Resources Minister Jim Carr.<sup>197</sup> Its Facebook audience for pro-pipeline messages reached almost 17.5 million users that year. CAPP and the CEC focused on the Ontario election because it occurred during the crucial period when Ottawa was deciding whether to buy the faltering Trans Mountain oil pipeline from Alberta to the Vancouver area.

Third-party advertisers also played a big role before and during Alberta's 2019 election. Table 5 shows their spending in the three months before and during the Alberta election. Leading the list – with spending just under the \$300,000 limit for both periods – was Shaping Alberta's Future, which promoted the UCP. It was heavily funded by oil corporations, including \$75,000 from Surge Energy, \$30,000 from Crew Energy, and \$50,000 from Michael Rose, CEO of Tourmaline Oil, a corporation that is 74 per cent foreign-owned (Table 3).<sup>198</sup> Michael Rose is on CAPP's board of governors. On the other side, the Alberta Teachers' Association (ATA), the third highest spending third-party advertiser, backed the NDP. Six of the third-party advertisers in Table 5 were pro-NDP and spent a total of \$773,084, while four were UCP



backers and spent a little more, at a total of \$823,918. During the 2019 Alberta election, oil and gas corporations and executives also poured at least \$348,000 into front groups that waged advertising campaigns to defeat the Alberta NDP and elect Kenney’s United Conservative Party.<sup>199</sup>

**Table 5**  
**Third-Party Advertisers, 2019 Alberta Election**

<b>ETPA</b>	<b>Total 2019 Election Advertising Period Contributions to Apr. 11, 2019</b>
<b>Shaping Alberta’s Future</b> Registered Nov. 9, 2018	<b>\$298,000.00</b>
<b>Merit Contractors Association</b> Registered Nov. 7, 2018	<b>\$292,568.40</b>
<b>The Alberta Teachers’ Association</b> Registered Jan. 11, 2019	<b>\$270,000.00</b>
<b>Alberta Victory Fund</b> Registered May 31, 2017	<b>\$159,000.00</b>
<b>Project Alberta</b> Registered Nov. 30, 2018	<b>\$135,030.00</b>
<b>Alberta Federation of Labour Inc.</b> Registered May 14, 2018	<b>\$131,334.48</b>
<b>Health Sciences Association of Alberta</b> Registered Apr. 2, 2019	<b>\$96,763.68</b>
<b>Firefighters of Alberta</b> Registered Nov. 30, 2018	<b>\$86,946.08</b>
<b>Alberta Proud</b> Registered Oct. 29, 2018	<b>\$74,350.44</b>
<b>Public Interest Alberta Society</b> Registered Nov. 30, 2018	<b>\$53,010.11</b>

CAPP renewed its Vote Energy campaign during the 2021 federal election. But because this was an unscheduled, snap election, third parties were less prominent than in the 2019 election. A total of 104 third parties registered with Elections Canada in 2021, a third fewer than the 150 that did so during the previous election.<sup>200</sup> There was no pre-election period in 2021, usually a time when third parties are very active and spend even more money than during the election period itself. The 2021 snap election gave third-party groups less time to prepare, noted Elizabeth Dubois, associate professor of communication at the University of Ottawa.<sup>201</sup> As well, the 2021 federal election occurred during the pandemic, when there were far fewer in-person gatherings. That made it more difficult for third parties to replicate mobilizing methods they used in the 2019 election.

One notable actor failed to register in 2021 as a third party: CAPP’s ally, the Alberta government war room. Despite throwing its weight around during the election, the war room apparently operated as an unregistered third party, dodging the intent of Canada’s Elections Act. Although it is an arm of the Alberta government, the war room is set up as a private corporation so it can escape provincial Freedom of Information and Privacy rules that allow public access to its information. But being a private corporation also means that, according to Canada’s Elections Act, the war room must register as a third party when it engages in election-related activities. The war room clearly intervened in the 2021 federal election in the interests of the federal Conservative Party, by sending emails falsely claiming that Canada is meeting its climate targets and attacking the Liberals’ \$170 a tonne carbon tax plan.<sup>202</sup> Other third parties must register under the Elections Act. The incident raises the question of why Alberta’s war room was able to escape registering and abiding by its regulations.

## Political donations from Big Foreign Oil and Gas

CAPP and its member corporations also influence elections by making sizable donations to politicians favourable to their agenda. Corporate donations to political parties were banned in Alberta in 2015 but corporate executives found ways to circumvent the ban, as we will see. In the years preceding the ban, Big Foreign Oil and Gas were the top donors to Alberta political parties. As Table 6 shows, the top three political donors from 2004 to 2016 were Ovintiv, a major natural gas producer, and Cenovus and Suncor, major oil sands corporations. All are majority foreign-owned. Most of their donations went to the Progressive Conservatives, but significant portions also went to the Wildrose Alliance and the Alberta Liberals. None went to the NDP.

**Table 6**  
**Top 10 donors to Alberta political parties, 2004-2016**  
 (Top 10 of all donors, not just corporate donors)

Donor	Business	Progressive Conservatives	Wildrose Alliance	Liberals	NDP	Other party	Total
<b>1. Encana</b> (became Ovintiv in 2019)	Oil & gas (Grew out of Ab Energy Co & PanCdn)	\$228,430	\$123,000	\$53,400	Nil	\$5,000	\$409,830
<b>2. Cenovus</b>	Oil & gas (Offshoot of Encana)	\$160,953	\$85,146	\$37,100	Nil	Nil	\$283,198
<b>3. Suncor</b>	Oil sands	\$183,391	\$28,430	\$62,839	Nil		\$276,661
<b>4. PCL Construction</b>	Construction	\$227,725	Nil	\$41,750	Nil	Nil	\$269,475
<b>5. TransCanada (now TC Energy)</b>	Pipelines	\$205,778	\$29,410	\$18,900	No data	\$1,124*	\$255,212
<b>6. Telus</b>	Telephones	\$194,988	\$10,500	\$31,900	Nil	Nil	\$237,388
<b>7. ATCO</b>	Electricity gen. & distrib.	\$208,324	\$1,375	\$23,400	Nil		
<b>8. Enbridge</b>	Pipelines	\$164,374	\$15,563	\$55,650	Nil	Nil	\$235,586
<b>9. Qualico</b>	Construction	\$217,301	\$3,738	\$550	Nil	Nil	\$221,589
<b>10. TransAlta</b>	Electrical power generator	\$185,225	\$19,938	\$13,770	Nil	\$1,000	\$219,933

**Source:** National Post's "Follow the Money" database: <https://special.nationalpost.com/follow-the-money/database>

\* Unaccounted for

In 2015, Alberta's NDP government banned corporate and union donations to political parties and later limited individual donations to \$4,000 a year.<sup>203</sup> But that only partially hindered the flow of Big Foreign Oil money into pro-corporate political parties. Now it reroutes through more opaque channels. Duff Conacher, co-founder of the non-partisan group Democracy Watch, warned that the \$4,000 limit on individual donations was much too high and would "only obscure the corrupting influence of donations from wealthy interests, not stop it." He proposed an annual limit of \$100 to \$200 per person instead. "As Quebec's corruption scandal and donations to federal parties and Toronto city councillors show clearly, the proposed high donation limits will also allow corporations, unions and other organizations to continue to donate large amounts by having their executives and their family members all make the maximum donation each year," Conacher stated.<sup>204</sup> His prediction was borne out.

Corporate political donations are also banned federally, as well as in Quebec, Nova Scotia, and Manitoba. But corporate executives partly get around the bans by making big donations as individuals and through family members, including their spouses.<sup>205</sup> That is their right as Canadian citizens. But being heads of foreign-financed corporations gives them much more money and clout to do so than they could ever have as individual citizens.

According to the *National Post's* Follow the Money Database, Keith MacPhail, a Cenovus board member, made a total of \$55,446.25 in political donations between 2005 and 2017: \$36,925 to Alberta's PCs; \$4,750 to Wildrose, \$12,771.25 to Kenney's UCP leadership race, and \$1,000 to Brian Jean's UCP leadership campaign. Another Cenovus board member, Harold Kvisle, donated \$2,500 to the UCP in 2018, \$16,500 to the Alberta PCs from 2006-2012, and \$12,220 to the federal Conservatives. Between 1993 and 2017, Michael Wilson, CEO and Director of Suncor's board donated \$3,000 to Alberta's PCs, \$1,000 to the BC Green party, \$3,675 to the Newfoundland and Labrador PCs and Liberals, \$1,926 to the Ontario PCs, \$1,000 to the Saskatchewan party, and a total of \$38,761.03 to the federal PCs, Liberals, and Greens.

Among CAPP board members, individual donations went decisively to right-wing, pro-oil industry parties, as Table 7 shows. None went to the NDP, while the federal Green Party got the paltry sum of \$125 from one person. Federal and Alberta Liberals got significant donations, but the vast majority went to conservative parties that oppose taking meaningful climate action. Those parties included Progressive Conservatives, Conservatives, Reform, Canadian Alliance, Wildrose, and the Alberta UCP.

**Table 7**  
**Past political donations of CAPP's 2020 board members<sup>206</sup>**

Donor	Business	Total	Breakdown
Jeffery Tonken	Birchcliff Energy (and CAPP Chair)	\$20,000	All to AB Wildrose
Alexander Pourbaix	Cenovus	\$2,000	All to AB PCs
Michael Binnion	Questerre	\$14,634.25	\$9,250: AB PCs \$5,384.25, combined, to the following: Fed Conservatives; Reform; Canadian Alliance; Calgary Southeast Conservative Assoc.; and Fed Conservative candidates Jacques Gourde and Joël Godin
Robert Broen	Athabasca Oil	\$3,400	All to Kenney's UCP leadership candidacy
Derek Evans	MEG Energy	\$3,790	All to Fed Libs, Lib constituency Assocs & Michael Ignatieff's candidacy for leadership of Fed Libs
George Fink	Bonterra Energy	\$54,296.62	\$14,613.75: ABC PCs \$3,000: UCP \$14,875: Wildrose \$15,805: Fed Conservatives \$4,250: Canadian Alliance \$352.87: Liberals \$1,610: Reform
Craig Hansen	Zargon Oil & gas	\$19,753.15	\$16,200: Wildrose \$3,345.15: Fed Libs \$210: Reform
Susan Riddell Rose	Perpetual Energy	\$41,000	\$31,000: AB PCs \$10,000: Jim Prentice's race for AB PC leadership
Mike Rose	Tourmaline	\$32,700	\$30,000: AB Pcs \$2,700: Fed Conservatives
Brian Schmidt	Tamarack Valley Energy	\$7,373	\$3,850: AB PCs and to Jason Kenney's UCP leadership race
Myron Stadnyk	Prairie Sky Royalty	\$3,375	\$1,525: AB PCs \$350: Fed Liberals \$1,500: Fed Conservatives
Richard Wyman	Chance oil and gas	\$13,635	\$3,800: Wildrose and AB UCP \$9,710: Fed Conservatives \$125: Fed Greens

In several cases, spouses of oil executives and board members also made donations. As well, we discovered the case of Allan Markin, whose multiple donations were made under numbered companies that essentially granted the donor anonymity. Markin, who was chairman of CNRL from 1988 to 2012, donated nearly half a million dollars to the B.C. Liberals from 2005 to 2011 and over \$100,000 to the Saskatchewan Party from 2011 to 2014. Some of the donations were made in Markin’s name, but others were made through two numbered companies and by CNRL when he was its chairman.<sup>207</sup> This begs the question of whether other oil executives donate through numbered companies too. All these donations were legal. But as Democracy Watch’s Duff Conacher says, “big donations from multiple corporations all controlled by the same person, especially donations from numbered companies which are basically anonymous donations, breed a culture of corruption and dependency. Politicians know whose favour they need to curry, but the public can’t tell who is providing the funding.”<sup>208</sup> All of this information is supposed to be publicly available through the annual publications and financial reviews of provincial or federal electoral organizations. It should be easier for the public to see the connections.

In the United States, the Center for American Progress set out a bold new framework to stop inappropriate foreign influence in the country’s political system. It recommends that Congress enact foreign ownership thresholds of one, five and 20 per cent, as outlined earlier in this report. It further recommends that such corporations be prohibited from spending on any election-related communications in federal and state elections or contributing to other organizations that engage in election-related spending. The Center for American Progress also recommends that “the CEO of any U.S. corporation engaged in political spending from its corporate treasury ... certify, under penalty of perjury, that the corporation is not a ‘foreign-influenced’ corporation.” This initiative is a good model for Canada and this report makes similar recommendations.

## Kenney’s corporate donor base

After Harper’s Conservative government lost the 2015 election, Jason Kenney left federal politics and led the merger between the Alberta Progressive Conservatives and the Wildrose Alliance. The goal was to unite the right to defeat the Notley-led NDP government. Kenney first become leader of the Alberta Progressive Conservative Party, an easy task, and then of the United Conservative Party (UCP), a harder challenge. Kenney won the UCP leadership in 2017 and a decisive majority in the April 2019 provincial election.

When I dug into the 19 major oil-related, individual donors to Jason Kenney’s leadership campaign, I made an interesting discovery. Kenney’s leadership campaign was a homegrown effort by Calgary’s corporate class.<sup>209</sup> None of the big foreign-owned oil corporations in the Sands were major contributors to Kenney’s leadership drive. I looked at those donors who gave at least \$2,500, up to the legal maximum of \$4,000. Table 8 shows that 16 of the 20 oil related donors came from the “old oil” patch, which is much more Canadian-owned and Canadian-directed than Alberta’s Sands.

Five donors were spouses who each gave the same amount as their oil executive husbands. I grouped the donations for spouses together as one entity. Pengrowth, a relatively small oil corporation that was taken over by Cona Resources in 2020 had holdings in both the oil sands and conventional oil. I classified three donors as miscellaneous. Andrew Wiswell, CAPP’s 2009 Chair and a board member of Total Energy Services (a 100 per cent subsidiary of Total, France’s largest petro corporation) donated \$3,000 to Kenney’s leadership campaign.<sup>210</sup>

**Table 8**  
**All oil-related individual donors of \$2,500 or more to Jason Kenney’s UCP 2017 leadership campaign**

Donor	Oil-related corp	Sector	Donation
1. Clayton Woitas <sup>211</sup>	Chairman, Encana (now Ovintiv) (natural gas)	Old Oil patch	\$4,000
1a. Linda Woitas	Spouse of Clayton Woitas	Old Oil patch	\$4,000
2. Cody Church <sup>212</sup>	Pres/CEO, Clear North Capital (petro investment)	Misc.	\$4,000

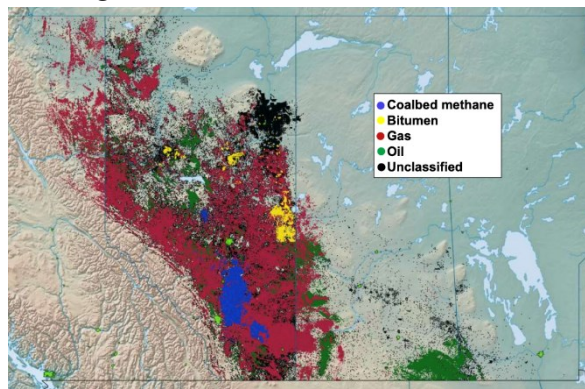
3. Greg Fletcher <sup>213</sup>	Pres, Sierra Energy Petroleum (refining)	Old Oil patch	\$4,000
4. Harmandeep Dhaliwal <sup>214</sup>	Exec, Precision Drilling (drilling)	Old Oil patch	\$4,000
5. Jim Paseska <sup>215</sup>	Secretary, CES Energy Solutions (drilling/ chemicals)	Old Oil patch	\$4,000
6. Jeffery Boyce <sup>216</sup>	Pres, Evsam Holdings (petro investment)	Old Oil patch	\$4,000
7. Matthew Brister <sup>217</sup>	Former Board Chairman, Chinook Energy (natural gas)	Old Oil patch	\$4,000
8. Dean Halyk <sup>218</sup>	CEO, Total Energy Services (Drilling / well servicing)	Old Oil patch	
8a. W. Nicole Halyk	Spouse of Dean Halyk	Old Oil patch	\$4,000
9. Rene Amirault <sup>219</sup>	Pres/CEO, SECURE Energy Services (midstream infrastructure)	Old Oil patch	\$4,000
9a. W. Marguerite Amirault	Spouse of Rene Amirault	Old Oil patch	\$4,000
10. Ronald Mathison <sup>220</sup>	Founder of Matco (merchant banking)	Old Oil patch	\$4,000
11. Wade Challand <sup>221</sup>	Founder of Challand Pipeline Ltd (pipeline construction/servicing)	Misc.	\$4,000
12. Wayne Foo <sup>222</sup>	Exec, Pengrowth (oil & gas production)	Old oil & Sands	\$4,000
13. Randy Ritchie <sup>223</sup>	Middle management, conventional oil. Kenney's leadership Fundraising Director	Old Oil patch	\$3,718.75
14. Andrew Wiswell <sup>224</sup>	Past Pres, CAPP. On boardd of Total Energy Services (drilling / well servicing)	Old Oil patch	\$3,000
15. Adam Budzinski <sup>225</sup>	Pres/CEO, Valard Group (Engineering energy construction_	Old Oil patch	\$2,500
16. Brian Felesky <sup>226</sup>	Director, Cequence Energy (Oil & gas exploration & production)	Old Oil patch	\$2,500
17. Cameron Plewes <sup>227</sup>	Pres, Peters & Co. (Energy investment)	Old Oil patch	\$2,500
18. Jack Donald <sup>228</sup>	Chairman, Parkland Fuel (supplier/marketer of fuel)	Misc.	\$2,500
18a. Joan Donald	Spouse of Jack Donald	Misc.	\$2,500
19. Jason Jaskela <sup>229</sup>	Pres/CEO, Headwater Exploration (oil and gas exploration)	Old Oil patch	\$2,500
20. Stan Owerko <sup>230</sup>	Pres/CEO, Petrogas Energy (petroleum products/ servicing)	Misc.	\$2,500
20a. Margaret Owerko	Spouse of Stan Owerko	Misc.	\$4,000

**Source:** National Post's "Follow the Money" database: <https://special.nationalpost.com/follow-the-money/database>

The "old oil patch" is based on conventional oil and gas and has high Alberta ownership. It stands in contrast to the "new oil patch," which is made up of giant, mainly foreign-owned corporations in the oil sands.

Since the oil industry's start in Alberta, about 450,000 conventional oil wells have been drilled. They cover almost all parts of Alberta (see Map 1 below).<sup>231</sup> Their imprint shows the widespread nature of conventional oil interests that exist in most small Alberta towns – affecting small oil and gas companies, truckers, oil services, exploration and construction companies, real estate developers, hotels, and other related businesses. They are Kenney's political base and are crucial in setting his government's political agenda. They are the reason his government launched the public inquiry and the war room.<sup>232</sup> And, as the above table shows, they provided Kenney with his most fervent support and donations.


**Map 1**  
**Oil and gas wells in Canada by Type**



**Source:** J. David Hughes, 2016. Data from Drillinginfo, December 2015.

The political impact in Alberta of the “old oil patch” is out of proportion to its share of oil output.<sup>233</sup> While most of Big Oil’s holdings in Alberta remain highly profitable, the story is often grim for smaller companies. The bankruptcy of Redwater Energy in 2015 illustrated the financial troubles of the old oil patch that left 300,000 abandoned and “orphan” wells.<sup>234</sup> Small- and medium-sized companies are confined to conventional oil and gas because the oil sands require a high threshold of capital and technical know-how to enter. Conventional oil represents only about 15 per cent of Alberta’s oil production, but it – and oilfield services companies – are based on more locally and Canadian-owned and operated corporations centred in Calgary.

Whatever the eventual fate of several challenged oil-exporting pipelines from Alberta, small and medium sized oil companies in conventional oil will continue to struggle because of the steep fall in the international oil price between 2014 and 2020 and the depletion of the best conventional oil plays in Alberta. Conventional oil production peaked in Alberta in 1970 and is forecasted to continue to decline.<sup>235</sup>



# 5. LOBBYING AND GOVERNMENT CAPTURE

## Federal lobbying

As we saw, CAPP met with the federal Conservative party before the 2019 federal election and unsubtly promoted the Conservatives through Canada's Energy Citizens 'Vote Energy' campaign. But that didn't stop CAPP from trying to influence the federal Liberal government. Far from it, CAPP continually lobbied federal government officials and often got what it wanted. A report by the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, "Big Oil's Political Reach," found that federal government officials meet almost perpetually with the fossil fuel sector. The latter had 11,452 contacts in the seven years between 2011 and 2018, overlapping the Harper and Trudeau governments.<sup>236</sup> Those numbers are limited to contacts with "Designated Public Office Holders" (DPOHs) – senior government officials. Lobbyists do not have to register their meetings with government officials who aren't DPOHs. Those likely occurs as often or more often.

The Mining Association of Canada (MAC) had the most contacts – 1,596 in total – in those seven years. While MAC'S membership includes major bitumen producers Syncrude and CNRL, the group mainly represents non-petroleum mining corporations. Removing MAC's contacts from the list leaves the remaining total of fossil fuel contacts at 9,856 – or more than five times per working day on average over the seven-year period. Lobbying surged when issues affecting fossil fuel corporations arose. Under Harper's leadership, lobbyists met most often with elected officials, especially Conservatives, while under Trudeau's reign lobbying shifted to senior public servants.

CAPP was the most active petroleum industry lobbying association, at 1,268 contacts over the period. The Canadian Gas Association met with federal officials 641 times, the Canadian Energy Pipeline Association 478 times<sup>237</sup>, the Petroleum Services Association 359 times, and the Canadian Fuels Association 343 times. Giant oil sands corporations did a lot of lobbying on their own too. Suncor Energy met federal officials 881 times during the seven years, Imperial Oil 385 times, Shell Canada 345 times, Cenovus 292 times, and Chevron Canada had 189 meetings. During the period, petroleum lobbyists successfully pushed to kill, weaken, or delay environmental policies.<sup>238</sup>

The meetings included some of the world's biggest oil corporations: Royal Dutch Shell, Chevron, and ExxonMobil, mainly through its Imperial Oil subsidiary. Federal officials also met with CNRL, Cenovus, Suncor, and Syncrude – all Calgary-headquartered corporations that brand themselves as Canadian. Most of their executives are Canadian citizens, but all are majority foreign-owned and hold influential positions on CAPP's board.

Why does CAPP employ 36 registered “in-house” lobbyists in Ottawa, have 11 executive policy groups, over 80 staff, and hundreds of publications to promote Big Oil's public policy interests?<sup>239</sup> Because it believes that meeting with Ottawa officials that often helps convince them to reduce environmental regulations, cut their taxes, maintain or raise their subsidies, and help them market their products, including by buying the Trans Mountain oil pipeline.<sup>240</sup> Lee Drutman, author of *The Business of America is Lobbying*, explains why corporations lobby:

Lobbyists aim not only to transfer information on a given regulatory process or policy issue, but endeavour more broadly to “saturate” the intellectual environment to overwhelm policy makers with information and argumentation on one side of an issue while “framing out” competing or alternative conceptions.<sup>241</sup>

The COVID-19 pandemic forced many people to work from home, but it did not stop Big Oil's non-stop lobbying of federal officials.<sup>242</sup> Working on the principle that one should never let a good crisis go to waste, CAPP's lobbying revved up to the highest pace since 2011. A Greenpeace study showed that there were 1,124 contacts – or 3.25 per week on average – between federal officials and fossil fuel associations and corporations from March 12, 2020, when pandemic lockdowns started, until March 22, 2021.<sup>243</sup> This included 246 meetings with CAPP, 140 with TC Energy, 64 with Imperial Oil, 61 with Cenovus, 58 with Suncor, and 51 with Shell.

During the pandemic, CAPP convinced the federal government to form a secretive industry-government working group that was eventually called “Create the Path.” Weekly meetings were held in the spring of 2020 that included CAPP, Natural Resources Minister Seamus O'Regan, Deputy Ministers from Natural Resources, Environment, and Finance, and the CEOs of Petronas, Cenovus, Suncor, and Chevron. Petronas is 100 per cent foreign-owned and the others are majority foreign-owned. According to a document obtained by journalist Martin Lukacs, the government-industry committee's objectives included “keeping industry active and viable, preserving jobs and encouraging investment,” and a “reduction in operating costs and regulatory burden.” Those priorities shifted to include supporting offshore, liquefied natural gas, and tar sands projects as central to any economic recovery in Canada.<sup>244</sup> The committee's existence was not made public, nor did environmental groups have similar access to federal government decision-makers during the early part of the COVID lockdown.

CAPP did not get everything they wanted, but got much of it. The lobby group demanded that Ottawa delay a law to protect Indigenous rights, delay reporting on their lobbying activity for four months, and delay federal plans to fight climate change. Those demands were rejected, but CAPP got essential status and government promotion for new pipeline and carbon fuel projects, doubled taxpayer-funded handouts to petroleum corporations, and won a delay to the Clean Fuels Standard that was



intended to require producers to shrink the carbon intensity of liquid fuels. Rather than require oil corporations to pay to restore the old oil wells they profited from and abandoned in Alberta and Saskatchewan, the federal government handed oil corporations \$1.7 billion of public money to do the clean-up.<sup>245</sup> The April 2021 federal budget gave CAPP more of its asks, including an investment tax credit for carbon capture; a tax write-off for hydrogen refuelling (mainly based on natural gas); money to create a clean fuels fund; new tax breaks for high emission sectors including oil and natural gas; and a lower corporate income tax rate for zero-emission technologies.<sup>246</sup> By pursuing maximum profits for its member corporations regardless of their climate impacts, CAPP's lobbying, when successful, hindered effective Canadian climate action.

## BFO influence over Albertan governments

CAPP's strongest influence is felt through its sway over Alberta governments, regardless of political stripe. Alberta has the power to throw a giant monkey wrench into Canada's ability to curb emissions. With only 12 per cent of Canada's population, the province produces at least 37 per cent of all carbon emissions – mainly because it is home to 69 per cent of Canada's natural gas production and 82 per cent of its oil output.

Alberta governments always vociferously defend Big Oil's interests, portraying them as synonymous with Albertans' and Canadians' interests and denouncing effective emissions curbs as inflaming western separatism and threatening Canadian unity. Big Oil's influence over 44 unbroken years of Progressive Conservative Alberta governments (1971-2015) was readily apparent. The PCs and Big Oil were joined at the hip, with individuals moving back and forth between executive positions in oil corporations in Calgary, the provincial civil service, and Alberta's cabinet table. When Rachel Notley's NDP government came to power, some observers expected it to break from the PC governments' unquestioning promotion of Big Oil's agenda. It was not to be. The NDP government was so awed by the power of Big Oil, Andrew Nikiforuk contends, that it's hard to distinguish the oil policies of Kenney's United Conservative Party (UCP) government from that of Notley's NDP government.<sup>247</sup>

Notley's government had its roots in social democracy and the union movement, and the party had been a critic of corporate influence while in opposition. It was never in Big Oil's pocket and banned corporate donations. Moreover, its base of supporters was progressive Albertans who wanted effective climate action. But, although its motivation was different, the Alberta NDP government became as fierce a defender of the oil industry as Conservative governments, especially in dealing with those outside Alberta who wanted mandatory curbs to the tar sands' outsized environmental footprint.

While in opposition, the NDP decried Alberta's oil royalties for being among the lowest in the world and won the 2015 election partly on the promise of a royalty review. But once in office, the NDP government put the review in the hands of two bankers who were deeply entangled with petro corporations. When they predictably recommended no royalty hikes, the Notley government capitulated.<sup>248</sup> The incident showed that being allies of Big Oil, like the Conservatives, or intimidated by Big Oil, like

the NDP, ultimately led to similar results. Big Oil's power tilts the cultural and political playing field even when its favoured candidates are not in office. Both the UCP and NDP governments in Alberta demanded that Canada build pipelines out of the landlocked province and support the oil industry for the sake of national unity. Because she was not an automatic friend of Big Oil, Notley's calls for oil export pipelines were perhaps more effective.

The NDP government was intimidated by Big Oil and the political power it wielded – it knew that effective climate action would mean an all-out fight against a very powerful adversary. It also faced the widespread, inflated perception among Albertans that jobs in the province were dependent on Big Oil's financial well-being. Notley's government assumed that it had to make peace with Big Oil so that it could make major gains on the social side, including substantially raising the minimum wage, initiating affordable childcare, and maintaining spending on public services during a sharp economic decline caused by the collapse of international oil prices.

When she unveiled her government's climate policy in November 2015, Rachel Notley shared the stage with the CEOs of four of the largest oil sands corporations, all of them majority foreign-owned: Cenovus, Suncor, Shell Canada, and Canadian Natural Resources. CAPP's CEO Tim McMillan also joined the oil sands CEOs on stage with Notley and accurately observed that her plan might limit oil sands emissions but not its production.<sup>249</sup> Indeed, while the plan claimed it would cap oil sands emissions, in reality the emissions cap was set so high that it was a licence to grow them by almost half.<sup>250</sup>

The Notley government's symbolic aspirations were rolled into Justin Trudeau's Pan-Canadian Climate Framework. The Trudeau Liberals were elected in October 2015, just six weeks before the historic international talks on climate change in Paris. In quickly cobbling together a stance that would at least rhetorically support dramatic climate action and signal that "Canada is back" as a progressive international player, the Trudeau government struck a de facto alliance with Notley's Alberta government. Ottawa believed it had to bring Alberta inside its national climate strategy, since the province is Canada's oil and gas powerhouse and its greatest source of carbon emissions. Although Ontario and Quebec have five times Alberta's population, their combined emissions are less than Alberta's.<sup>251</sup> It is not that Albertans' driving or heating habits differ much from other Canadians. It's because the production of oil and gas is Canada's largest and fastest growing source of greenhouse gas emissions. Thus, an effective federal climate plan needed to include Alberta.

The Ottawa-Alberta understanding went like this: if Alberta initiated a credible climate strategy and set a cap on oil sands emissions, the federal government would incorporate them into Canada's plan; in return, Ottawa would ensure that an oil pipeline be built or expanded to tidewater, to ship major amounts of oil from landlocked Alberta to non-U.S. markets for the first time. Trudeau's national climate strategy intended to create a social licence that would allow for new pipeline capacity.

The CEOs who stood beside Premier Notley as she outlined Alberta's climate plan had the widest smiles for good reason. The plan targeted the

28 per cent of Alberta's greenhouse gases that came from electric power generation and Alberta's drivers, but it left almost scot-free the 44 per cent of emissions caused by the production of oil and gas.<sup>252</sup> Targeting drivers and electric power generation for emission reductions showed that oil and gas corporations had more power and influence than the power generation industry. Speeding up the phasing out of coal-fired electrical generation was deemed politically feasible; a managed transition off oil was not.

Under the Alberta NDP plan, emissions from the Sands were to be capped at 100 Mt, a growth of 47 per cent from its 2015 level.<sup>253</sup> There were several significant exemptions from the cap.<sup>254</sup> It was less a cap than a free, advance to-go card. In essence, the Alberta NDP plan allowed growing emissions from oil sands output to entirely cancel out carbon pollution reductions by vehicles and electrical power. Alberta drivers and households reduced their carbon pollution to make room for Big Foreign Oil to substantially expand the Sands' emissions and profits. Kenney's UCP government left most of the NDP plan in place but cancelled the funding for Energy Efficiency Alberta, carbon tax-funded programs that helped businesses and homeowners retrofit their properties and reduce their emissions.<sup>255</sup> Albertans still pay a carbon tax on gasoline, but now it's a federal rather than a provincial tax.<sup>256</sup> The UCP also removed the 100Mt cap, but says it intends to legislate it back into existence, with the same exemptions as the NDP plan.<sup>257</sup>



# CONCLUSION

A 2019 Environmental Defence report revealed that for Canada to meet its Paris pledge, “the collective emissions of British Columbia, Manitoba, New Brunswick, P.E.I. and Nova Scotia plus the three territories would have to disappear entirely by 2030 just to make room for the growth in oil and gas emissions.”<sup>258</sup>

Canada is the G7 laggard in cutting emissions. With only 0.48 per cent of the world’s population, this country emits 1.5 per cent of the global total. That’s over three times the per capita global average. Canada’s 1997 Kyoto promise was to cut emissions by six per cent below its 1990 level by 2008-2012, from 602 to 567 Mt. When its emissions skyrocketed to 739 Mt by 2005, instead of redoubling its efforts, Canada moved the benchmark year to 2005 to hide its failure. In 2019, the country was only 1.1 per cent below its 2005 level at 730 Mt.<sup>259</sup> With a 21 per cent rise in emissions between 1990 and 2020, Canada is far out of line with every other G7 country. The U.S. and Japan’s climate pollution is roughly on par with their 1990 levels. The EU’s emissions fell by 25 per cent, and the UK cut its emissions by an impressive 40 per cent.<sup>260</sup>

As Big Foreign Oil’s advocate in Calgary, CAPP is the main obstacle to Canada’s ability to cut carbon pollution.

Big Oil knew as early as 1954 that carbon emissions were causing global warming. The California Institute of Technology conducted research that year for the American Petroleum Institute, to which the major privately-owned oil corporations have belonged, showing that fossil fuels increased levels of atmospheric CO<sub>2</sub> in the preceding century. The results were never published.<sup>261</sup> The international community recognized the seriousness of the threat at the climate summits in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 and Kyoto in 1994. But despite knowing better, Big Oil has attempted to thwart action that would effectively curb their production and profits. They have had varied success in different parts of the world, but in Canada they have been very successful. They knew they were lying, but Big Oil tried to buy time by copying the tactics of Big Tobacco: publicly deny climate change and sow doubt on the science. Every day that they talk and delay action, Big Oil makes millions in profits.

Around 2007, Big Oil in Canada reluctantly shifted tactics and publicly stated that climate change is real. They switched to “talk, pump, and profit.” Back voluntary action by individual corporations and use market mechanisms to ward off government regulation. They opposed regulation, carbon taxes, and carbon targets that were high enough to make a difference. They reframed climate action as a golden business opportunity to be run by markets, not governments. Meanwhile, in large part because of the outsized, growing emissions from the production and export of oil and gas, Canada’s greenhouse gas emissions remain stuck at 21 per cent above Canada’s 1990 level.

Big Oil's defence is that they provide lots of jobs. That is false. The oil and gas sector generates very few jobs. In 2019, it directly employed 55,853 people – one third of one per cent of all payroll employment in Canada.<sup>262</sup> When jobs in petrochemicals, natural gas distribution, and pipelines are added in, total direct employment in the broader oil and gas sector was 97,713. That's 0.58 per cent, or under six tenths of one per cent of all jobs in Canada. Remaining jobs in the sector are steadily falling because oil sands corporations are “demanning” the industry to reduce costs. The oil and gas sector is a very poor producer of jobs because, on average, it creates only one half a job for every million dollars in value-added.<sup>263</sup> No other major Canadian economic sector generates so few jobs per unit of value added. In contrast, Canada's economy as a whole spawns an average of 8.6 jobs for each million dollars of value-added.<sup>264</sup> Owners of petro corporations, not those who work for them, get most of the economic benefits from the vast revenues created.<sup>265</sup> Most of the profits leak out of Canada because, as we saw earlier, a solid majority of owners of oil sands corporations reside outside of the country.

I wrote this report to fill a research gap on the influence of foreign corporate oil money on Alberta and Canadian politics. The accusations of Alberta Premier Jason Kenney and CAPP against foreign funding of Canadian environmentalists assume that who pays the piper calls the tune. If the assumption has validity, then the power and influence of foreign-owned petro corporations in Canada is enormous because the scale of their financial and organizational resources in Canada is vast. CAPP is the very effective advocacy organization for some of the wealthiest BFO corporations in the world.

At the outset of researching this report, I did not know the extent of foreign ownership among CAPP's corporate board members and was surprised to learn the scale of their preponderance. My research discovered that a little over three quarters of CAPP's board members represented corporations that were fully or mainly foreign-owned. Since corporations on CAPP's board that were Canadian-owned were much smaller producers, it became evident that oil production by petro corporations on CAPP's board is overwhelmingly dominated by foreign-owned corporations. But that did not stop CAPP from wrapping itself in the maple leaf flag and hypocritically lambasting environmentalists as traitors to Canada.

Canada passed the federal Elections Modernization Act in 2018 in response to the recent international wave of foreign interests using power and money to influence the politics and policies of other countries. The intent behind the Act is to curb improper election interference that could destabilize and delegitimize Canada's democracy. It forbids foreign third parties, including foreign corporations, from participating in and spending money on elections.<sup>266</sup> So far, so good. Yet the Act left an escape route that allows foreign-funded corporations to intervene heavily in Canadian politics, as long as their headquarters are listed as being in Canada. To prevent foreign financial interference in Canadian elections and fulfil the intent of the Act, this loophole must be closed.

CAPP takes advantage of this escape clause and makes its influence felt in a variety of ways. CAPP's 36 full-time lobbyists have privileged access to

federal government officials and continually communicate with them, especially when climate and energy legislation is being considered. CAPP and its individual corporate members also help sway federal and Alberta elections in several ways. CAPP tries to influence voters through Canada's Energy Citizens, its front group that deceptively appears to be citizen based. As well, CAPP has the power to command the attention of political leaders. This was shown when it held a one-day closed meeting with the federal Conservatives in the run-up to the 2019 federal election, as well as when it intervened as a legal third-party advertiser in the last two federal elections by siding with specific candidates and political parties. It also made provably false, deceptive claims. In sum, CAPP has used its foreign-funded, financial heft to intervene in elections in this country.

Corporate political donations are banned federally and in Quebec, Nova Scotia, Manitoba, and Alberta. But corporate executives can partly get around the bans by making big donations as individuals and through family members, notably their spouses.<sup>267</sup> The individual donations of CAPP board members were not spread across the political spectrum. Federal and Alberta Liberals got significant donations, but the vast majority went to conservative parties that oppose taking meaningful climate action.

The public inquiry into foreign funding launched by the Alberta UCP government targeted a molehill and missed the Rockies. If, as the government claimed, the aim of the inquiry was to expose the influence of foreign actors over domestic policy, it missed the mark badly. Right under its nose was a far larger source of outside money influencing Albertan and Canadian politics. By controlling the lion's share of the oil industry and its profits while having an outsized influence on policy-making, Big Foreign Oil has been a colossal barrier to effective climate action in this country.

To curtail that power, this report makes the following recommendations:

1. Governments in Canada should declare that they welcome immigrants, visitors, and trade from around the world, but prohibit foreign-influenced corporations from intervening in Canadian elections as third-party advertisers and in all other ways. Elections should be decided by the people of Canada, not by foreign investors or the corporate entities over which they exert influence.<sup>268</sup> To determine if a corporation is foreign-influenced, the following thresholds should be used: five per cent for a foreign government shareholder; 20 per cent for a single non-governmental foreign shareholder, and 50 per cent aggregate foreign ownership of total equity, outstanding voting shares, membership units or other applicable ownership interests of the corporation.
2. Prohibit foreign-influenced corporations from funding, through membership dues or in other ways, the political interventions and lobbying of corporate fossil fuel advocacy groups such as the Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers, the Canadian Gas Association, and the Petroleum Services Association.
3. Further restrict the maximum allowable individual political donations to both federal and provincial candidates and parties,

to close the loophole of individual corporate executives making large political donations and thereby bypassing bans on corporate donations.

4. Pass legislation that empowers Elections Canada to prohibit groups from making deceptive representations for the purpose of promoting a political party, in a manner similar to the Competition Bureau's prohibition on deceptive representations of a product or a business interest. Enable the public to notify Elections Canada if they believe that a group or entity is making false representations, in ways similar to how the Competition Bureau makes a form available to the public to notify the Bureau if they "believe that a company or an individual has contravened" several advertising regulation acts. The goal is to allow voters to make informed choices free from misleading claims that are likely to create a false impression.
5. Immediately end all direct and indirect subsidies to oil, gas, and other fossil fuel corporations.
6. Enact just transition legislation that reduces emissions by at least 60 per cent below the 2005 level by 2030, winds down the fossil fuel industry and related infrastructure, and provides generous supports for all impacted workers and communities.

# ENDNOTES

- 
- <sup>1</sup> Savage is a former executive of the pipeline lobby group the Canadian Energy Pipeline Association.
- <sup>2</sup> David Staples, “Oil industry takes fierce aim at foreign-funded anti-oil activists,” *Edmonton Journal*, March 1, 2019, <https://edmontonjournal.com/business/local-business/david-staples-oil-industry-takes-fierce-aim-at-foreign-funded-anti-oil-activists>.
- <sup>3</sup> International Energy Agency, *Net Zero by 2050: A Roadmap for the Global Energy Sector*, May 2021, <https://www.iea.org/reports/net-zero-by-2050>.
- <sup>4</sup> Intergovernmental Plan on Climate Change, *Global Warming of 1.5 °C*, accessed August 2021, <https://www.ipcc.ch/sr15>.
- <sup>5</sup> “Public inquiry extension: Minister Savage,” Alberta government, October 28, 2020, <https://www.alberta.ca/release.cfm?xID=745736AA7886E-DDFA-1E16-AC4900A12F27C922>.
- <sup>6</sup> Drew Anderson, “Anti-Alberta’ inquiry points finger at media and environmentalists but finds no wrongdoing,” *The Narwhal*, October 21, 2021, <https://thenarwhal.ca/alberta-public-inquiry-energy-findings>; Vivian Krause, “Allan report gave environmental groups exactly what they wanted,” *Calgary Herald*, October 30, 2021, <https://calgaryherald.com/opinion/columnists/krause-allan-report-gave-environmental-groups-exactly-what-they-wanted>.
- <sup>7</sup> “Report of the Public Inquiry into Anti-Alberta Energy Campaigns,” Government of Alberta, accessed October 2021, <https://open.alberta.ca/publications/public-inquiry-into-anti-alberta-energy-campaigns-report>, 16, 596.
- <sup>8</sup> Krause, “Allan report.”
- <sup>9</sup> “Sunday News Roundup 21.10.24,” Canadian Accountant, accessed October 24, 2021, <http://www.canadian-accountant.com/content/business/sunday-news-roundup-21-10-24>.
- <sup>10</sup> United Conservative Caucus (@UCPCaucus), Twitter, October 21, 2021, <https://twitter.com/UCPCaucus/status/1451273544487165953>; David Climenhaga, “Sorting fact from fiction in Allan Inquiry commentary and coverage: that \$1.3-billion fib explained,” *Alberta Politics*, October 25, 2021, <https://albertapolitics.ca/2021/10/sorting-fact-from-fiction-in-allan-inquiry-commentary-and-coverage-that-1-3-billion-fib-explained>.
- <sup>11</sup> Graham Thomson, “\$3.5-million provincial inquiry into ‘anti-Alberta’ activities struggles to find a bad guy,” *CBC Opinion*, October 22, 2021, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/edmonton/allan-inquiry-report-1.6220523>.
- <sup>12</sup> Markham Hislop, “Oilpatch journalist debunks Krause’s Conspiracy theories about anti-pipeline campaigners,” *The Energy Mix*, May 20, 2019, <https://www.theenergymix.com/2019/05/20/oilpatch-journalist-debunks-krauses-conspiracy-theories-about-anti-pipeline-campaigners>.
- <sup>13</sup> Steven Chase & Shawn McCarthy, “Blogger fuels PM’s claim U.S. is backing Canadian environmentalists,” *The Globe and Mail*, January 9, 2012, <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/blogger-fuels-pms-claim-us-is-backing-canadian-environmentalists/article1357859>; Sandy Garossino, “A data-based dismantling of Jason Kenney’s foreign-funding conspiracy theory,” *National Observer*, October 3, 2019, <https://www.nationalobserver.com/2019/10/03/analysis/data-based-dismantling-jason-kenneys-foreign-funding-conspiracy-theory>.
- <sup>14</sup> It is 66 per cent owned by Chatham Asset Management, a U.S. tabloid media corporation with very close ties to Donald Trump. Katherine Burton, Sridhar Natarajan and Shahien Nasiripour, “A hedge fund that owns Trump secrets, clashes and odd bond math,” *Bloomberg News*, 18 March, 2019, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-03-18/at-hedge-fund-that-owns-trump-secrets-clashes-and-odd-bond-math>.
- <sup>15</sup> Brennan Doherty, “This B.C. researcher’s oilsands theories are being championed by Jason Kenney. Just one problem – experts say they’re not true,” *Toronto Star*, August 24, 2019, <https://www.thestar.com/calgary/2019/08/24/this-bc-researchers-oilsands-theories-are-being-championed-by-jason-kenney-just-one-problem-experts-say-theyre-not-true.html>; “Vivian Krause,” *The Narwhal*, <https://thenarwhal.ca/topics/vivian-krause>.
- <sup>16</sup> Vivian Krause, “Fair questions” blog, [https://fairquestions.typepad.com/rethink\\_campaigns](https://fairquestions.typepad.com/rethink_campaigns); Hislop, “Oilpatch journalist.”
- <sup>17</sup> Vivian Krause, “Rachel Notley, the Rockefellers and Alberta’s landlocked oil,” *The Financial Post*, April 12, 2019, <https://financialpost.com/opinion/vivian-krause-rachel-notley-the-rockefellers-and-albertas-landlocked-oil>.
- <sup>18</sup> J. David Hughes, *Reassessment of Need for the Trans Mountain Pipeline Expansion Project: Production forecasts, economics and environmental considerations* (Vancouver: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, 2020), <https://www.policyalternatives.ca/publications/reports/reassessment-need-trans-mountain-pipeline-expansion-project>.



- 
- <sup>19</sup> Markham Hislop, “Vivian Krause’s shoddy research exposed. Has Kenney bought a very large barrel of snake oil?” *Energi Media*, October 7, 2019, <https://energi.media/markham-on-energy/vivian-krauses-shoddy-research-exposed-has-kenney-bought-a-very-large-barrel-of-snake-oil>.
- <sup>20</sup> Hislop, “Oilpatch journalist.”
- <sup>21</sup> Garossino, “A data-based.”
- <sup>22</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>23</sup> Par Kristen Pue, “Smoke and Mirrors: Examining the Evidence on Foreign Funding of Environmental Nonprofits,” *PhiLab*, December 4, 2019, <https://philab.uqam.ca/en/home-blog/smoke-and-mirrors-examining-the-evidence-on-foreign-funding-of-environmental-nonprofits>.
- <sup>24</sup> “Stand.earth statement on ‘foreign funding’ accusations,” Stand.earth, last modified May 14, 2019, <https://www.stand.earth/latest/standearth-statement-foreign-funding-accusations>.
- <sup>25</sup> Lauren Krugel, “Alberta energy war room must avoid online morass, preaching to choir: experts,” *The Canadian Press*, June 16, 2019, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/edmonton/alberta-energy-war-room-experts-1.5178071>.
- <sup>26</sup> Sandy Garossino, “Canada upside down,” *Vancouver Observer*, June 12, 2012, <https://www.vancouverobserver.com/blogs/world/truth-behind-attack-charities-and-scientists-canada.html>; “Great Bear Forest Carbon Project,” Nature Bank, accessed January 8, 2021, <https://www.naturebank.com/projects/great-bear-forest-carbon-project>.
- <sup>27</sup> Vivian Krause, “The Tar Sands Campaign Against Overseas Exports of Canadian Oil: Activism or Economic Sabotage?” *Fair Questions*, No date, [https://fairquestions.typepad.com/rethink\\_campaigns/activism-or-sabotage.html](https://fairquestions.typepad.com/rethink_campaigns/activism-or-sabotage.html).
- <sup>28</sup> Garossino, “Canada upside down.”
- <sup>29</sup> *The Narwhal*, “Vivian Krause.”
- <sup>30</sup> “‘No evidence’: Researcher behind ‘anti-Alberta’ inquiry backs off assertion,” *The Canadian Press*, May 21, 2021, <https://edmonton.ctvnews.ca/researcher-behind-anti-alberta-inquiry-says-she-has-not-backed-off-allegation-1.5438355>.
- <sup>31</sup> “Critics say researcher behind allegations that prompted ‘anti-Alberta’ inquiry backs off from one of her major claims,” *The Globe and Mail*, May 21, 2021, <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/canada/alberta/article-researcher-behind-anti-alberta-inquiry-backs-off-from-one-of-her-major>.
- <sup>32</sup> “2015 General Election Results,” Alberta government, accessed February 6, 2021, <https://open.alberta.ca/opendata/2015-general-election-results>.
- <sup>33</sup> Dan Healing, “Canadian energy giants take out full-page newspaper ads as federal election looms,” *Global News*, August 1, 2019, <https://globalnews.ca/news/5712422/energy-giants-full-page-newspaper-ads>; Markham Hislop, “Oilsands CEOs open letter to Canadians is a rebuke of CAPP,” *Energi Media*, August 1, 2019, <https://energi.media/markham-on-energy/oil-sands-ceos-open-letter-to-canadians-is-a-rebuke-of-capp-kenney-energy-narrative>.
- <sup>34</sup> Garossino, “A data-based dismantling.”
- <sup>35</sup> Sandy Garossino, “The global assault on environmental rights behind Jason Kenney’s war,” *National Observer*, September 13, 2019, <https://www.nationalobserver.com/2019/09/13/opinion/global-assault-environmental-rights-behind-jason-kenneys-war>.
- <sup>36</sup> Joe Oliver, “An open Letter from Natural Resources Minister Joe Oliver,” *The Globe and Mail*, January 9, 2012, <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/an-open-letter-from-natural-resources-minister-joe-oliver/article4085663>.
- <sup>37</sup> Garossino, “The global assault.”
- <sup>38</sup> Darin Barney, “Who We Are and What We Do: Canada as a Pipeline Nation,” in *Petrocultures: Oil, Energy, and Culture*, eds. Sheena Wilson et al. (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2017), 78.
- <sup>39</sup> Shane Gunster et al., “‘Our Oil’: Extractive Populism in Canadian Social Media,” in *Regime of Obstruction. How Corporate Power Blocks Energy Democracy*, ed. William K. Carroll (Edmonton: Athabasca University Press, 2021).
- <sup>40</sup> Nathan Vanderklippe, Shawn McCarthy and Jacquie McNish, “Harper draws a line in the oil sands,” *The Globe and Mail*, December 9, 2012, <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/globe-investor/harper-draws-a-line-in-the-oil-sands/article6143202>.
- <sup>41</sup> Norway’s Statoil pulled out of the tar sands in 2016, but the state-owned corporations of the other countries remained.
- <sup>42</sup> Diana Gibson’s astute observation.
- <sup>43</sup> The Sermon on the Mount.
- <sup>44</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>45</sup> StatCan, *Foreign-controlled enterprises in Canada, by financial characteristics and industry*, Table 33-10-0033-01, September 11, 2019, <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/t1/tbl1/en/tv.action?pid=3310003301> (Thanks to Nathan Lemphers for his spreadsheet analyzing the StatCan data); Gordon Laxer and Regan Boychuk, *Just print money: How Big Foreign Oil got the lion’s share of Oil Sands revenue in the age of climate emergency*, forthcoming.
- <sup>46</sup> Kevin Orland, “Foreign oil firms bailing on Canada in \$30 billion exodus,” *World Oil*, August 29, 2019, <https://www.worldoil.com/news/2019/8/22/foreign-oil-firms-bailing-on-canada-in-30-billion-exodus>.
- <sup>47</sup> Laxer and Boychuk, *Just Print Money*.
- <sup>48</sup> The old SEC rules allowed a corporation to report reserves as “proven” if there was a “reasonable certainty” they were economic to produce. The new rules allow corporations to disclose only those reserves as proven based on last year’s oil price. Because share prices are very sensitive to a corporation’s official reserves, this rule change lowered the value of oils sands corporations.

---

<sup>49</sup> Robert Tuttle, “Chevron CEO signals he’s open to selling Canada oil sands stake,” *Bloomberg*, June 2, 2021, <https://www.bnnbloomberg.ca/chevron-ceo-signals-he-s-open-to-selling-canada-oil-sands-stake-1.1611956>.

<sup>50</sup> There were 49 board members but only 48 corporate board members. Tim McMillan, CAPP’s CEO, does not represent a corporation.

<sup>51</sup> In a few cases, this was supplemented by Orbis database.

<sup>52</sup> Crude oil output is measured in barrels (BBL). Natural gas is measured in cubic feet (mcf). Converting natural gas output to a barrel of oil equivalent, BOE, gives total energy content in a single unit.

<sup>53</sup> Wholly-owned subsidiary of BP plc.

<sup>54</sup> Acquired by Pacific Oil and Gas Ltd, 28 June 2019. Also called Pacific Canbriam, a privately-held corp.

<sup>55</sup> Wholly-owned subsidiary of Chevron. California.

<sup>56</sup> Wholly-owned subsidiary of Houston based ConocoPhillips.

<sup>57</sup> Husky merged with Cenovus in 2021. Founded in 1938, Husky was an American-founded energy corp that operates in Western and Atlantic Canada, the U.S. and Asia Pacific. Husky is controlled by Hong Kong billionaire Li Ka-Shing, who owns about 70 per cent of its shares.

<sup>58</sup> Li Ka-Shing is a Hong Kong business magnate.

<sup>59</sup> Founded in 1880 as a Canadian company, Imperial Oil was acquired by John D. Rockefeller’s Standard Oil in 1898. Exxon Mobil Corp. now has a 69.6 per cent ownership stake in Imperial Oil.

<sup>60</sup> Founded in 1978, Japan Canada Oil Sands Ltd (JACOS) is 94 per cent owned by Japan Petroleum Exploration Company Limited (JAPEX). The Japanese government owns a 34 per cent share in JAPEX.

<sup>61</sup> Subsidiary of Arkansas-based Murphy Oil Company Ltd, and oil and gas exploration corporation.

<sup>62</sup> ORLEN Upstream Canada belongs to PKN ORLEN S.A., a major Polish state-owned oil refiner and petrol retailer.

<sup>63</sup> Wholly-owned subsidiary of Repsol S.A.

<sup>64</sup> Shell Canada was 78 per cent owned by Royal Dutch Shell. In 2006, the parent corporation took over the 22 per cent of Shell Canada it didn’t own.

<sup>65</sup> Wholly-owned subsidiary of France-based Total S.A. (not to be confused with Total Energy Services).

<sup>66</sup> Wholly-owned subsidiary of the Australian-owned Woodside Energy. Petroleum exploration. 50 per cent partner with Chevron in a proposed Kitimat LNG project.

<sup>67</sup> Orbis shows that two Canadian residents owned a total of 19 per cent of Hemisphere’s shares, while a U.S. resident owned 2 per cent. Bloomberg reported on 11 per cent of Hemisphere’s outstanding shares. None were owned by Canadian residents.

<sup>68</sup> The EIA projected Canada’s 2020 oil production at 5.1 million b/d: “Canada’s oil production drops to its lowest level since 2016 wildfires,” U.S. Energy Information Administration, July 16, 2020, <https://www.eia.gov/todayinenergy/detail.php?id=44396>.

<sup>69</sup> “Top 20 Shareholders,” Questerre, accessed August 4, 2021, <https://www.questerre.com/investor-centre/shareholder-information>.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> See section on ‘Influencing elections’ in this report.

<sup>72</sup> CAPP’s Board of Governors, May 2020.

<sup>73</sup> I’d like to thank Alison Kirsch, Lead Researcher of the Climate and Energy Program at the Rainforest Action Network (San Francisco) for doing the searches on Bloomberg Terminal on several days in May 2020. I am responsible for the presentation and interpretation of the ownership data.

<sup>74</sup> Includes bitumen and conventional oil.

<sup>75</sup> Founded in 2004, Birchcliff Energy is an oil and gas corporation with operations in the Peace River area of Alberta.

<sup>76</sup> Cenovus merged with Husky Energy in 2021. Cenovus was founded in 2009 when it split from Encana Corporation (now Ovintiv), with the latter focusing on natural gas. Some of Cenovus’ assets had belonged to PanCanadian Energy Corp. and Alberta Energy Company.

<sup>77</sup> Founded in 1996 from acquisitions from Mobil Oil Canada.

<sup>78</sup> Bought StatOil’s Leismer oil sand operation in 2016.

<sup>79</sup> Founded in 1997, Bonavista Energy produces oil and gas in Western Canada.

<sup>80</sup> Founded in 1981, Bonterra is a conventional oil and gas corp with operations in Alberta, Saskatchewan, and British Columbia.

<sup>81</sup> Of that total, 76 per cent was petroleum and natural gas liquids and 24 per cent natural gas.

<sup>82</sup> Founded in 1994, Crescent Point Energy is an oil and gas company based in Calgary and Denver.

<sup>83</sup> Founded in 1986, Enerplus is an oil and gas producers in the U.S. and Western Canada.

<sup>84</sup> Founded in 1996, Freehold Royalties bills itself as a dividend-paying oil and gas royalty whose assets are located mainly in western Canada.

<sup>85</sup> See endnote 68.

<sup>86</sup> Founded in 2012, InPlay Oil Corp is an oil development and production corporation.

<sup>87</sup> Founded in 2003, NuVista Energy engages in exploration, development, and production of oil and natural gas in Western Canada.

<sup>88</sup> Painted Pony Energy is a natural gas producer, operating in Northeast British Columbia.

- 
- <sup>89</sup> Peyto Exploration & Development produces natural gas in Alberta's deep basin.
- <sup>90</sup> Prairie Sky royalty Inc. does indirect investment in oil and gas.
- <sup>91</sup> Founded in 2000, Questerre Energy is owned mainly by European banks and Michael Binnion. It operates in the Saint Lawrence Lowlands, Saskatchewan, and Montney formation in Alberta. Its stock is traded in the Toronto and Oslo stock exchanges.
- <sup>92</sup> I didn't report a percentage of foreign ownership because Bloomberg lists only 6 per cent of Questerre's shares. A report on Questerre's website called "Top 20 shareholders as of 9 December 2020" shows that, apart from Michael Binnion, the CEO of Questerre, almost all other shares are owned by European banks.
- <sup>93</sup> Founded in 2001, Seven Generations Energy is a natural gas producer in the Montney region of Alberta.
- <sup>94</sup> Founded in 1919 in Montreal as Sun Company of Canada, a subsidiary of Sun Oil (now Sunoco), Suncor focuses on the oil sands. In 2009, Suncor bought the former Crown corporation Petro-Canada.
- <sup>95</sup> Founded in 2002, Tamarack Valley Energy Ltd produces oil and natural gas in Western Canada.
- <sup>96</sup> Founded in 2008, Tourmaline Oil is an energy corporation in the Western Canada Sedimentary Basin.
- <sup>97</sup> Founded in 2004, Vermilion Energy produces oil and gas in North America, Europe and Australia.
- <sup>98</sup> Founded in 1987, Zargon focuses on increasing oil recovery from existing reservoirs.
- <sup>99</sup> CAPP Board of Governors, 2020. Bloomberg data does not show the country of residence of all shareholders. The percentage figures on ownership in the table assume that the shares reported to Bloomberg are representative of all the shares.
- <sup>100</sup> The output for Kainai Energy Inc was unavailable.
- <sup>101</sup> Chance Oil and Gas, Enhance Energy.
- <sup>102</sup> Oil and gas exploration corporation focusing on Western Canada. Started in 2013 by Bryan Gould and others who had worked for Royal Dutch Shell Canada. Presumed Canadian-owned.
- <sup>103</sup> Formerly Northern Cross (Yukon). CNOOC pulled out of Northern Cross in October 2016. Richard Wyman, CEO, said now the company is 100 per cent Canadian-owned (unconfirmed); Lori Garrison, "Not a chance name change will affect \$2.2 billion lawsuit against YG, company formerly known as Northern Cross says," *Yukon News*, July 31, 2017. <https://www.yukon-news.com/news/not-a-chance-name-change-will-affect-2-2-billion-lawsuit-against-yg-company-formerly-known-as-northern-cross-says>.
- <sup>104</sup> Enhance Energy is privately-held corp specializing in CO2 Enhanced Oil Recovery in central Alberta.
- <sup>105</sup> Privately-held company owned by the Blood or Kainai first nation. Kainai Energy and Tamarack are in continual discussions to enter a strategic partnership to develop the Banff oil formation on and off the Blood Reserve; Kainai Resources Inc and Tamarack Valley Energy Ltd, "Virtual Open House," presentation, September 24, 2020, [http://www.tamarackvalley.ca/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/20-09-29-September-24-Open-House-KRI-TVE\\_2.pdf](http://www.tamarackvalley.ca/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/20-09-29-September-24-Open-House-KRI-TVE_2.pdf).
- <sup>106</sup> Kainai Energy Corp, Kainai Energy Ltd's partner, operates in the U.S.
- <sup>107</sup> Longshore Resources is a privately-held drilling co. focusing on the Peace River and southcentral areas of Alberta.
- <sup>108</sup> Founded in 1999, Mancal is an oil and gas corporation with a focus on Western Canada.
- <sup>109</sup> Founded in 1990, NAL was a privately-held oil and gas corporation and focused on Saskatchewan and Alberta. Whitecap Resources Inc bought NAL in 2020.
- <sup>110</sup> Privately-held, subsidiary of Osum Production Corp., focusing on oil sands in the Cold Lake Alberta area. Founded in 2008 by NYC-headquartered Warburg Pincus and NYC-headquartered Blackstone Capital Partners, major shareholders also include Calgary-headquartered KERN partners, Government of Singapore Investment Corporation, and two large, unnamed Canadian institutional investors. "Osum Completes Previously Announced \$500 Million Private Placement," Osum Oil Sand Corp, January 20th, 2012, <https://www.osumcorp.com/blog/2012/osum-completes-previously-announced-500-million-private-placement>.
- <sup>111</sup> CAPP refused to confirm that number to him. Markham Hislop, "What is CAPP doing to counter BC anti-pipeline activists? Nothing," *Energi Media*, March 11, 2019, <https://energi.media/markham-on-energy/what-is-capp-doing-to-counter-bc-anti-pipeline-activists-nothing>.
- <sup>112</sup> "2021 Producer Membership Form," CAPP, accessed October 10, 2021, [www.capp.ca](http://www.capp.ca).
- <sup>113</sup> At the time of writing, 2018 was the latest data available on CNRL's Canadian output.
- <sup>114</sup> For an alternative perspective, see Paul Kellogg, "Prairie Capitalism Revisited: Canada, Bitumen, and the Resource Colony Question," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 49, no. 3 (Fall 2015): 232-237.
- <sup>115</sup> <https://www.capp.ca/resources/statistics>
- <sup>116</sup> Ownership can also be measured by the revenues investors control. In their report on Canada's fossil fuel sector, William Carroll and M. Jouke Huijer identified the shareholders of the top 25 owners of the sector and calculated the proportion of the industry's total revenues the shareholders claimed. William Carroll and M. Jouke Huijer, *Who Owns Canada's Fossil-Fuel Sector?* (Vancouver: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, 2020), <https://www.policyalternatives.ca/publications/reports/who-owns-canada%E2%80%99s-fossil-fuel-sector>.
- <sup>117</sup> "Analysis of the Forest Ethics Report on Foreign Investment in the Tar Sands," Memorandum to the Minister of Natural Resources, May 20, 2012. NRCan's critique was obtained through Access to Information.

- 
- <sup>118</sup> The Forest Ethics study reported 71 per cent foreign ownership of bitumen production. CAPP reported 67 per cent.
- <sup>119</sup> CAPP examined a slightly different set of corporations than StatCan. Statistics Canada, *Foreign control in the Canadian economy, 2017*, last modified September 11, 2019, <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/190911/dq190911a-eng.htm>.
- <sup>120</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>121</sup> Statistics Canada, email to author, July 6, 2020.
- <sup>122</sup> Dean Beeby, "Oil-price drop impact on Canada lessened thanks to foreign ownership," *CBC News*, May 31, 2015, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/oil-price-drop-impact-on-canada-lessened-thanks-to-foreign-ownership-1.3091814>; Feb 20, 2015 memo.
- <sup>123</sup> Athabasca and Freehold Royalties.
- <sup>124</sup> Michael Sozan, *Ending Foreign-Influenced Corporate Spending in U.S. Elections* (Washington, D.C.: Center for American Progress, 2019), 26.
- <sup>125</sup> John C. Coates IV, *Statement submitted to Massachusetts House of Representatives regarding an act to limit spending by foreign-influenced corporations*, May 14, 2019, 2–3, <https://freespeechforpeople.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/2019-Coates-MA-FIC-20190514-PDF-final.pdf>.
- <sup>126</sup> Corporate Struggles: Who Has What Power When Push Comes To Shove?" Law Offices of Stimmel, Stimmel & Roeser, accessed January 5, 2021, <https://www.stimmel-law.com/en/articles/corporate-struggles-who-has-what-power-when-push-comes-shove>.
- <sup>127</sup> Every Democrat in the House co-sponsored this legislation but the final version of the legislation that passed the House omitted the ownership threshold language.
- <sup>128</sup> Securities and Exchange Commission, Procedural Requirements and Resubmission.
- <sup>129</sup> Michael Adams, *Canada 2000: The State of the Nation*, 2000, 2, <https://curio.ca/en/guides/1204/download>. 2000: "83 per cent of Canadians thought that foreign ownership of Canadian companies is the biggest threat to the economy."
- <sup>130</sup> Larry Pratt, "Petro Canada," in *Public Corporations and Public Policy in Canada*, eds. Allan Tupper and G. Bruce Doern (Montreal: Institute for Public Research on Public Policy, 1981), 97.
- <sup>131</sup> *Nickle's Daily Oil Bulletin*, September 15, 1981.
- <sup>132</sup> Albert Tucker, "Canadian National Railway (CN)," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, last modified October 24, 2017, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/canadian-national-railways>.
- <sup>133</sup> John Richards and Larry Pratt, *Prairie Capitalism: Power and Influence in the New West* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979), 242.
- <sup>134</sup> Jeffrey Jones and Scott Haggett, "EnCana to split in two with oil at record highs," *Reuters*, May 11, 2008, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-encana-idUSN1133047420080511>.
- <sup>135</sup> John Boyko, "Encana (Ovintiv)," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, last modified November 8, 2019, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/encana>.
- <sup>136</sup> Gerald Hallowell, "The Alberta Heritage Fund," *The Oxford Companion to Canadian History*, 2004. The Fund set up a medical research foundation (terminated in 2011) and helped kickstart the petrochemical industry in Alberta, but it also made several failed investments.
- <sup>137</sup> Andrew Nikiforuk, "Peter Lougheed's Radical Legacy," *The Tyee*, September 17, 2012, <https://thetyee.ca/Opinion/2012/09/17/Radical-Peter-Lougheed>. Lougheed's government didn't stick to the Fund's original goals. Andrew Nikiforuk, "Savings that Weren't," in *Running on Empty. Alberta After the Boom*, eds. Nikiforuk et al (Edmonton: Newest Press, 1987).
- <sup>138</sup> Peter C. Newman, "A warning shot from Peter Lougheed," *Maclean's Magazine*. August 21, 1995.
- <sup>139</sup> Mel Hurtig, "The Vanishing Country: It's not too late to preserve Canada as an independent country," *The Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives*, November 1, 2003, <https://www.policyalternatives.ca/publications/monitor/november-2003-vanishing-country-part-i-iii>.
- <sup>140</sup> Ian Urquhart, *Costly Fix. Power, Politics and Nature in the Tar Sands* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), 84.
- <sup>141</sup> On the other hand, Imperial and Shell Canada both moved their headquarters from Toronto to Calgary during this time.
- <sup>142</sup> Suzanne Goldenberg, "Oil lobby group recruited Canadian minister for secret strategy meeting," *The Guardian*, May 28, 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2015/may/28/oil-lobby-group-recruited-canadian-minister-for-secret-strategy-meeting>. Carol Linnit and Donald Gutstein, "'Grassroots' Canada Action Carries Deep Ties to Conservative Party, Oil and Gas Industry," *DeSmog*, July 22, 2015, <https://thenarwhal.ca/grassroots-canada-action-carries-deep-ties-conservative-party-oil-gas-industry>.
- <sup>143</sup> Robert Boutilier, *A Measure of the Social License to Operate for Infrastructure and Extractive Projects*, 2017, [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/321137808\\_A\\_MEASURE\\_OF\\_THE\\_SOCIAL\\_LICENSE\\_TO\\_OPERATE\\_FOR\\_INFRASTRUCTURE\\_AND\\_EXTRACTIVE\\_PROJECTS](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/321137808_A_MEASURE_OF_THE_SOCIAL_LICENSE_TO_OPERATE_FOR_INFRASTRUCTURE_AND_EXTRACTIVE_PROJECTS).
- <sup>144</sup> Robert G. Boutilier and Ian Thomson, *Modelling and Measuring the Social License to Operate: Fruits of a Dialogue between theory and practice*, 2011, <https://sociallicense.com/publications/Modelling%20and%20Measuring%20the%20SLO.pdf>.
- <sup>145</sup> Ibid., 7.

- 
- <sup>146</sup> Jim Stanford, *Employment Transitions and the Phase out of Fossil Fuels* (Vancouver: Centre for Future Work, January 2021). Bruce Anderson and David Coletto, “Public perspectives on Canada’s oil resources,” *Abacus Data*, November 24, 2016, <https://abacusdata.ca/public-perspectives-on-canadas-oil-resources>.
- <sup>147</sup> Ian Hussey, *The Future of Alberta’s Oil Sands Industry: More production, less capital, fewer jobs* (Edmonton: Parkland Institute, 2020).
- <sup>148</sup> Some restrict the term to organizations that use “fraudulent claims of support by groups of constituencies.” Tim Wood, “Corporate Front Groups and the Making of a Petro–Public,” PhD diss. (New York University, 2018), 18.
- <sup>149</sup> Petroleum producers financed a group called the Canadian Coalition for Responsible Environmental Solutions. Donald Gutstein, *The Big Stall. How Big Oil and think tanks are blocking action on climate change in Canada* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company Ltd, 2018), 80.
- <sup>150</sup> Jeffrey Goldberg, “Selling Wal-Mart,” *The New Yorker*, March 26, 2007, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2007/04/02/selling-wal-mart>.
- <sup>151</sup> Carol Linnitt, “Edelman and TransCanada Part Ways After Leaked Documents Expose Aggressive PR Attack on Energy East Pipeline Opponents,” *The Narwhal*. November 26, 2014, <https://thenarwhal.ca/edelman-and-transcanada-part-ways-after-leaked-documents-expose-aggressive-pr-attack-energy-east-pipeline-opponents>.
- <sup>152</sup> Tim Wood, “Energy’s Citizens: The Making of a Canadian Petro-Public,” *Canadian Journal of Communication* 43, no. 1 (2018): 75-92.
- <sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*; David Gray-Donald, “The Oil Industry’s PR Offensive,” *Briarpatch*, August 30, 2018, <https://briarpatchmagazine.com/articles/view/the-oil-industrys-pr-offensive>.
- <sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>155</sup> Wood, “Energy’s Citizens.”
- <sup>156</sup> Clare Stanfield, “From passive endorsement to active engagement,” *Context Magazine* 3, no. 2 (April 6, 2015): 10.
- <sup>157</sup> Canada’s Energy Citizens, accessed February 24, 2021, <https://www.energycitizens.ca>; “Energy Citizens Across Canada,” *Context: Energy Examined*, last modified August 1, 2018, [https://context.capp.ca/infographics/2018/infographic\\_energy-citizens-across-canada](https://context.capp.ca/infographics/2018/infographic_energy-citizens-across-canada)
- <sup>158</sup> Canada’s Energy Citizens, Facebook, accessed September 14, 2021, <https://www.facebook.com/CanadasEnergyCitizens>.
- <sup>159</sup> Robert Cribb and Fatima Syed, “Oil lobby targeted 13 Ontario swing ridings in ‘unprecedented’ pipeline campaign,” *Toronto Star*, July 5, 2018, <https://www.thestar.com/news/investigations/2018/07/05/oil-lobby-targeted-13-ontario-swing-ridings-in-unprecedented-pipeline-campaign.html>.
- <sup>160</sup> Wood, “Energy’s Citizens,” 75-92.
- <sup>161</sup> Stanford, “Employment Transitions,” 4; Wood, “Energy’s Citizens.”
- <sup>162</sup> Wood, “Energy’s Citizens.”
- <sup>163</sup> Gunster et al., “Our Oil”; Linnitt and Gutstein, “‘Grassroots’ Canada Action.”
- <sup>164</sup> Stuart McNish, “Cody Battershill – Conversations that Matter Ep. 21,” May 17, 2015, YouTube video, <https://youtu.be/PNvFHTYobJk>.
- <sup>165</sup> Linnitt and Gutstein, “‘Grassroots’ Canada Action.”
- <sup>166</sup> Tom Flanagan, *Winning Power. Canadian Campaigning in the Twenty-first Century* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2014), 169.
- <sup>167</sup> Jason Markrusoff, “The rise of Alberta’s unapologetic petro-patriots,” *Maclean’s*, July 15, 2019, <https://www.macleans.ca/news/canada/the-rise-of-albertas-unapologetic-petro-patriots>.
- <sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*; Gray-Donald, “Oil industry’s PR Offensive.”
- <sup>169</sup> “2019 ESTMA Report ARC Resources E256030,” *The Narwhal*, <https://www.scribd.com/document/466844575/2019-ESTMA-Report-ARC-Resources-E256030>.
- <sup>170</sup> On the 55 per cent of its outstanding shares.
- <sup>171</sup> “Bill C-76,” Parliament of Canada, <https://www.parl.ca/DocumentViewer/en/42-1/bill/C-76/royal-assent>.
- <sup>172</sup> “New Requirements for Third Parties: Corporations, Unions, Groups and Individuals,” Elections Canada, June 14, 2019.
- <sup>173</sup> Awanish Sinha et al., “Election 2019: What Canada is – and isn’t – doing to prevent foreign interference,” McCarthy Tetrault. August 4, 2019, <https://www.mccarthy.ca/en/insights/articles/election-2019-what-canada-and-isnt-doing-prevent-foreign-interference>.
- <sup>174</sup> “A Vote for Energy is a Vote for a Prosperous Alberta: CAPP Alberta Energy Platform,” Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers, January 22, 2019, <https://www.capp.ca/news-releases/a-vote-for-energy-is-a-vote-for-a-prosperous-alberta-capp-alberta-energy-platform>.
- <sup>175</sup> Jeff Lewis and Shawn McCarthy, “Conservative politicians, oil executives map out strategy for ousting federal Liberals in growing collaboration,” *The Globe and Mail*, April 25, 2019, <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/politics/article-conservative-politicians-oil-executives-map-out-strategy-for-ousting>.
- <sup>176</sup> DeRochie, Patrick. “Blue is the New Black: Five ways Big Oil is working to elect Andrew Scheer’s Conservatives and block action on climate change,” *North 99*, September 18, 2019, <https://north99.org/2019/09/18/blue-is-the-new-black-five-ways-big-oil-is-working-to-elect-andrew-scheers-conservatives-and-block-action-on-climate-change>.
- <sup>177</sup> Lewis and McCarthy, “Conservative politician.”

---

<sup>178</sup> Michael Biesecker and Garance Burke, “Trump ‘army’ of poll watchers led by veteran of fraud claims,” *AP News*, November 30, 2020, <https://apnews.com/article/mike-roman-trump-poll-watchers-election-e110e6c9e62c9c8520f4a1a2040d8cfc>.

<sup>179</sup> Jane Mayer, *Dark Money: The Hidden History of the Billionaires Behind the Rise of the Radical Right* (New York: Doubleday, 2016).

<sup>180</sup> Emma McIntosh and Fatima Syed, “Eyeing federal election, Canada’s oil lobby has been arming itself with personal data,” *National Observer*, September 27, 2019, <https://www.nationalobserver.com/2019/09/27/investigations/eyeing-federal-election-canadas-oil-lobby-has-been-arming-itself-personal>.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>182</sup> Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers, “CAPP Speaker Series – Deryck Spooner,” April 2, 2015, YouTube video, <https://youtu.be/9Gulxc0aVLE>.

<sup>183</sup> McIntosh and Syed, “Eyeing federal election.”

<sup>184</sup> Gunster et al., “Our oil.”

<sup>185</sup> “Vote Energy Pledge,” Canada’s Energy Citizens, [https://www.energycitizens.ca/vote\\_energy\\_pledge](https://www.energycitizens.ca/vote_energy_pledge).

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>188</sup> Accessed March 14, 2020.

<sup>189</sup> “Vote Energy Pledge.”

<sup>190</sup> Vanessa Gorkal, Julia Levin and Philip Gass, *Canada's Federal Fossil Fuel Subsidies in 2020* (Winnipeg, The International Institute for Sustainable Development, 2020), <https://www.iisd.org/system/files/publications/canada-fossil-fuel-subsidies-2020-en.pdf>.

<sup>191</sup> Environmental Defence, “The Single Biggest Barrier to Climate Action: the oil and gas lobby,” October 2019, [https://environmentaldefence.ca/report/oil\\_barrier\\_climate\\_action\\_canada](https://environmentaldefence.ca/report/oil_barrier_climate_action_canada).

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>193</sup> Mark Jaccard, “Emissions will rise under Conservative climate plan,” *Policy Options*, August 21, 2019, <https://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/august-2019/emissions-will-rise-under-conservative-climate-plan>.

<sup>194</sup> CAPP’s wish list is essentially the same as its vote energy platform.

<sup>195</sup> Cribb and Syed, “Oil lobby.”

<sup>196</sup> Fatima Syed, “Ontario watchdog urged to investigate political advertising by oilpatch during election campaign,” *National Observer*, August 1, 2018, <https://www.nationalobserver.com/2018/08/01/news/ontario-watchdog-urged-investigate-political-advertising-oilpatch-during-election>; A letter on October 18, 2018 from Elections Ontario to Keith Stewart ruled that CAPP did not break the rules, since it did not back any particular party.

<sup>197</sup> Cribb and Syed, “Oil lobby.”

<sup>198</sup> Elections Alberta, accessed January 23, 2020, <https://www.elections.ab.ca>.

<sup>199</sup> Emily Senger, “Third-party advertisers spend \$1M to influence election,” *CBC News*, April 2, 2019, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/edmonton/third-party-advertisers-alberta-election-1.5081960>.

<sup>200</sup> Elections Canada Third Party Database,

<https://www.elections.ca/WPAPPS/WPR/EN/TP?queryId=4d8dea48b8774aecaa8c13c2d9dfec9>; Emma McIntosh, “What you need to know about third-party groups in the 2021 election,” *National Observer*, August 26, 2021, <https://www.nationalobserver.com/2021/08/26/explainer/what-you-need-know-third-party-groups-2021-election>; Christian Paas-Lang, “How interested outsiders use 'third party' status to promote causes, influence election,” *CBC News*, August 30, 2021, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/third-parties-election-federal-1.6137654>.

<sup>201</sup> McIntosh, “What you need to know.”

<sup>202</sup> David Climenhaga, “Alberta’s ‘Energy War Room’ apparently operating in defiance of Canada Elections Act,” *Rabble*, September 13, 2021, <https://rabble.ca/politics/canadian-politics/albertas-energy-war-room-apparently-operating-defiance-canada>.

<sup>203</sup> The annual limit applied to donations to any combination of a party, constituency association, candidate, nomination contestant or leadership contestant. Only ordinary residents of Alberta may make political contributions. In 2020, the UCP government raised the annual limit on individual donations to \$4,243. “Contributions,” Elections Alberta, accessed April 16, 2021, <https://www.elections.ab.ca/finance/contributions>.

<sup>204</sup> “Alberta’s NDP government proposes some good political finance changes in Bill 35, but federal, Quebec and Toronto political donations and scandals show proposed donation limit of \$4,000 is a charade that won’t stop unethical cash for access or influence of big money donations,” Democracy Watch, November 30, 2016, <https://democracywatch.ca/albertas-ndp-government-proposes-some-good-political-finance-changes-in-bill-35-but-federal-quebec-and-toronto-political-donations-and-scandals-show-proposed-donation-limit-of-4000-is-a-c>.

<sup>205</sup> Harold Jansen (updated by Andrew McIntosh), “Political Party Financing in Canada,” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, last modified December 16, 2020, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/party-financing>.

<sup>206</sup> Obtained from “Follow the Money – Database,” *The National Post*, accessed March 30, 2021, <https://nationalpost.com/news/politics/follow-the-money-database>.

<sup>207</sup> “Follow the Money,” accessed December 15, 2020.

- 
- <sup>208</sup> “Follow the Money,” accessed January 16, 2020.
- <sup>209</sup> Matthew Corbeil, “Oil and Politics: Who’s Funding the United Conservative Party?” *The Bullet*, August 5, 2020, <https://socialistproject.ca/2020/08/oil-alberta-politics-whos-funding-ucp>.
- <sup>210</sup> Wiswell had been Pres and CEO of NAL, a privately-held oil and gas company. In 2005, he was appointed to the Board of Directors of Total Energy Services Inc. “Board of Directors,” Total Energy Services Inc., <http://www.totalenergy.ca/about-us/board-of-directors>.
- <sup>211</sup> “Clayton Woitas,” Alberta Business Hall of Fame, Southern Alberta Laureates, <http://south.abhf.ca/laureates/22-inductees/2014/57-clayton-woitas.html>.
- <sup>212</sup> “About us,” Clear North Capital, <https://www.clearnorthcapital.com/copy-of-about-us>.
- <sup>213</sup> “Greg Fletcher,” LinkedIn, <https://ca.linkedin.com/in/greg-fletcher-b703072b>.
- <sup>214</sup> “Harmandeep Dhaliwal,” LinkedIn, <https://www.linkedin.com/in/hdhalawal>.
- <sup>215</sup> “James Murray Pasioka,” Bloomberg, <https://www.bloomberg.com/profile/person/1772522>.
- <sup>216</sup> “Jeffrey Boyce biography,” wallmine, <https://ca.wallmine.com/tsx/tve/officer/1702477/jeffrey-boyce>.
- <sup>217</sup> “Matthew Brister biography,” wallmine, <https://wallmine.com/tsx/srx/officer/1700474/matthew-brister>.
- <sup>218</sup> “Executive Team,” Total Energy Services Inc., <http://www.totalenergy.ca/about-us/executive-team>.
- <sup>219</sup> “Leadership,” Secure Energy, <https://www.secure-energy.com/our-story/senior-management/rene-amirault-president-ceo>.
- <sup>220</sup> “Executive Team: Skill and Passion,” Matco, <https://www.matcogroup.ca/executive-team>.
- <sup>221</sup> Challand Pipeline Ltd, <http://www.challand.ca>.
- <sup>222</sup> “About us,” Parex Resources Inc., <https://parexresources.com/about-us/board>.
- <sup>223</sup> “Our Team,” Johnstone Ritchie Executive Search, <http://jres.ca/about-us/our-team>.
- <sup>224</sup> “Board of Directors,” Total Energy Services, <http://www.totalenergy.ca/about-us/board-of-directors>.
- <sup>225</sup> “The retirement of Victor Budzinski,” Valard, <https://www.valard.com/victor-budzinski-retires>.
- <sup>226</sup> “Cequence Energy Ltd,” wallmine, <https://wallmine.com/tsx/cqe/officer/1728798/brian-felesky>.
- <sup>227</sup> “Cameron Plewes,” Chartered Professional Accountants Canada, <https://www.cpacanada.ca/en/career-and-professional-development/event-biographies/cameron-plewes>.
- <sup>228</sup> “Jack C. Donald,” Canadian Petroleum Hall of Fame, <http://www.canadianpetroleumhalloffame.ca/jack-donald.html>.
- <sup>229</sup> “Baytex Energy Corp,” wallmine, <https://ca.wallmine.com/nyse/bte/officer/1649533/jason-jaskela>.
- <sup>230</sup> “Stanley Owerko,” Bloomberg, <https://www.bloomberg.com/profile/person/1878434>.
- <sup>231</sup> Jodi McNeill, “A liability iceberg in Alberta exposed by the Redwater case,” *Pembina Institute*, April 26, 2018, <https://www.pembina.org/blog/liability-iceberg-alberta-exposed-redwater-case>.
- <sup>232</sup> Kevin Taft, *Oil’s Deep State: How the petroleum industry undermines democracy and stops action on global warming – in Alberta, and in Ottawa* (Toronto: James Lorimer, 2017), 173; Graham Thomson, “Does environmental activist Greta Thunberg need to learn a lesson about Alberta? Or is it the other way around?” *iPolitics*, October 16, 2019, <https://ipolitics.ca/2019/10/16/does-environmental-activist-greta-thunberg-need-to-learn-a-lesson-about-alberta-or-is-it-the-other-way-around>.
- <sup>233</sup> Thanks to Kevin Taft for making this case.
- <sup>234</sup> “ALDP response to Alberta’s Site Rehabilitation Program,” Alberta Liabilities Disclosure Project, April 24, 2020, <https://www.aldpcoalition.com/news>; “Redwater Decision,” Alberta Energy Regulator, <https://www.aer.ca/protecting-what-matters/holding-industry-accountable/redwater>.
- <sup>235</sup> “Alberta’s Energy Reserves 2008 and Supply/Demand Outlook 2009-2018,” Energy Resources Conservation Board, Section 3.2.1, <https://www.aer.ca/documents/sts/ST98/st98-2009.pdf>;  
“Canada’s Energy Future 2018 Supplement: Conventional, Tight, and Shale Oil Production,” Canada Energy Regulator, last modified September 29, 2020, <https://www.cer-rec.gc.ca/en/data-analysis/canada-energy-future/2018-conventional/index.html>.
- <sup>236</sup> Nicholas Graham, William K Carroll, and David Chen, *Big Oil’s Political Reach: Mapping Fossil Fuel Lobbying from Harper to Trudeau* (Vancouver: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, 2019), 3, 22.
- <sup>237</sup> Chris Varcoe, “Demise of Canadian Energy Pipeline Association ‘really short-sighted,’ warns Alberta energy minister,” *Financial Post*, October 5, 2021, <https://financialpost.com/commodities/energy/oil-gas/chris-varcoe-demise-of-canadian-energy-pipeline-association-really-short-sighted-warns-alberta-energy-minister>.
- <sup>238</sup> Environmental Defence, “The single biggest barrier.”
- <sup>239</sup> Graham, Carroll and Chen, *Big Oil’s Political Reach*, 24.
- <sup>240</sup> Andrew Nikiforuk, “Trans Mountain Deal Was Structured to Bleed Billions, Finds Economist,” *The Yee*, January 7, 2020, <https://theyee.ca/Analysis/2020/01/07/Trans-Mountain-deal-bleeds-billions>; Gordon Laxer, *Billion Dollar Buyout: How Canadian taxpayers bought a climate-killing pipeline and Trump’s trade deal supports it* (Ottawa: Council of Canadians, 2019).
- <sup>241</sup> Lee Drutman, *The Business of America Is Lobbying: How Corporations Became Politicized and Politics Became More Corporate* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); Graham, Carroll and Chan, “Big Oil’s Political Reach,” 24.

- 
- <sup>242</sup> “Lobbying 2021,” Greenpeace, last modified March 22, 2021, <https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1s-FlmnEg8TdUFqJmRnBfr6LMzWyMe0Lr3K-SZrPzWdU/edit?usp=sharing>.
- <sup>243</sup> Greenpeace defined a lobbying contact as an oral communication – telephone conversations/teleconferences, meetings, or any other verbal communication – and an arranged communication where a request is made, the request is accepted, and there is a time interval between request and communication. Greenpeace Canada’s Jesse Firemong, email to author, March 23, 2021.
- <sup>244</sup> Martin Lukacs, “Oil lobby, Trudeau government formed secretive committee during pandemic,” *The Breach*, April 13, 2021, <https://breachmedia.ca/oil-lobby-trudeau-government-formed-secretive-committee-during-pandemic>.
- <sup>245</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>246</sup> Carl Meyer, “Budget 2021 targets Cleantech, funding for carbon capture,” *National Observer*, April 19, 2021, <https://www.nationalobserver.com/2021/04/19/news/budget-2021-cleantech-funding-carbon-capture>.
- <sup>247</sup> Andrew Nikiforuk, interview with Kathryn Topinka, February 9, 2021.
- <sup>248</sup> Regan Boychuk, “Alberta NDP’s royalty review was scandalous and they just made it worse,” *National Observer*, July 13, 2016, <https://www.nationalobserver.com/2016/07/13/opinion/regan-boychuk-alberta-ndp’s-royalty-review-was-scandalous-and-they-just-made-it>.
- <sup>249</sup> Justin Giovannetti and Jeffrey Jones, “Alberta carbon plan a major pivot in environmental policy,” *The Globe and Mail*, November 22, 2015, <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/alberta/alberta-to-release-climate-change-policy-at-edmonton-science-centre/article27433002>.
- <sup>250</sup> J. David Hughes, *Canada’s Energy Outlook: Current realities and implications for a carbon-constrained future* (Vancouver: CCPA and Parkland Institute, 2018), 159. The cap excluded emissions from cogenerated electricity produced by sands corporations sold to Alberta’s power grid, as well as those from new upgrading operations.
- <sup>251</sup> “Greenhouse gas emissions by province and territory,” Government of Canada, last modified October 29, 2021, <https://www.canada.ca/en/environment-climate-change/services/environmental-indicators/greenhouse-gas-emissions.html>. In 2019, Ontario’s GHGs were 163.2 Mt, Quebec’s were 83.7 Mt, and Alberta’s 275.8 Mt.
- <sup>252</sup> “Alberta’s Current Emissions,” Alberta Government, accessed 2013, <http://www.alberta.ca/climate-current-emissions.cfm>.
- <sup>253</sup> J. David Hughes, *Can Canada Expand Oil and Gas Production, build pipelines and Keep its Climate Commitments?* (Vancouver: CCPA and Parkland, 2016), 17.
- <sup>254</sup> New or expanded on-site upgraders were not subject to the cap and there were other exemptions for cogenerating heat and electricity from the same fuel source and for small experimental projects. Alan Harvie, “Alberta law to cap oil sands emissions,” Norton Rose Fulbright, November 2016, <https://www.nortonrosefulbright.com/en/knowledge/publications/28ee46a1/alberta-law-to-cap-oil-sands-emissions>.
- <sup>255</sup> Dean Bennett, “Alberta officially ends agency created to handle green rebates and programs,” *The Globe and Mail*, June 11, 2020, <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/canada/alberta/article-alberta-officially-ends-agency-created-to-handle-green-rebates-and>.
- <sup>256</sup> Don Braid, “UCP created tempest over carbon tax that actually costs Albertans very little,” *Calgary Herald*, March 25, 2021, <https://calgaryherald.com/opinion/columnists/braid-ucp-created-tempest-over-carbon-tax-that-actually-costs-albertans-very-little>.
- <sup>257</sup> “Capping oil sands emissions,” Alberta Government, Accessed August 25, 2021, <https://www.alberta.ca/climate-oilsands-emissions.aspx>.
- <sup>258</sup> Environmental Defence, “The single biggest Barrier,” 3.
- <sup>259</sup> “Greenhouse gas sources and sinks: executive summary 2021,” Government of Canada, last modified July 26, 2021, <https://www.canada.ca/en/environment-climate-change/services/climate-change/greenhouse-gas-emissions/sources-sinks-executive-summary-2021.html>.
- <sup>260</sup> “Countries,” Climate Action Tracker; Barry Saxifrage, “Canada pledges to strengthen 2030 climate targets. How ambitious should we be?” *National Observer*, February 4, 2021, <https://www.nationalobserver.com/2021/02/04/analysis/canada-pledges-strengthen-2030-climate-targets>.
- <sup>261</sup> Richard Matthews, “The Fossil Fuel Industry has Known they are the Leading Cause of Climate Change for Decades,” *The Green Market Oracle*, February 28, 2019, <https://thegreenmarketoracle.com/2019/02/28/the-fossil-fuel-industry-has-known-they>.
- <sup>262</sup> Stanford, “Employment Transitions.”
- <sup>263</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.
- <sup>264</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.
- <sup>265</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.
- <sup>266</sup> “Bill C-76.”
- <sup>267</sup> Jansen, “Political Party Financing.”
- <sup>268</sup> This wording is taken from Bill S1126A, before the New York Legislative Session 2021-2022.