

1 **Joint Review Panel for the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project**

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Hearing Order OH-4-2011

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Northern Gateway Pipelines Inc.

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Enbridge Northern Gateway Project

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Written Final Argument of the

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Alberta Federation of Labour

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10 **Table of Contents**

11	I. INTRODUCTION	2
12	II. NINETY PER CENT OF THE PROMISED ECONOMIC BENEFITS COME	
13	FROM THE PREDICTED PRICE LIFT.	4
14	1. THE PREDICTED PRICES	6
15	I. THE PREDICTED PRICES OF OIL ARE NOT ACCURATE OR RELIABLE.	6
16	II. THE ASIA PREMIUM	9
17	III. THE DROP-TO-DROP PRICE OF BITUMEN	12
18	2. THE PREDICTED PRICE LIFT IS ONLY FOR ONE YEAR AT BEST.	14
19	I. THE MUSE STANCIL REPORTS AND EVIDENCE CONFIRMS THE NORTHERN GATEWAY	
20	EXPORT PIPELINE WILL ACT AS A PRICE SETTING MECHANISM ONLY UNTIL IT IS FULL.	14
21	II. THE GOVERNMENT OF ALBERTA'S EVIDENCE, PROVIDED BY WOOD MACKENZIE AND DR.	
22	HAROLD YORK, CONFIRMS THAT THE NORTHERN GATEWAY EXPORT PIPELINE WILL	
23	CONTRIBUTE A ONE-YEAR BENEFIT TO THE CANADIAN ECONOMY – AT BEST.	16
24	III. THE PRICE LIFT PREDICTED BY MUSE STANCIL WORKS IN THE IDENTICAL MANNER AS THE	
25	WOOD MACKENZIE PRICE LIFT – THAT IS, ONLY WHILE IT TAKES 525,000 BB/D OF	
26	BLENDED BITUMEN OUT OF THE NORTH AMERICAN OIL MARKET.	18
27	3. THE BENEFITS PREDICTED BY WRIGHT MANSELL HAVE NO FACTUAL FOUNDATION.	19
28	4. SENDING THE 525,000 B/D OF BITUMEN TO A CANADIAN UPGRADER OR REFINERY WOULD	
29	YIELD MORE ECONOMIC BENEFIT THAN BUILDING AND OPERATING THE NORTHERN GATEWAY	
30	EXPORT PIPELINE.	21
31	III. OTHER PROBLEMS WITH THE ANALYSES OF THE ENBRIDGE	
32	EXPERT EVIDENCE	25
33	1. THE VALUE OF THE CANADIAN DOLLAR	25
34	2. THE ANALYSES OF THE EXPERT WITNESSES SUPPORTING THE APPLICATION CONTAINS A	
35	SUFFICIENT NUMBER OF ERRORS TO UNDERMINE ITS CREDIBILITY	26
36	IV. MANY OF THE COSTS TO CANADIANS OF THE NORTHERN	
37	GATEWAY PROJECT ARE NOT RECOGNIZED	27

38	V. THE DECISION TO EXPORT RAW BITUMEN TO ASIA OUGHT TO BE	
39	MADE BY GOVERNMENT AND/OR PUBLIC POLICY, NOT BY PRODUCERS	
40	OF OIL.	29
41	1. POLICIES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF ALBERTA EXPLICITLY	
42	FAVOUR THE UPGRADING AND /OR REFINING OF RAW BITUMEN, NOT ITS EXPORT.	29
43	2. THE DECISIONS MADE BY THE PRODUCERS ARE SIGNIFICANTLY INFLUENCED BY GOVERNMENT	
44	POLICIES OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT.	30
45	VI. THE CONDENSATE IMPORT PIPELINE	32
46	VII. CONCLUSION	36
47		
48		
49		

50 **I. Introduction**

51

52 This is the written final argument for the Joint Review Panel hearings, prepared on behalf
 53 of the Alberta Federation of Labour (AFL) and filed with respect to the application by
 54 Enbridge for the Northern Gateway Pipeline Project.

55

56 The AFL is the largest labour organization in Alberta and it represents more than 160,000
 57 unionized workers who work in all sectors of the provincial economy. The AFL has filed
 58 evidence in this hearing and our witnesses were cross-examined during the Edmonton
 59 portion of the hearings. We rely upon and repeat that evidence here and commend it to
 60 the Joint Review Panel for careful consideration.

61

62 The AFL asks the Panel to decline to approve either of the pipelines that together are the
 63 Northern Gateway Pipeline Project.

64

65 The AFL submits that the public interest in Canada is in having a long term sustainable
 66 upgrading and refining industry that upgrades and refines the bitumen produced in the oil
 67 sands. This industry provides significant long-term employment for Canadians in high
 68 paying jobs – jobs that will be created in other countries if bitumen is shipped in simply a
 69 diluted state. Further, growth in upgrading and refining will also cause growth in related
 70 secondary industry, which again creates more long-term valuable employment for

71 Canadians. The development of upgrading, refining and related secondary industry also
72 creates real increases to the GDP of Canada. All of the economic benefits caused by these
73 industries, including the employment created, will multiply through the Canadian
74 economy in direct, indirect and induced economic activity. The AFL submits that the
75 evidence must lead the Joint Review Panel to the conclusion that significantly greater
76 economic benefits for Canadians would arise if the volumes of crude oil that are proposed
77 to be shipped down the Northern Gateway export pipeline were instead upgraded and
78 refined in close proximity to the production of that crude oil.

79

80 The AFL has also provided considerable evidence of its concerns as to the impact of the
81 Northern Gateway Pipeline Project on the Canadian economy. The project is projected by
82 Enbridge to increase the price of bitumen in the North American and international
83 marketplace, which the AFL believes will have the effect of increasing the strength of the
84 Canadian dollar relative to the American dollar. A higher valued Canadian dollar
85 damages the Canadian manufacturing sector, which relies on export markets due to our
86 relatively smaller Canadian market place. Increasing the price of bitumen to Canadian
87 refineries has the potential to harm the viability of those refineries and further, will likely
88 lead to increases in the price of fuel to Canadian business and individual consumers. All
89 of these impacts combine to damage the Canadian economy and increase inflation. The
90 economic benefits case put forward by Enbridge fails to take any of these impacts into
91 account.

92

93 The AFL has provided evidence of the stated policy positions of the current Alberta and
94 Canadian governments. Our leaders have repeatedly promised Canadians that there
95 would be more upgrading and refining of the bitumen from Canada's oil sands, not less.
96 Canadians have been promised policy based on increasing the value added to this non-
97 renewable resource, not the sale of it in its raw form. If the export pipeline is approved,
98 significant investment will be made in it and very long-term transportation contracts will
99 be put in place. It will be virtually impossible for governments to alter those decisions.
100 Each time the decision is made to approve another bitumen export pipeline, there is less
101 and less opportunity to change the wholesale export of our raw resources. The NEB has
102 already approved the Keystone legacy pipelines, Keystone XL, and Alberta Clipper. It is

103 appropriate, at this juncture, for the pipeline approval process to pause to let governments
104 take the steps to enforce the policies they publicly declare rather than removing that
105 option by the approval of yet another bitumen export pipeline.

106

107 The AFL submits that the evidence provided to support the condensate import pipeline is
108 so insufficient that it barely exists. The AFL has made every effort to provide evidence
109 regarding the impact of a growing dependency on imported condensate in Canada in its
110 evidence. The AFL submits that the Enbridge position has been that details about
111 condensate markets, supply or price projections and so on are just not relevant or
112 important in these hearings. The AFL submits that the only resulting position that can be
113 distilled from the Enbridge evidence is that since they will be building the export line,
114 they might as well build the condensate line at the same time and it will probably get
115 used. This is simply not good enough. Given the lack of economic evidence supporting
116 the condensate line, The AFL submits that the Panel must decline to approve the
117 application for the condensate import pipeline.

118

119 In the detailed submissions that follow, the AFL will address specific points raised in the
120 evidence upon which we submit the Panel can reach important conclusions. We do not
121 intending to minimize the importance of all of the evidence, but neither too do we
122 propose to address every detail of it. We hope that limiting our written submissions to
123 these specific points will be of more assistance to the Panel.

124 **II. Ninety per cent of the promised economic benefits come from the predicted**
125 **price lift.**
126

127 The Enbridge Commercial Witness Panel agreed that approximately 90 per cent of the
128 economic benefits accruing from the construction and operations of the the Northern
129 Gateway export pipeline arise from the predicted uplift of the price of the oil sands
130 products sold. This proposition is also at the foundation of the evidence of Robyn Allan.
131 (Exhibit D4-2-49). The AFL will generally refer to the slate of heavy crude oil that this
132 panel was referring to as bitumen unless a specific product is to be referenced. The AFL
133 submits that the evidence supports the conclusion that the other ten per cent of the

134 predicted economic benefits arise simply from the construction and operation of the
135 pipeline project itself.

136

137 The following two tables are of assistance:

138

139 **Table 1 Estimated Economic Benefits of the Project**

140

Economic Impact	Northern Gateway Estimate	Due to Oil Price Increase	Share from Oil Price Increase
GDP	\$270 billion	\$246 billion	91.00%
Additional Labour Income	\$48 billion	\$43 billion	90.00%
Person Years of Employment	558000	496687	89.00%
Government Revenue	\$81 billion	\$77 billion	95.00%

141 Source: Table 1-5 Volume 2 adobe page 24, Enbridge Northern Gateway Application (Exhibit b1-4)
142 and Response to Federal Government IR No. 1, as included in Exhibit D4-2-49

143

144

145 **Estimated Economic Benefits from Price Lift Share comparing the**
146 **Original and the updated Wright Mansell reports**

147

Economic Impact	Northern Gateway Application	Due to Oil Price Increase	Northern Gateway Reply	Due to Oil Price Increase	Share from Oil Price Original	Share from Oil Price Reply
GDP	\$270 billion	\$246 billion	\$280 billion	\$251 billion	91%	90%

148

149

150

151

152

153

154

Source: Exhibit B1-4: Table 1-5 Volume 2, adobe page 24, Enbridge Northern Gateway Application and NGP response to Federal Government IR No.1. Exhibit B83-4: Reply evidence Wright Mansell adobe pages 58 – 62. Do not include the induced benefits as those benefits were only part of the Reply evidence, not part of the original evidence. Including those induced benefits would increase the impact of the price lift to higher than 90%.

155 Enbridge, relying on the updated Wright Mansell report (Exhibit B83-4), states that the

156 Canadian economy will receive CA\$280 billion of benefit over the 30 years after the

157 Northern Gateway Project is operational. The AFL asks the Panel to conclude that 90 per

158 cent of these predicted benefits, or CA\$251 billion are tied to the reliability of the

159 evidence of the predicted price uplift.

160

161
162

1. The predicted prices

163
164

i. The predicted prices of oil are not accurate or reliable.

165 Enbridge's evidence relies upon the price predictions of relevant oil products over the
166 period from 2016 to 2025 provided by Muse Stancil in their original report dated January
167 2010 (Exhibit B1-4, adobe page 47) and from 2018 to 2035 in their updated report dated
168 July 2012. (Exhibit B83-3) Muse Stancil used their proprietary Crude Market
169 Optimization Model to evaluate the market prospects for Western Canadian crude oil
170 based on its detailed and complex understanding of the oil market in North America and
171 the world. Muse indicated that they relied on the CAPP forecast for oil supply through to
172 2025 and then used a supply extrapolation provided by Enbridge for the years from 2026
173 to 2035. Muse indicated that their "Crude Market Optimization Model is a distribution
174 model that predicts the flow of crude to various markets and the Western Canadian crude
175 prices that result from such flows." (Exhibit B83-3, adobe page 7) The same Crude
176 Market Optimization Model was used to determine the data for both Muse reports,
177 although the model is continually updated with new assumptions and data, as outlined in
178 the updated Muse report (Exhibit B83-3).

179

180 The Muse reports provided predictions as to the year-by-year net benefits to the Canadian
181 oil industry from the date of startup of Northern Gateway (the last quarter of 2018) to
182 2035 (see Exhibit B83-3, Tables 2 and 3, adobe pages 9-10). Enbridge adopted those
183 predictions as its evidence before the Panel. The Muse Stancil reports were authored by
184 and under the direction of Neil Ernest who testified as part of first Enbridge witness panel
185 (Transcript Vol. 69 and following).

186

187 Mr. Ernest was questioned on the price forecasts set out in Tables A-4 to A-7 of both the
188 original and the updated Muse reports (Exhibit B4-1, adobe pages 90-93 and Exhibit
189 B83-3, adobe pages 56-59). In those tables the historical and predicted prices are set out.
190 The price predictions for 2010 and 2011 were projected data in the original Muse report
191 and had become historical data in the updated Muse report due to the time that passed
192 between the preparations of the two reports. Mr. Ernest was questioned as to why there

193 was such a difference between the projections and the actuals in these closest in time
 194 years to time of preparation of the predictions in the first Muse report. His answer was
 195 that while oil price predictions were required to provide the evidence expected in
 196 hearings like this one, no one can accurately predict oil prices and that if he could do so
 197 he would be a wealthy man. (Transcripts Volume 71, Line 17722)

198

199 17722 Mr. Earnest: Price forecasting in the oil industry and most industries is
 200 certainly a challenge.

201

202 If I could predict with confidence future oil prices, I wouldn't be sitting
 203 here today, I'd be floating around in my yacht on the Riviera, I assure you.

204

205 Mr. Ernest's testimony on this point is credible and refreshing. It is reasonable to expect
 206 that predictions as to the future price of oil products would be most reliable in the time
 207 frames closest to the date the prediction is made as the models and assumptions would be
 208 based on known realities. When one compares 2010 oil price predictions in the first Muse
 209 report to actual prices for the same listed in the 2012 updated Muse analysis, (using the
 210 same Crude Market Optimization Model) the following is seen:

211

Projected and Actual Crude Prices and Spreads - 2010
(\$US 2010)

212

	2010 Forecast	2010 Actual	Forecast Error
WTI at Cushing	\$73.19	\$79.39	\$6.20 or 8.5%
Brent	\$72.34	\$79.47	\$7.13 or 9.9%
Arab Heavy	\$68.97	\$77.71	\$8.74 or 12.7%
Asia Premium based on Arab Heavy	\$2.29	\$1.18	-\$1.11 or -49%

213

214

Source: Exhibit B1-4, Muse 2009, adobe pages 90-93 and Exhibit B83-3 Muse 2012, adobe pages 56-59, Table A-5 and A-7

215

216 The AFL submits that the Muse price predictions for even the closest year to the report
 217 date are significantly inaccurate.

218

219 Muse Stancil's updated report states that the Northern Gateway net benefit to Canada's
220 oil industry through to 2035 will be CA\$38 billion (Exhibit B83-3, adobe page 10). In
221 fact, after an addition error was pointed out, in testimony Mr. Ernest agreed that the
222 predictions he made were of a CA\$45 billion net benefit (Exhibit B103-1). That benefit
223 calculation is premised on the predictions of the price of oil over the years to 2035. Those
224 are the same oil price predictions that Mr. Ernest testified were not possible to make with
225 any level of certainty or reliability. Those are also the same oil price predictions that were
226 accepted by the first Enbridge witness panel, including Mr. Ernest, as being the basis for
227 90 per cent of the benefits predicted to arise from the Northern Gateway Project.

228

229 Enbridge also relied upon the conclusions reached in reports prepared by Wright Mansell
230 dated March 2010 (Exhibit B1-4, adobe page 125) and July 2012 (Exhibit B83-4). Dr.
231 Robert Mansell testified as part of the first Enbridge witness panel. Enbridge adopted the
232 conclusions of Wright Mansell as its own evidence of the overall benefit to the Canadian
233 economy from the Northern Gateway project. The price predictions used in Wright
234 Mansell reports are the predictions provided by Muse Stancil, which are the predictions
235 Mr. Ernest testified about in the quote above. Dr. Mansell also accepted the proposition
236 that 90 per cent of the benefits predicted to arise from the Northern Gateway Project were
237 based on the predicted price uplifts. (Transcript Volume 69, Lines 14600 – 14601)

238

239 The AFL submits that the Panel ought to conclude that:

240

241 a. The predicted price lifts relied upon in all of the Enbridge evidence are based
242 upon the predictions made by Muse Stancil.

243

244 b. The Muse Stancil predicted price uplifts are not accurate or reliable.

245

246 c. The benefits to the Canadian oil industry predicted by Muse Stancil are based
247 on its predicted price uplifts and are therefore not accurate or reliable.

248

- 249 d. The Wright Mansell predicted overall benefits to Canadians are based on the
250 Muse Stancil unreliable and inaccurate price predictions.
251
- 252 e. Since 90 per cent of the benefits that Enbridge relies upon in support of its
253 Application are based on the unreliable and inaccurate price predictions, the
254 benefits predicted are not accurate or reliable.
255
- 256 f. Therefore, the Applicant has not proven 90 per cent of the benefits that it has
257 put forward in its sworn evidence.
258

259 **ii. The Asia Premium**
260

261 In the first Muse Stancil report (Exhibit B1-4, adobe page 47), Muse predicted that part
262 of the price uplift that Western Canadian crude oil would receive was due to the “Asia
263 Premium.” That is to say, the evidence indicated the diluted bitumen products shipped on
264 Northern Gateway and sold in Asia would be sold at a premium price above the North
265 American and world market prices. The first Muse Report stated:

266

267 “The higher delivered cost (US\$1.60/bbl) is attributable to the “Asia premium”
268 charged by the Mideast national oil companies crude cargos destined for Asia.
269 The premium is relative to the price of a crude destined for delivery to the U.S.
270 The total freight costs from Edmonton to the U.S. Gulf Coast and Northeast Asia
271 are similar using the spot tariffs on the Northern Gateway and Keystone pipelines.
272 The total freight costs are somewhat lower on Northern Gateway using the
273 committed tariffs. Accordingly, since the Canadian crude producer can access a
274 higher priced market (Northeast Asia) at the same, or lower, freight cost, the
275 producer captures a price benefit at Edmonton due to Northern Gateway.”
276 (Exhibit B1-4, adobe page 54)
277

278 The written evidence of Robyn Allan addresses the concept of the “Asia premium” in
279 detail. (Exhibit D4-2-49) The “Asia premium” is not the result of the operation of a free
280 market. In the past, the “Asia premium” arose because the Mideast national oil

281 companies segmented their markets, charging a higher crude oil price to buyers in Asian
282 markets, particularly crude oil consumers in China. The “Asia premium” was a form of
283 price gouging when China had few alternative sources of crude oil.

284

285 Ms. Allan’s evidence states it is unlikely that the Asia premium will continue to exist as
286 Chinese oil companies became involved in developing sources of oil alternative to the
287 Mideast, including sources in Russia and the Alberta oil sands. Given that China’s state-
288 owned oil companies are integrated producers/refiners, a source of cheap feedstock is in
289 their economic interest. As Ms. Allan’s evidence states, it is unlikely that Sinopec and
290 CNOOC – both shippers on the Northern Gateway pipeline - would send the oil they
291 extract in Alberta down the Northern Gateway pipeline to their own refineries in China
292 and charge themselves a premium to do so. The “Asia premium” is not generated by the
293 free market that operates in Canada. It is impossible to conclude, in the context of who
294 intends to ship crude oil on the Northern Gateway pipeline, that the “Asia premium” for
295 Canadian crude would persist for long - if at all. (Exhibit B83-3, adobe page 54 Table A-
296 3)

297

298 Interestingly, the updated Muse Stancil report significantly minimizes the impact of the
299 Asia premium on the predicted benefits of the Northern Gateway Project. The updated
300 Muse report states:

301

302 “Moreover, the criticality of the size of the Asia Premium on the optimization
303 model output is overstated by the interveners. It is critical that the Northeast Asian
304 crude prices be high enough, relative to the U.S. Gulf Coast alternative, for crude
305 oil to ship on Northern Gateway, but, once that threshold price differential is
306 attained, the benefit of further increases in the Asia-Gulf Coast price differentials
307 mostly flows to the shippers on Northern Gateway and does not get simply
308 expressed as higher crude prices at Edmonton. Once Northern Gateway is full,
309 higher Asian crude prices cannot further increase shipments on Northern Gateway
310 (although the shippers may benefit) and Northern Gateway is no longer acting as
311 the price-setting mechanism for Western Canadian crude. If Northern Gateway is
312 full, some other transportation mode and perhaps market must be acting as the

313 price-setting mechanism for Western Canadian crudes.” (Exhibit B83-3, adobe
314 page 34)

315

316 It is troublesome that Muse so significantly changes its view on the importance of the
317 “Asia premium” when the predicted \$1.60/bb is about 85 per cent of the total average
318 price lift Muse predicted over the period of time referenced in their original report. It is
319 also interesting to compare the first and the second Muse reports Table A-7 data for the
320 predicted Asia premium, in the 2010 and 2011 because the comparison illustrates the
321 unreliability of the price predictions of this premium as well. (Exhibits B1-4 and B83-3,
322 Table A-7, adobe pages 93 and 59 respectively.)

323

324 Furthermore, the evidence from the Shippers witness panel confirms that “Asia premium”
325 is not something that they expect to capture or base their support for the Northern
326 Gateway Project upon. (Transcript Volumes 80 and 81)

327

328 The AFL submits that the Panel ought to conclude that:

329

330 a. The Muse predictions regarding the amount of the “Asia premium” are no
331 more accurate or reliable than their other oil price predictions.

332

333 b. The “Asia premium” is unlikely to continue to exist for the reasons presented
334 in the evidence of Ms. Allan.

335

336 c. The “Asia premium,” at whatever level it might occur, is only possibly
337 relevant to attract shippers to enter into long term contracts to fill the Northern
338 Gateway pipeline. Once the pipeline is filled, any “Asia premium” that might
339 exist is irrelevant to the overall price of Western Canadian crude oil and thus
340 would provide minimal, if any, benefit to the Canadian economy.

341

342

343

344

345 **iii. The drop-to-drop price of bitumen**
346

347 Enbridge's evidence states that the exact ratio of diluent to bitumen in a barrel of
348 Athabasca Dilbit, Cold Lake Blend, Western Canadian Select or other blended bitumen
349 barrels is confidential information and proprietary to the producers. However, the
350 evidence also shows that the ratio is understood to be between 25 and 40 per cent
351 condensate-to-bitumen. (Transcript Volume 75, Lines 22447 – 22448, 22462 and 22476-
352 22478)

353
354 The Muse Stancil reports set out their predictions for the price impact of Northern
355 Gateway on these blended barrels of bitumen in Tables A-15 (Northern Gateway
356 operating) and A-16 (Base Case) (Exhibit B1-4 adobe pages 104 and 105, and Exhibit
357 B83-3, adobe pages 70 and 71). In the original report, Muse compared the price of the
358 blended barrels of bitumen to West Texas Intermediate (WTI), while in the updated
359 report the comparison of the Canadian blended bitumen products was to Light Louisiana
360 Sweet (LLS). The AFL points out that the tables in the updated Muse report show that
361 LLS is between \$4.35 and \$6.42 higher priced than WTI in the comparison period of 2018
362 to 2035. There was no explanation given for the sudden and unannounced change in the
363 benchmark comparator used by Muse, which also makes it difficult to compare the data
364 presented in the original and updated reports.

365
366 In any event, when one compares the Muse Stancil price predictions for Western
367 Canadian blended bitumen products to the selected benchmark in each of the Muse
368 reports, one sees that the price differential is significantly less than 30 per cent for all the
369 years of the comparison period.

370
371 The AFL submits that if the barrel of Athabasca Dilbit is comprised of 25 to 40 per cent
372 condensate and only 60 to 75 per cent bitumen, then one would expect that a barrel of
373 Athabasca Dilbit would be priced at least 25 to 40 per cent less than the barrel of LLS or
374 WTI, as those benchmark barrels are full barrels of oil with no condensate included. Put
375 another way, the prices predicted appear to suggest that on a drop-to-drop of oil
376 comparison of only the oil part of the barrels, bitumen is predicted by Enbridge's

377 evidence to be priced higher than WTI or LLS, over the forecast period, in the markets
378 under consideration in Muse Tables A-15 and A-16.

379

380 Throughout the hearing, Enbridge and its experts steadfastly maintained that the price
381 and supply of the condensate used to blend Western Canadian bitumen for pipeline
382 shipping purposes was irrelevant to any benefits analysis. Requests for detailed
383 information about the value of condensate and how its prices might fluctuate over the
384 comparison periods were denied on that basis.

385

386 The AFL submits that the Panel ought to conclude that:

387

388 a. If Enbridge is correct that the price and value of condensate is irrelevant, it
389 cannot be found to have any impact on the way the blended bitumen products
390 are valued in the Muse reports.

391

392 b. The price predictions in the Muse Stancil reports show that, on a drop-to-drop
393 of oil basis, bitumen will be priced higher than the conventional oil
394 benchmarks.

395

396 c. It makes no economic sense to price bitumen at a price higher than WTI or
397 LLS. Bitumen is a lower-quality heavy crude that must first be upgraded
398 before it can be refined. Further, there is no evidence on the record that
399 provides any rational explanation for why bitumen might be priced higher
400 than conventional crudes.

401

402 d. Therefore, the Muse Stancil predictions as to the price of oil products are
403 wholly unreliable and inaccurate.

404

405

406

407

2. The predicted price lift is only for one year at best.

408
409

410 The benefits of the Northern Gateway Project presented by Enbridge have been
411 calculated on the basis that in each year of the prediction period (2018 to 2035 for Muse
412 Stancil and 2018 to 2048 for Wright Mansell in the July 2012 updated reports, Exhibits
413 B83-3 and B83-4 respectively) there will be further benefits to the Canadian economy.
414 The Enbridge expert evidence states that in each year under consideration there will be an
415 oil price lift attributable to the Northern Gateway Project. That hat price lift will have
416 direct, indirect and induced impacts on the overall Canadian economy each year for 30
417 years.

418

419 However, neither the Enbridge evidence nor the evidence presented in support of the
420 Application by the Government of Alberta through the Reports of Wood Mackenzie and
421 the oral testimony of Dr. Harold York actually supports these conclusions. The AFL also
422 directs the Panel to the evidence of Robyn Allan (Exhibit D4-9-2, adobe page 46, and
423 Exhibit D4-2-49).

424

425 **i.** The Muse Stancil reports and evidence confirms the Northern Gateway export
426 pipeline will act as a price setting mechanism only until it is full.

427

428 The updated Muse Stancil report, quoted above, (B83-3, adobe pages 34) states that once
429 the Northern Gateway export pipeline is full, it will no longer be a price setting
430 mechanism in the oil market. This statement in the updated Muse report is consistent with
431 the evidence given orally by Mr. Ernest. (Transcript Volume 70, lines 15882 to 15887)
432 The AFL submits that the example of how the Pegasus pipeline operates in both the
433 updated Muse report and the oral evidence of Mr. Ernest represents exactly how the
434 Northern Gateway export pipeline will impact oil markets. The only conclusion is that the
435 impact of the export pipeline, in terms of creating benefits to the Canadian economy, will
436 cease once the pipeline is full.

437

438 The oral evidence of Mr. Fisher given on behalf of Enbridge was that Enbridge would
439 enter into long term shipping contracts to fill the Northern Gateway export pipeline, with

440 the exception of a small amount reserved for spot shipping, before construction of the
441 pipeline even begins. This is confirmed in Enbridge's written evidence. Furthermore, the
442 Shippers witness panel confirmed they expected the Northern Gateway export pipeline to
443 fill quickly, after a "lumpy" period of one or two years at most. (Transcript Volume 80
444 Line 29725 and following)

445

446 In light of this evidence, it makes no sense for Muse Stancil to have calculated benefits
447 from the Northern Gateway export pipeline each year for 30 years. In the real world, the
448 pipeline will be built and on or about the first day of operations (based on Mr. Fisher's
449 view) or within a year or two (based on the Shippers' view) of the maximum "lumpy
450 period," it will be filled. Northern Gateway will then have a one-time impact on the
451 market price of Western Canadian oil products and then, unless it ceases operations for a
452 sufficiently significant period of time, it will cease to be a price setting mechanism. This
453 analysis was also provided to the Panel in the evidence of Robyn Allan (Exhibit D4-9-2,
454 adobe page 46).

455

456 The AFL submits that the Panel ought to conclude that:

457

458 a. The Northern Gateway export pipeline will be filled from the beginning of its
459 operation with long-term shipping commitments, except for a small amount of
460 spot shipping capacity, or it will not be constructed.

461

462 b. The Muse Stancil reports and the oral evidence of Neil Ernest lead to the
463 conclusion that once the Northern Gateway export pipeline is operating at full
464 capacity, it no longer is a price setting mechanism in the oil market.

465

466 c. When the Northern Gateway export pipeline ceases to have an impact on the
467 price of crude oil, it ceases to add any further economic benefit to Canada.

468

469 d. At best, the Northern Gateway export pipeline will provide the economic
470 benefits predicted by Enbridge and its experts in the first year or two of its
471 operation, while it fills to capacity and as it begins operations.

472

473 ii. The Government of Alberta's evidence, provided by Wood Mackenzie and Dr.
474 Harold York, confirms that the Northern Gateway export pipeline will contribute
475 a one-year benefit to the Canadian economy – at best.
476

477 The Government of Alberta commissioned a report from Wood Mackenzie, dated
478 December 2011. The Government of Alberta filed the Wood Mackenzie report as
479 evidence in support of Enbridge's Application. (Exhibit E8-3-2) An update to that report
480 was filed with IR answers provided by the Alberta Government. (Exhibit E8-6-4,
481 beginning at adobe page 7) Dr. Harold York, who authored the Wood Mackenzie reports,
482 gave oral testimony at the hearings (beginning in Transcript Volume 81, line 31338).

483

484 Dr. York gave extensive evidence as to the nature of his analysis of oil markets and how
485 those markets impact the price of Western Canada heavy crude oil products. He provided
486 a reconciliation of Table 3 to Table 3A in his original and updated reports and a
487 correction to Figure 2 of the updated report. (Exhibit E8-6-4, adobe page 11 corrected
488 with Exhibit E8-20) Dr. York explained that by 2018 there would be sufficient bitumen
489 supplied for sale from the Western Canadian oil sands that some of it would be purchased
490 by less complex refineries in North America - who pay a lower price for the slate of oil
491 they use as refinery inputs. Once the amount of bitumen purchased at this lower price
492 reaches a sufficient threshold, the price of all bitumen sold in North America would drop
493 to the same level. Dr. York was unable to confirm the exact amount of bitumen that
494 would be required to be sold to change the price in this manner. The economic theory is
495 that one single barrel is sufficient; however, in real life markets are not quite so nimble.
496 Dr. York suggested 56,000 bb/d might not be enough but amounts in the order of 300,000
497 bb/d were certainly sufficient. (Transcript Volume 81, lines 1909 to 1930, Transcript
498 Volume 80, lines 574 to 578)

499

500 Dr. York explained that the benefit of the Northern Gateway export pipeline was that it
501 removed 525,000 b/d of bitumen products from North American oil markets. As a result,
502 oil producers would be able to sell all of the remaining bitumen produced in Western
503 Canada to more complex refineries who were willing to pay higher prices for the

504 bitumen. None of the bitumen would find its way to the less complex refineries who pay
505 less for heavy crudes.

506

507 However, in contradiction to the impression left by the Wood Mackenzie written reports
508 and the original rendition of Figure 2 in the updated report, when explaining the revised
509 Table 2 (Exhibit E8-20) Dr. York also confirmed that, at best, the Northern Gateway
510 export pipeline would have this stated impact on the price of bitumen for one year. Given
511 his bitumen supply predictions, Dr. York confirmed that within one year after a pipeline
512 with the capacity of the Northern Gateway commenced operations and was filled, the
513 supply of bitumen produced in Western Canada would again surpass the amount of
514 bitumen that could be used by the more complex refineries. It would again make its way
515 to the simpler refineries that pay less, causing the price of all bitumen sold in North
516 America to drop.

517

518 The impact would be that all the bitumen sold thereafter in North America would again
519 be priced at the same approximately \$8.00/bbl discount Dr. York predicted would happen
520 if Northern Gateway was not built. (Transcript Volume 83 lines 1872 – 1952)

521

522 Interestingly, when asked why the producers would continue to supply bitumen for sale
523 in the market if the price was about to suffer a price discount of \$8.00/bbl, Dr. York
524 explained that to the producers the bitumen was still profitable if sold at that discounted
525 price. (Transcript Volume 82 Lines 804 – 886).

526

527 The AFL submits that the Panel ought to conclude that:

528

529 a. The predicted economic benefits of the Northern Gateway export pipeline will
530 be for no more than one year, and perhaps less.

531

532 b. The evidence does not support the conclusion that there will be a price uplift
533 caused by the Northern Gateway Project for more than one year, regardless of
534 the reliability or accuracy of the price projections.

535

536 c. The oil producers in Alberta do not require the price benefits predicted from
537 the Northern Gateway export pipeline to maintain their profitability and they
538 will not reduce their supply if the price of bitumen does not rise as predicted.

539

540 d. Therefore, there is no free market requirement for the Northern Gateway
541 export pipeline.

542

543 **iii.** The price lift predicted by Muse Stancil works in the identical manner as the
544 Wood Mackenzie price lift – that is, only while it takes 525,000 bb/d of blended
545 bitumen out of the North American oil market.

546

547 We have already directed the Panel to the evidence of Muse Stancil and Mr. Ernest
548 regarding the impact of the “Asia premium,” how the export pipeline will only operate as
549 a price setting mechanism until it is full, and how the Pegasus pipeline operated in a
550 similar manner. (Exhibit B83-3, adobe page 34) That evidence, we submit, is exactly
551 comparable to the analysis given by Dr. York of how the different refinery configurations
552 in North America have an impact on the price of oil. In essence, the price impacts that
553 each of these experts predicts Northern Gateway will have on the Canadian economy are
554 simply caused by the export pipeline removing 525,000 b/d from the supply of Western
555 Canadian bitumen being sold in North America.

556

557 The AFL submits that what the experts are actually saying is that the lasting effect of the
558 Northern Gateway export pipeline on the price of bitumen is simply related to the supply
559 of oil. All of the evidence presented by Muse Stancil, Wood Mackenzie, CAPP,
560 Enbridge, and the Shippers panel confirms the conclusion that the amount of bitumen that
561 will be put on the market for sale continues to grow each year between 2018 to 2046. As
562 long as the supply is growing, the overall economic impact of a mechanism that simply
563 removes part of the supply from the North American market (such as the Northern
564 Gateway export pipeline) will only exist until the Northern American supply of bitumen
565 increases sufficiently to replace the amount removed by that mechanism.

566

567 The Muse Stancil updated supply tables forecast Western Canadian crude oil supply will
568 be 4,012 kb/d in 2018, increasing by over 525,000 b/d within three years. By 2020, Muse
569 predicts that supply will be 4,641 kb/d. (Exhibit B83-3, adobe page 51, Table A-1) If the
570 Northern Gateway pipeline opens in late 2018 (as assumed in the Muse Stancil updated
571 report) the price impact from Northern Gateway taking the 525,000 b/d of bitumen out of
572 the North American market will be for just over 2 years at best. The supply prediction
573 from Wood Mackenzie is more robust, reducing the likely time for this benefit to one
574 year. (Exhibit E8-3-2)

575

576 The Panel ought to also consider the evidence of the Shipping panel in terms of the
577 expected supply from those producers in the near future. (Transcript Volume 80, Lines
578 29059 and following)

579

580 The AFL submits that the Panel ought to conclude that:

581

582 a. The evidence of Muse Stancil and other experts, together with the evidence of
583 the Shippers panel, supports a finding that the supply of bitumen - from 2018
584 through to 2035 - is increasing and will increase by more than the volumes
585 that will be taken out of the North American market by the Northern Gateway
586 export pipeline. Supply will outstrip Northern Gateway's takeaway capacity
587 within one year of Northern Gateway commencing operation in late 2018, as
588 predicted by Wood Mackenzie, or within no more than two years from late
589 2018, as predicted by Muse Stancil.

590

591 **3. The benefits predicted by Wright Mansell have no factual foundation.**

592

593 As we have now seen, the evidence of Dr. York is clearly that the price lift from the
594 Northern Gateway export pipeline is likely to last no more than one year from the time it
595 begins to operate. The above submissions show that the predicted price lifts from the
596 Muse Stancil evidence suggest an increase of just over two years from when Northern
597 Gateway starts operating in late 2018. Turning to the analysis of Wright Mansell, the
598 AFL points out that 90 per cent of the economic benefits predicted in the Wright Mansell

599 analysis arise from the predicted price lift. The Wright Mansell report relied on the Muse
600 Stancil prediction of a price lift in each year from 2018 moving forward for 30 years. If
601 the price lift is only operating for one or two years, the predicted benefits are almost
602 entirely eradicated.

603

604 The one- and two-year economic benefits predicted by Wright Mansell in their updated
605 report are difficult to distill exactly from the report itself. However, in general, the report
606 estimates that over the period to 2048, the Northern Gateway Project will increase
607 Canadian Gross Domestic Product by \$280 billion (Exhibit B83-4 adobe page 12. These
608 numbers include the economic benefits from the construction and operation of the
609 pipelines project (the ten per cent of the benefits estimated).

610

611 The direct impact from price lifts is estimated to be \$113.7 billion from 2019 – 2048.
612 (Exhibit B83-4, adobe page 60 corrected) Wright Mansell explains: “the price uplift
613 would not translate immediately into employment and labour income. The proximate
614 effect would be to improve the cash flow and balance sheets of companies. The main
615 employment impact is estimated as a result of the indirect and induced effects arising
616 from reinvestment, stimulated by company cash flow and the improved value of
617 Canadian resources.” (Exhibit B83-4, adobe page 61)

618

619 Since the improved value of Canadian resources (price lift) will not exist beyond a year
620 or two, the utilization of an Input-Output model framework for multiple years makes no
621 methodological sense. The value of benefits (assuming Muse Stancil has a perfect
622 forecast) would be only the Net Producer price lift benefits for the first year or two of
623 Northern Gateway’s initial operation. An estimate of this value is derived from Muse
624 Stancil’s updated report (Exhibit B83-3, Table 3, Net Producer Benefit 2018 and 2019,
625 adobe page 10) with 2018 equal to \$1.2 billion and 2019 equal to \$3.4 billion for a total
626 benefit of \$4.6 billion—or roughly \$2.3 billion per year. Annualized over thirty years,
627 the benefit estimated by the Proponent would be relatively trivial at \$150 million
628 annually.

629

630 The AFL submits that the Panel ought to find that:

631

632 a. The benefits predicted by Wright Mansell will not materialize as predicted if
633 the Northern Gateway Pipeline is built.

634

635 b. The maximum GDP benefit, assuming the correctness of all the Muse Stancil
636 and Wright Mansell methodology, is roughly between \$2.3 billion if the price
637 lift lasts one year and \$4.6 billion if the price lift lasts two years, not the \$251
638 billion promised in the updated report.

639

640 **4. Sending the 525,000 b/d of bitumen to a Canadian upgrader or**
641 **refinery would yield more economic benefit than building and**
642 **operating the Northern Gateway export pipeline.**
643

644 Dr. Harold York testified as follows (Transcript Volume 83):

645

646 1761 Ms. Chahley: ...

647 Okay, so would it be fair to say, Dr. York, that, as I understand your
648 report, the – the conclusion that you draw is that it is preferable for the market –
649 for the industry, if you like, to keep the heavy oil out of the cracking refineries
650 because that's where we get the lower price.

651

652 Are we together so far?

653

654 1764 Dr. Harold York: That's correct.

655

656 1765 Ms. Chahley: Could that also – just to make sure I understand what the
657 evidence we've done, is that also accomplished by slowing down the pace of
658 production?

659

660 1766 Dr. Harold York: It would be on of the – one of the methods.

661

662 1767 Ms. Chahley: And is there another method which would be to use more
663 synthetic crude oil?

664

665 Is that another method?

666

667 1769 Dr. Harold York: You mean to convert to more synthetic crude oil?

668

669 1770 Ms. Chahley Yes, to convert to more synthetic crude oil ---

670

671 1771 Dr. Harold York: That would be correct ---

672

673 1772 Ms. Chahley: --- and sell that product?

674

675 And you agree that would be correct?

676

677 And then, one of – the third option, I would say, is the one that is before
678 this Panel would be to put the pipeline in place to go to the West Coast.

679

680 Is that correct?

681

682 1776 Dr. Harold York: That's correct.

683

684 1777 Ms. Chahley: And are there any other solutions – that you can think of?

685

686 1778 Dr. Harold York: You could reposition Alberta refineries which, at this
687 point, would largely mean expanding them assuming that they could put the
688 refined products to a market.

689

690 There is nothing surprising about the proposition that upgrading or a refinery are
691 solutions once one fully understands the basis for the predicted economic benefits in the
692 Enbridge and Alberta Government evidence. Further, there is no economic downside for
693 oil producers to sell their bitumen to an upgrader or a refinery in Alberta, for example. In

694 fact, the closer to their operation that the refinery is, the less they have to pay to ship the
695 bitumen to its market, the less their exposure is to unknown and uncontrollable
696 condensate import costs and related transportation costs. Increased profits therefore
697 accrue to producers and refiners. (Exhibit D4-2-49, adobe pages 24 – 27)

698

699 The AFL submits that the difference between taking 525,000 b/d of bitumen out of the
700 North American supply market via upgrading or refining versus exporting it to Asia via
701 the Northern Gateway pipeline is that once an upgrader or refinery is built to take the
702 525,000 b/d out of the North American supply market, it would have additional other
703 lasting impacts on the Canadian economy. The construction phase of a refinery would
704 provide a significant number of Canadian jobs to construction companies and their
705 workers, and to operations that supply the raw materials and expertise to construction
706 projects. Thereafter, the operation of a refinery each year provides a significant number
707 of well-paid, value-added jobs in Alberta to those who operate the refinery and those
708 workers who perform the significant annual maintenance. Finally, a refinery would be
709 selling finished products, which generate higher economic multipliers throughout the
710 Canadian economy.

711

712 The economic consequences of more permanent, long-term employment and increase in
713 value-added of raw bitumen on the Canadian economy is set out in the evidence of
714 Robyn Allan (Exhibit D4-2-49 and Exhibit D4-2-3), and of the AFL (Exhibit D4-2-2 and
715 D4-2-7). In addition, the sale of refined products and spin-off secondary industries that
716 generally accompany the operation of a refinery that processes 525,000 b/d of oil creates
717 ongoing, long term additional improvements to the Canadian economy.

718

719 When asked about the profitability of refineries, Mr. Ernest said “refining is highly
720 economic in Canada. Canadian refiner margins are much as they are in the upper
721 Midwest, probably likely at historic highs.” (Transcript Volume 71, Lines 17288 –
722 17301) He indicated that the issue was the small size of the Canada: “you don’t have
723 enough humans in Western Canada to sell the products to.” (Transcript Volume 71, Line
724 17289)

725

726 The AFL submits that the response to the concern expressed by Mr. Ernest about access
727 to a sufficient size of market for refined products is simply that those products can be
728 shipped to the markets that would be supplied by the refineries that are anticipated to
729 accept the bitumen from the Northern Gateway export pipeline. The AFL points out that
730 refined products require smaller pipelines and may have fewer environmental concerns..

731

732 The AFL also submits that there would be significantly less demand for condensate as
733 diluent if a refinery were built close to the source of bitumen in northern Alberta. If
734 bitumen is processed close to where it is produced, there is simply no need to increase the
735 diluent supply and thus no need for the Northern Gateway condensate pipeline.

736

737 The AFL also notes that the CAPP 2011 forecast (Exhibit B31-4, adobe pages 37 and 38)
738 show us that for 2011, the Alberta upgraders have a capacity to output 1,279,000 bb/d
739 and the forecast upgraded light (synthetic) output for 2011 is 723,000 bb/d. Clearly there
740 appears to be more than sufficient capacity in Alberta to upgrade the total volume of
741 bitumen that will be shipped down the Northern Gateway export pipeline without further
742 construction.

743

744 The AFL submits that the Panel ought to conclude that:

745

746 a. The Northern Gateway export pipeline will provide no economic benefit to
747 the Canadian economy that would not be provided by upgrading and/or
748 refining of the bitumen in Alberta or Canada.

749

750 b. The Northern Gateway condensate import pipeline would be unnecessary if
751 bitumen were to be upgraded/refined in Alberta, closer to oil sands extraction
752 operations.

753

754 c. Significantly greater benefits to the Canadian economy would be enjoyed, for
755 far longer periods of time, if bitumen were upgraded/refined in Alberta or
756 Canada than if it were sold in its raw form to Asian markets.

757

758 d. There may well be sufficient existing capacity in Canada to upgrade the
759 equivalent amount of bitumen as would be shipped on the Northern Gateway
760 export pipeline already.
761

762 **III. Other problems with the analyses of the Enbridge expert evidence** 763

764 **1. The value of the Canadian dollar** 765

766 The AFL, particularly through the evidence of Robyn Allan, explained the significant
767 impact on the estimated benefits predicted by both Muse Stancil and Wright Mansell in
768 their original reports. Both reports used a Canadian dollar that was equivalent to 85 cents
769 of the American dollar. Muse Stancil used an on-par Canadian dollar in its updated report
770 of July 2012, and Wright Mansell used a 95 cent Canadian dollar. Dr. Mansell testified
771 that he felt using a 95 cent dollar was an error, but that he had done so to address the
772 concerns of the interveners.
773

774 The AFL submits that the Panel ought to prefer the evidence of Robyn Allan (Exhibit
775 D4-2-49, adobe pages 40, 62 – 65, Exhibit D4-9-3 and D4-9-2, adobe pages 16 - 19) over
776 that of the Enbridge experts. There is significant historical support for the conclusion that
777 the value of the Canadian dollar as compared with the American dollar is tied to the value
778 of oil, as oil increases or decreases in value, so does our dollar as compared to the
779 American dollar. The Enbridge experts also used a fixed exchange rate for their entire
780 analysis period, yet their analyses is that over the approximate 30 year forecast period,
781 the price of oil will more than double, regardless of whether or not the Northern Gateway
782 Project is built. The AFL submits that holding the Canadian dollar to a fixed exchange
783 rate in light of that predicted price increase makes no logical sense, and casts serious
784 doubt on the methodology and the results of the entire analysis.
785

786 The value of the Canadian dollar as compared to the American dollar is important to the
787 consideration of the predicted benefits of the Northern Gateway export pipeline. The
788 producers sell Western Canadian oil products in American dollars, but the benefits

789 calculated in the Wright Mansell, Muse Stancil and Wood McKenzie evidence are stated
790 in Canadian dollars. So put simply, if the assumption is an 85 or 95 cent dollar when the
791 value of the Canadian dollar, based on the underlying assumption of the price of oil
792 adopted by the Proponent would be greater than par and rising, the size of the benefit
793 expressed in Canadian dollars is increased simply by converting the American revenues
794 to the lesser valued Canadian dollars. When one is speaking of billions of dollars, an 18
795 per cent plus increase is a significant amount.

796

797 The AFL submits that the Panel ought to conclude that:

798

799 a. For the time during which an increase in the price of Western Canadian oil is
800 predicted, the Canadian dollar should also be estimated to be increasing in
801 value as compared with the American dollar.

802

803 b. All of the expert evidence given on the assumption of a fixed value of the
804 Canadian dollar at less than or on par with the American dollar is flawed and
805 overstates the benefits to the Canadian economy.

806

807 **2. The analyses of the expert witnesses supporting the Application**
808 **contains a sufficient number of errors to undermine its credibility**
809

810 Although the AFL does not suggest that any party should be held to a standard of
811 perfection, the AFL points out that there are several mathematical errors that it located in
812 the filed and later sworn evidence.

813

814 A summary of the errors that the AFL was able to locate prior to cross examination at the
815 Edmonton Hearings is set out in the evidence of Robyn Allan (Exhibit D4-2-49). These
816 errors include simple mathematical mistakes, data being left out, at least one chart that
817 misrepresent the concepts, and failure to identify when US dollar denominated values or
818 Canadian denominated values were relied upon. During cross examination, additional
819 errors were identified with respect to differently stated historical pricing data from one
820 report to the next as well as numerous mathematical mistakes in the Reply Evidence.

821 (Transcript Volume 70, Lines 16398 – 16421, Lines 16604 - 16615, Transcript Volume
822 71, Lines 17491 – 17507, Lines 17707 – 17716, Exhibit B103-1, Transcript Volume 83,
823 Lines 1854 – 1932 and Exhibit E8-20)

824

825 The AFL submits that the Panel ought to conclude that:

826

827 a. The expert evidence of Muse Stancil, Wright Mansell and Wood Mackenzie is
828 not reliable.

829

830 **IV. Many of the costs to Canadians of the Northern Gateway Project are not**
831 **recognized**

832

833 The Enbridge evidence does not account for a number of costs that the Canadian public
834 would incur in the event that the Northern Gateway Project is approved. These costs
835 include:

836

837 a. The cost to Canadians well into the future of the loss of the value-added
838 industry in Canada. This lost opportunity includes the opportunities to develop
839 and operate upgraders, refineries and the secondary spin off industry that
840 surrounds the operation of these facilities. It also includes the lost opportunity
841 to develop intellectual property and to be a location for research and
842 development in the oil industry. These opportunities are lost for the current
843 generation and several generations of Canadians into the future.

844

845 b. The lost opportunity for Canadian governments to set policy to pace the
846 development of the oil sands or to require upgrading or refining of the raw
847 bitumen before export. The producers are signing long term contracts to
848 export bitumen out of Canada. There will be little ability for policy makers to
849 alter that once the pipeline is in place and the contracts have been signed.

850

- 851 c. The economic impact on the refineries in Canada and the integrated refineries
852 abroad is not fully recognized. There is an assumption that the refineries can
853 cope with the increase in the price of bitumen that the evidence predicts
854 without any real analysis of how that can be. That is particularly troubling in
855 that the evidence suggests that there will be no increase in the price of oil
856 products to the Canadian consumer or to Canadian business or public sector
857 operations. The AFL points out that it continues to make no sense to assume
858 that Canadian refineries will absorb the increase in their costs for bitumen and
859 not pass that onto their customers. However, assuming that the refineries will
860 be contented to absorb these costs, there is no analysis of the impact that will
861 have on the health of those refineries. Will those costs make them likely to
862 close or downsize? Will the long-term impact be that Canadians have to
863 import refined oil products?
864
- 865 d. The evidence in the updated Muse Stancil report (Exhibit B83-3) is that
866 railway transport of bitumen will come on stream before the Northern
867 Gateway Project is operational. There is no analysis of whether rail, as an
868 alternative transportation method, would be sufficient to cause the price
869 uplifts or part of those price lifts predicted to be caused by Northern Gateway.
870 There is no analysis of the cost to the rail industry of Northern Gateway taking
871 the transportation of bitumen business away from the railway.
872
- 873 e. The evidence from Dr. Mansell on the reinvestment benefit was that the
874 reinvestment funds would not come from cash flow but rather would come
875 from borrowing. The AFL points out that there is no analysis of the cost to the
876 Canadian economy of the loss of the borrowed funds from other possible uses
877 of such funds. Further, there is no analysis of the real likelihood of continued
878 long-term reinvestment into the oil sands by the producers.
879
- 880 f. The underlying assumption in the evidence is that the supply of oil is the same
881 with or without Northern Gateway. Reinvestment into the energy sector from
882 the price lifts would stimulate supply leading to downward pressure on oil

883 prices, thus eroding price lifts. This market dynamic has not been
884 incorporated into the analysis. Enbridge experts have also failed to
885 acknowledge or allow for the likely impact on production that will arise if the
886 predicted price lifts from Northern Gateway were to occur.

887

888

889

890 The AFL submits that the Panel ought to conclude that:

891

892 a. The evidence presented in support of the Application fails to take
893 many significant costs to Canadians into account and is therefore
894 inaccurate and unreliable.

895

896 **V. The decision to export raw bitumen to Asia ought to be made by government**
897 **and/or public policy, not by producers of oil.**

898

899 **1. Policies of the Government of Canada and the Government of Alberta**
900 **explicitly favour the upgrading and /or refining of raw bitumen, not**
901 **its export.**

902

903 The AFL has long advocated for the Alberta and Canadian governments to develop
904 policy in regard to the pace of development and the rules for development of the
905 Canadian oil sands. The AFL has and continues to urge the NEB and this Panel as well to
906 decline to approve pipelines that export raw bitumen as once operational, each pipeline
907 makes it harder and harder for government policy to alter the export of raw bitumen. The
908 AFL supports a government policy and requirement that Canadian oil be upgraded and
909 refined in Canada.

910

911 The AFL's arguments in this regard have generally been met with the suggestion from
912 the industry that any interference with the free market choices would be undemocratic.
913 The AFL points out that the *1975 Energy Policy and Conservation Act* is the main law in
914 the United States that prevents American crude oil from being exported except with a

915 special government permit. It is extremely difficult to understand why it would not be
916 acceptable for Canada to have the exact same policy and laws as the U.S.A. - a
917 government policy that forbids all export of all raw or unprocessed Canadian oil
918 products.

919

920 The AFL provided a significant body of evidence showing that the current Canadian and
921 the Alberta governments has publicly stated policies regarding increasing the percentage
922 of raw bitumen upgraded and/or refined prior to export (Exhibit D4-2-49, Exhibit D4-9-4,
923 Exhibit D4-9-5, Exhibit D4-2-2, adobe pages 17 - 23). The AFL submits that approval of
924 the Northern Gateway Project will significantly interfere with the ability of those policies
925 to be implemented.

926

927 The AFL submits that the Panel ought to conclude that:

928

929 a. The Northern Gateway Project is not in the public interest as it is not in
930 keeping with Canadian and Alberta Government policies that favour more
931 bitumen being upgraded and /or refined in Canada.

932

933 **2. The decisions made by the producers are significantly influenced by**
934 **government policies of the Chinese government.**
935

936 The evidence from Robyn Allan (Exhibit D4-2-49, Exhibit D4-9-3, D4-9-2) and from the
937 Shippers' panel (Transcript Volume 80) provides the Panel with some insight into the
938 significant level of Chinese government ownership of companies producing bitumen and
939 seeking to ship bitumen on the Northern Gateway export pipeline to Asia. The Panel
940 ought to be concerned because the decisions being made by those companies are made to
941 meet the government policies of a foreign country. The decisions are not strictly free-
942 market decisions.

943

944 Further, it is clear that all of the Chinese controlled companies who seek to ship their
945 products down the Northern Gateway have ownership interests in refineries in China, so
946 beyond the influence of foreign government policy in the decisions to export raw

947 bitumen, those producers are not seeking to sell bitumen entirely at arms length to
948 customers. Rather, they are selling to themselves, with their own integrated operations in
949 mind, not the free market economic influences at play in Canada. This is particularly
950 important when the Panel remembers that the shippers are entering into very long-term
951 contracts to ship on Northern Gateway.

952

953 The AFL submits that the Panel ought to find that:

954

955 a. The support for the Northern Gateway Project is significantly influenced by
956 the policy decisions of a foreign government that operates integrated
957 extraction and refining operations and thus those decisions are made outside
958 of most free market influences. Those decisions, which are not a product of
959 the operation of a free market, are not in the best interest of Canadians.

960

961 b. Given the significant involvement of a foreign government and its policies in
962 the decision to support the Northern Gateway Project, and given the fact that
963 export of raw bitumen appears to be contrary to the policies of the Alberta and
964 Canadian governments, the Panel ought to defer a decision on the project until
965 such time as the Alberta and Canadian governments have a chance to address
966 the question of the export of raw bitumen to Asia by way of policy and law.

967

968 c. Section 52 (c) of the National Energy Board Act – which deals with
969 certificates for pipelines – states that one of the items for consideration by the
970 Board in issuing a certificate is “the extent to which Canadians will have an
971 opportunity of participating in the financing, engineering and construction of
972 the pipeline.” It bears pointing out that 2 of the 6 publicly-identified shippers
973 are Chinese State-Owned Oil Companies.

974

975 d. Section 52(e) allows the Panel to consider “any public interest that in the
976 Board’s opinion may be affected by the granting or the refusing of the
977 application.” The stated preference of China’s State-Owned Oil Companies -

978 who are significantly invested in production of Canadian oil sands – to have
979 access to cheaper feedstock for their refineries should give the NEB pause
980 with respect to what kind of market dynamics the Northern Gateway pipeline
981 will cement for Canadians.

982

983 **VI. The Condensate Import Pipeline**

984

985 The AFL submits that there is simply no evidence upon which the Panel can conclude
986 that the condensate pipeline is in the interests of Canadians. The Application and
987 evidence surrounding condensate appear to boil down to two propositions:

988

989 a. If they are building the export pipeline, it makes sense to build the condensate
990 import pipeline at the same time. So it is not necessary to prove any separate
991 public interest regarding the condensate pipeline.

992

993 b. The industry will probably need more condensate to export the Western
994 Canadian bitumen down pipelines, and probably there will be sufficient
995 supply of condensate delivered to Kitimat from somewhere in the world to
996 make use of a condensate import pipeline.

997

998 Discussions surrounding the condensate pipeline are extremely limited but the Applicant
999 is requesting a separate certificate of Need and Public Convenience (Exhibit B1-2,
1000 Volume 1, Section 1.6, Action Sought by Applicant, p 1-11.)

1001

1002 Evidence on the record regarding Condensate essentially boils down to:

1003

1004 a) Volume 1, p 1-3, and page 3-1. (Exhibit B1-2)

1005 b) Volume 2, p 1-10 to 1-12 (Exhibit B1-4)

1006 c) NGP Response JRP No.2 page 6, Exhibit B31-2 (the Potent and Partners Study
1007 was promised and only 1 page of information supplied)

1008 d) NGP Response JPR No.2.3 pages 1-5 Exhibit B49-1 (the information provided in
1009 No 2, Page 6 is essentially repeated in this IR and then additional information
1010 provided.)

1011

1012 Northern Gateway relied on information concerning global condensate market supply
1013 provided to it by Poten & Partners. The document upon which the information was based
1014 was not provided although Alberta Federation of Labour requested it become evidence.
1015 Since the analysis was not submitted as evidence, it has not been tested, and Northern
1016 Gateway did not provide a witness that could speak to it.

1017 Northern Gateway summarized the Poten & Partners supply information in less than 2
1018 pages in Volume 2, Section 1-4 of the Application. (Exhibit B1-4) Table 1-4 provided by
1019 Northern Gateway references Poten & Partners and is titled "Available Condensate
1020 Streams for Canada." This title is misleading.

1021 This supply is not available for Canada, its available for the entire world, and therefore
1022 Canada must compete. We do not know if the claim that these supply volumes are
1023 available to Canada is Northern Gateway's conclusion, or the consultants they
1024 commissioned. Table 1-4 estimates that in 2015 there will be 220,100 barrels a day of
1025 condensate available and for 2020 a supply of 320,200 barrels a day.

1026 The Proponent concluded in Volume 1 of its Application that, based on these figures, "a
1027 conservative estimate of net supply exceeds the capacity of the Project's condensate
1028 pipeline" and hence there is a market to satisfy the Northern Gateway condensate
1029 pipeline capacity. However, supply projections for 2015 in the updated information in IR
1030 2.3 (Exhibit B49-1) fell substantially to 41,000 bb/d and suggests that there is not only a
1031 real question about Poten & Partner's ability to forecast, but a questions as to whether
1032 there will be supply from offshore when Northern Gateway is ready to operate.

1033 In IR No. 2 to Northern Gateway, the Panel requested an updated annual supply forecast
1034 to the year 2035 for condensate available to the import pipeline (Exhibit B43-1, question
1035 2.3). On August 18, 2011 Northern Gateway responded to the JRP. IR No.2.3 and
1036 explained that Poten & Partners had been requested to provide a study that would respond
1037 to the JRP's questions and that "(T)his study is underway and will be filed with the JRP

1038 as soon as it is available.”¹ (Exhibit B31-2)

1039 IR No. 2.3 stated, “Changes in these variables can influence the availability of supply
1040 globally positively or negatively” and included an identification by Northern Gateway of
1041 the factors that can affect condensate supply including:

- 1042 • Global natural gas production
- 1043 • Petrochemical demand
- 1044 • Refinery and condensate splitter demand
- 1045 • Disruptions in producing countries
- 1046 • Demand from heavy oil producers

1047 On November 9, 2011 Poten & Partners submitted to Northern Gateway a draft copy of
1048 the study titled “International Condensate Supplies & Pricing.” This report was not filed
1049 as promised. On November 28, 2011 Northern Gateway responded to the outstanding
1050 questions from IR No. 2.3 (Exhibit B49-1, item (d) in the summary) and provided
1051 selected information from the Poten & Partner’s draft report related to revised supply
1052 estimates.

1053 On August 22, 2012 AFL filed a Notice of Motion (Exhibit D4-13-1) requesting the
1054 Poten & Partners study be submitted as evidence. (Relief Sought, item c). The Motion
1055 was denied.

1056 a) **Poten and Partners, has estimated the following volume of condensate to be**
1057 **available to the Northern Gateway condensate pipeline.**

kbpd	2015	2020	2025	2030	2035
Diluent Potential	41	332	334	418	512

1058

1059 The volume noted in the table represents what is left after volumes, which are available to

1060 the export market, are used by the refining and petrochemical industry and by merchant
1061 and petrochemical splitting.

1062 There was no mention in NGP Response to JRP IR No. 2.3 of the promised study (in IR
1063 no. 2), nor why Northern Gateway had elected not to file it.

1064 There was no discussion in the response to IR No. 2.3 to alert the Panel to changes in the
1065 new supply forecast as compared to the original figures in the Application. The 2015
1066 estimate fell from 220,100 barrels a day--almost 180,000 barrels a day—to 41,000 barrels
1067 a day, which suggests there would be a lack of supply for Northern Gateway's estimated
1068 in service date, at that time, of 2016.

1069 There was no explanation as to why the new supply forecast would see condensate supply
1070 increase dramatically from 41,000 barrels a day to 332,000 barrels a day within five
1071 years.

1072 Northern Gateway witness Paul Fisher could not speak to the reliability of the Poten &
1073 Partner's report as he did not prepare it. He did however confirm his understanding that
1074 predicting condensate is tenuous and evades a credible methodology.

1075 17003 MR. PAUL FISHER: I understood it that it is very difficult to forecast on a
1076 long-range basis with any type of precision the amount of condensate that may be
1077 available for the North American market. But we weren't looking for precision. We
1078 were looking for general indications of the availability.

1079 That decision on the amount of condensate and where that condensate will be
1080 sourced from will be made by the Gateway shippers prior to them executing their
1081 transportation service agreement on the condensate import pipeline.

1082 The AFL states that there is simply no reliable evidence regarding the condensate import
1083 pipeline.

1084

1085 The AFL submits that the Panel ought to conclude that:

1086

- 1087 a. There is no evidence that the condensate import pipeline will be in the
1088 interests of Canadians.
- 1089 b. It is highly inappropriate to approve the condensate import pipeline just
1090 because it is convenient to build it at the same time as the bitumen export
1091 pipeline.
- 1092 c. In the event that the bitumen export pipeline is not approved, there is no
1093 basis on the evidence to approve the condensate import pipeline as a
1094 stand- alone project.
- 1095 d. Section 52 of the Act states: “The Board may, subject to the approval of
1096 the Governor in Council, issue a certificate in respect of a pipeline if the
1097 Board is satisfied that the pipeline is and will be required by the present
1098 and future public convenience and necessity.” The proponents have not
1099 put forward any case that the condensate pipeline is or will be required.
1100

1101 **VII. Conclusion**
1102

1103 The AFL submits that the public interests of Canadians, including Albertans and British
1104 Columbians, is that raw bitumen from Alberta’s oil sands be upgraded and/or refined in
1105 Canada, not exported in its raw state.

1106

1107 Upon analysis and scrutiny, Enbridge’s evidence does not reveal any significant benefits
1108 for Canadians if the Northern Gateway Project is approved. At best, the economic
1109 benefits suggested will last one to two years. The economic benefits of the Northern
1110 Gateway project pale in comparison to the long-term sustained benefits that would occur
1111 if the bitumen were to be upgraded and refined in Canada such that finished oil products
1112 are sold to export markets.

1113

1114 The AFL submits that when the lack of benefits - taken together with the environmental
1115 effects of running a pipeline through mountainous, remote terrain, along with the effects
1116 on indigenous communities and traditional territories,, the Panel can come to no other
1117 conclusion but to dismiss the application.

1118

1119 The AFL does not have comments to make on the detailed and thoughtful draft
1120 conditions suggested by the Panel. The AFL submits that should the Panel decide to
1121 approve the Northern Gateway Project, then the AFL encourages the Panel to ensure that
1122 there are stringent conditions to ensure the safety of all workers connected to the project
1123 and the safety to the environment and the communities who will be directly and indirectly
1124 impacted by the project and the operation of the pipelines. The AFL presented the
1125 evidence of Robyn Allan regarding insurance issues connected to the project and we
1126 specifically endorse the condition that requires that insurance in the magnitude
1127 recommended by Robyn Allan be secured for the project.

1128

1129 **All of which is respectfully submitted by the Alberta Federation of Labour.**

1130 **May 30, 2013**

1131