

Big Oil's Oily Grasp

The making of Canada as a Petro-State and how oil money is corrupting Canadian politics



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The Polaris Institute is a public interest research organization based in Canada. Since 1997 Polaris has been dedicated to developing tools and strategies to take action on major public policy issues, including the corporate power that lies behind public policy making, on issues of energy security, water rights, climate change, green economy and global trade.

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Glossary of Acronyms

AANDC	Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada
CAN	Climate Action Network
CAPP	Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers
CEAA	Canadian Environmental Assessment Act
CEPA	Canadian Energy Pipelines Association
CGA	Canadian Gas Association
DPOH	Designated Public Office Holder
ENGO	Environmental non-governmental organization
FA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
HRSDC	Human Resources and Social Development Canada
IT	Ministry of International Trade
NRCan	Natural Resources Canada
PWGSC	Public Works and Government Services Canada

“Among the potentially most important social implications of major concentrations of corporate power is the influence exerted by corporations upon public authorities and public opinion,”

Report of the Royal Commission on Corporate Concentration, March 1978.¹

Introduction

Canada’s increasing dependence on the export of bitumen to the United States has, in effect, served to redefine this nation in the form of a petro-state. The incredible growth of the oil and gas industry in Canada is being pushed along by the steady increase in oil prices over the last decade, which has helped the costly process of extracting bitumen in Alberta to become a very profitable sector of the Canadian economy. As a result, in the last 10 years, tar sands production has more than doubled from 1.03 million barrels at the end of 2002 to 2.25 million barrelsⁱ currently being produced every day through strip mining and In-situ operations.² If all the approved projects by the tar sands industry are developed as planned, production could eventually climb to 5.25ⁱⁱ million barrels per day, according to industry sources.³

These figures serve as a reminder of the magnitude of the tar sands projects and the speed of its expansion. This rapid growth is having real consequences on Canada’s environmental health, human rights as well as on the country’s economy, all of which have been well documented over the past few years. Despite the size, speed of development and the economic importance of the tar sands, the Canadian government has increasingly watered down or withdrawn its role and responsibilities to regulate the economic, environmental and social impacts of the tar sands industry. Instead it has been slashing environmental laws, reducing corporate tax rates and paying out costly subsidies to a very profitable industry.⁴ Furthermore, the absence of long-term national energy plan and national transportation priorities has left the Canadian economy increasingly dependent not only on oil exports but also on oil imports (to meet the energy needs of well over 40 percent of Canada’s population).

This shift in the priorities of the Canadian government towards dependency on the oil and gas industry for the country’s economic development path is characteristic of Canada’s neoliberal economic agenda, which began with previous progressive conservative and liberal governments. This economic model emphasizes, protects and promotes the tar sands as the driver of the country’s economy, something that has been warmly welcomed by petroleum and pipeline companies who are reaping substantial financial returns. In many ways Canada’s economy has shifted towards dependency on one major export, oil, thereby creating a situation where the country’s currency fluctuates in tandem with oil prices to the detriment of traditional manufacturing sectors.

Dependency on the tar sands as Canada’s prime economic driver has occurred simultaneously, and in some ways has come as a result of, corporate involvement in how public policy is designed and implemented by the Canadian government. While the price of oil is the economic driver of development

ⁱ Data for currently active projects; this figure was calculated using industry data: “Oil Sands Project List,” Oil Sands Developers Group, October 2012, <http://tinyurl.com/d4znb2m>

ⁱⁱ Active, under construction and approved projects calculated using Oil Sands Developers Group data.

and growth in the tar sands, the corporations involved in the petroleum industry and their ability to influence the country's political leaders and bureaucracy has changed the political landscape in their favour. Due to the incredible potential to make profits in the tar sands, industry players are enthusiastically lobbying for and actively designing friendly public policies that will hasten industrial development, through the speeding up of approval processes and the weakening of environmental regulations.

The rate of corporate lobbying by the petroleum industry in Canada is staggering. Between July 2008 and November 2012, some 35 corporations and associated industry advocate organizations logged over 2,700 reports of communications between in-house and hired consultant lobby firms and Designated Public Office Holders (DPOH)ⁱⁱⁱ in the Government of Canada. Numerous petroleum industry lobbyists have held office as federally elected MP's, while over two dozen have intimate links to current conservative government and previous liberal governments. This report will dig deeper into this trend by quantifying the level of influence through a presentation of lobbying data, including: the number of meetings between specific companies and individual cabinet ministers, members of parliament and high level bureaucrats; the role of industry associations; and how foreign owned companies infiltrate and capture policy making in Canada.

The influence the oil industry has over public policy in Canada and the amount of lobbying that takes place at the federal level is not widely understood or discussed outside of political circles in Ottawa and the oil patch. This report is designed to stimulate knowledge and discussion by the general public by uncovering how some of the biggest companies in the world are using well oiled lobby machinery to directly manipulate policy making in Canada. With the data provided by the Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying of Canada,⁵ the level of access and influence the petroleum industry has had on the Canadian Government over the past many years will be exposed.^{iv} This lobby machinery is central to the process of turning Canada into a petro state acting in the interest of big corporations to the detriment of the people, the environment and a democratic political process. The evidence presented below makes the case for the need of a full scale, independent inquiry in order

What is a lobbyist?

Lobbyists are individuals who are employed to influence, persuade and cajole legislators and bureaucrats into designing, introducing and voting for legislation that is favourable to the employer. In Canada at the federal level there are two primary types of lobbyists, in-house lobbyists and consultant lobbyists. In-house lobbyists are individuals who are directly employed by the company seeking to influence parliament. Consultant lobbyists are employees of third party public relations or lobby firms hired by the company to lobby on its behalf.

ⁱⁱⁱ Designated Public Office Holder (DPOH) definition (from Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying's website): Ministers of the Crown or Ministers of State and any person employed in their offices who are appointed under subsection 128(1) of the Public Service Employment Act; public office holders, who occupy senior executive positions, whether by the title of deputy minister, chief executive officer or by some other title, or associate deputy ministers, assistant deputy ministers, or occupy a position of comparable rank. A further 11 positions were designated by regulation. More Information: <http://laws.justice.gc.ca/PDF/SOR-2008-117.pdf>

^{iv} Unfortunately, given a number of serious loopholes in Canada's Lobbying Act, a complete calculation of lobbying activities is impossible. See section on Transparency below.

to fully investigate the extent to which the role of government and the state in Canada is being re-made in the interests of Big Oil.

1. Corporations and Industry Associations

There are two main players involved with lobbying the Canadian government on the issue of petroleum extraction and pipelines: 1) the corporations themselves; and 2) the industry associations that represent them. This section will profile which oil and pipeline companies are vigorously lobbying the Government of Canada with both in-house and consultant lobbyists. When this data is compiled and analyzed one can see how some of the biggest companies in the world are exerting influence over the Government of Canada with help from some of the most well connected lobbyists in the country. This report identifies and explores the lobby activity of 27 oil companies^v operating in Canada and 8 large industry associations, whose membership includes the vast majority of the companies that extract, produce and transport Canadian fossil fuels.

Together these 27 companies and 8 industry associations registered 2,733 communications with DPOHs in the Government of Canada between July 2008^{vi} and November 2012. The financial clout of these companies and industry associations is enormous with seven of these corporations ranked in the top ten of Fortune Magazine's list of the 500 largest global companies. These leading corporate players include Royal Dutch Shell (Parent of Shell Canada, ranked #1), ExxonMobil (Parent of Imperial Oil, ranked #2), BP (ranked #4), Sinopec (ranked #5), China National Petroleum Corporation (Parent of PetroChina ranked #6), Chevron (ranked #8), and ConocoPhillips (ranked #9).⁶ The 2012 annual revenue (\$2.534 trillion) of these 7 companies is greater than the GDPs of Russia (\$2.38 trillion) (see appendix A for detailed information on the biggest companies operating in the tar sands).

In addition to the 27 corporations, 8 major industry associations whose members include all of the companies discussed here and many more, also use in-house and consultant lobbyists. Of these industry associations, the Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers (CAPP) which represents over 100 members and 150 associate members⁷ and advertizes itself as representing '90% of producers of natural gas and crude oil,'⁸ was the busiest of all industry associations and companies at lobbying the Canadian government having communicated 536 times between 2008 and 2012^{vii} with DPOHs. The second most active was the TransCanada Corporation with 279 communications during the same period. See Table 1 below for a list of all corporations and industry associations with more than 100 communications with

^v The 27 companies were selected after an exhaustive search of the Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying of Canada's The Registry of Lobbyists for all tar sands operators and lease holders. Of all companies operating in the tar sands, only 27 appear on the registry.

^{vi} Only after Canada's Lobbying Act was amended in July 2008 was detailed information on lobbying activity available to the public through the website of the office of the Commission or Lobbying. The July 2008 amendments required companies and organizations to report any arranged verbal conversations (but not e-mail, letter and fax communications) with DPOHs and identify the name of the DPOH, the title of the DPOH and the organization and branch for which they work, the date of the conversation and the subject discussed.

^{vii} Until November, 2012

DPOHs in the last four years. A complete list of all registered corporations and industry associations is also available in the appendices B and C.

Table 1 - Top number of communications by corporations and industry associations between July 2008 and November 2012

Name of Corporation or Industry Ass.	# of comms with DPOHs
CAPP	536
TransCanada Corporation	279
Canadian Gas association (CGA)	270
Imperial Oil Ltd.	205
Suncor Energy Inc.	196
Canadian Energy Pipeline Association (CEPA)	198
Canadian Fuels Association (formerly Canadian Petroleum Products Institute)	167
Enbridge Inc.	143
Shell Canada Ltd.	118

In comparison to other resource and manufacturing industries, the oil industry is much more active at lobbying the federal government. Since 2008, the two prominent industry associations the Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers and the Canadian Energy Pipeline Association, recorded 734 communications, or 78% more than the two primary Canadian mining industry associations, the Mining Association of Canada and the Prospectors and Developers Association of Canada which combined for 412 communications. CAPP and the CEPA met with DPOHs 367% more than the two automotive industry groups the Canadian Vehicle Manufacturers Association and the Association of International Automobile Manufacturers of Canada which were responsible for 157 recorded communications. The forestry industry organizations the Council of Forest Industries, Forest Products Association of Canada combined for 245 recorded communications.

Environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGOS), the groups most likely to question and oppose the fossil fuel industry, are almost completely invisible on the lobbyist registry compared to the companies profiled here. Only eleven ENGOS^{viii} were registered as lobbyists in the last four years, and only seven^{ix} have logged communications in the last twelve months. Since July 2008, these eleven ENGOS have collectively logged 485 communications reports, of which 116 were in the last year. Only one of the eleven ENGOS has recorded communications with a minister in the last twelve months. One way of quantifying the huge gap between the oil and ENGO lobby is to compare the lobby records of one of the largest environmental coalitions in Canada, the Climate Action Network (CAN), with that of CAPP. Over the past four years, CAN has only logged six communications with DPOHs while CAPP logged 536. The financial realities of these two organizations are in a different league with CAPP's membership including the richest companies in the world. It is also clear based on registry communication data that

^{viii} The eleven ENGO's are: Climate Action Network, David Suzuki Foundation, Ecojustice, Environmental Defence, Équiterre, Greenpeace Canada, Living Oceans, Pembina Institute, Sierra Club of Canada, Tides Canada, WWF Canada

^{ix} The seven ENGO's are: Climate Action Network, David Suzuki Foundation, Ecojustice, Environmental Defence, Équiterre, Pembina Institute, WWF Canada

the level of influence and access to politicians and policy makers is also quite asymmetrical and largely favors CAPP.

In addition to outpacing the lobbying of other industries and environmental groups, it is clear that the petroleum industry has substantially increased its efforts to connect with government officials over the past few years. For six of the most active corporations and industry associations the frequency of recorded communications has fluctuated since 2008 when lobbyists were mandated to record communications with DPOHs. However, there have been some significant jumps during this time period, especially between 2010 and 2011 when all six of these companies and industry associations recorded a higher rate of communications. The Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers (see Table 2) jumped from 86 communications (in-house and consultant lobbyists) in 2010 to 190 in 2011, a huge increase of 121 percent. This rapid increase in officially recorded lobbying by CAPP coincides with a major public relations push in print, television and online advertising designed to counter increasing opposition to the tar sands.

Table 2 - Communications reports by year

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012 (until oct. 24)
CAAP	23	94	86	190	143
TransCanada	50	62	43	84	40
Imperial Oil⁹	24	75	35	45	26
CEPA	31	46	21	73	27
Suncor	20	39	41	67	29
Enbridge	19	41	27	48	8

Over that same time period the pipeline lobby spearheaded by the Canadian Energy Pipeline Association increased its communications by 71%. The two main pipeline companies, TransCanada Corporation and Enbridge increased their communications by 49% and 44% respectively. This increase can be seen as a response by the pipeline industry to two major infrastructure projects, the Northern Gateway and Keystone XL. Two big tar sands producers Suncor and Imperial Oil increased lobbying by 39% and 22% respectively from 2010 to 2011.

Table 3 – Actual number of DPOHs involved in recorded communications 2008 - 2012

	From July 2008	2009	2010	2011	Until Nov. 2012
CAPP	28	96	103	274	172
TransCanada	58	82	59	141	60
Imperial Oil	27	105	51	69	44
CEPA	39	74	33	119	45
Suncor	34	52	54	93	50
Enbridge	19	41	40	106	12

While the number of communications filed by corporations and industry associations are revealing, one must calculate the number of DPOH's involved in each communication in order to gain a more accurate assessment of the number of government officials who are in contact with lobbyists. A single 'communication' between a lobbyist and a DPOH could represent a quick one-on-one meeting or a meeting between by the lobbyist and a group of DPOHs. The recorded communications filed with the Office of the Commissioner Lobbying include lists of DPOH's involved with the communication. Table 3

below shows the number of DPOHs each of the top six corporations and industry associations contacted since 2008. The high frequency of meetings and communications between oil companies and the Canadian Government demonstrates the relative ease of access that these corporations have to high level bureaucrats and elected officials (see Table 4). This access gives the companies and their lobbyists' invaluable opportunities to influence the contents and potential enactment of public policy.

Table 4 - Number of meetings with MPs, Bureaucrats and Ministers from Sept 1st 2011 to Sept 1st 2012.

Corp or Assoc	Total	MPs	Bureaucrats	Ministers	List of Ministers (number of times met)
CAPP	326	136	191	14	Joe Oliver (5 – NRCan), Rona Ambrose (4 – PWGSC), Peter Kent (3 – Env.), Ed Fast (IT), Jason Kenny (immig.)
TransCanada	117	38	79	13	Joe Oliver (4 – NRCan), John Duncan (3 – AANDC), Ed Fast (IT), Peter Kent (Env.), John Baird (FA), Jim Flaherty (Finance), Jason Kenny (Immigr.)
Imperial Oil	59	13	46	5	John Duncan (2 - AANDC), Peter Kent, Joe Oliver, Rona Ambrose
CEPA	126	69	57	5	Joe Oliver (3 – NRCan), Ed Fast (IT), Peter Kent (Env.)
Suncor	90	30	60	13	Jason Kenny (3 – Immig.), Joe Oliver (2 – NRCan), Peter Kent (2- Env.), Dianne Finlay (HRSDC), Keith Ashfield (Fish.), John Baird (FA), Rona Ambrose (PWGSC), Tony Clement (Treasury), John Duncan (AANDC)
Enbridge	73	43	30	3	Joe Oliver (2 – NRCan), John Duncan (AANDC)

Table 5 – Sample of lobbying topics

Corp/Assoc	Lobbying topics
CAPP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Proposed that the government repeal and replace the Fisheries Act, that the government review the Species at Risk Act as well as the environmental assessment process to ensure timely review of oil and gas projects;
TransCanada	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Discussed environmental assessment and review processes with respect to pipeline projects; Discussed the government's position on the Keystone XL project, greenhouse gas regulations and quotas and the income tax act in relation to pipeline projects;
CEPA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Proposed an effective environmental assessment regime to enhance and streamline the assessment of pipeline projects. The objective is to obtain the timely review and issuance of federal regulatory approval permits and authorizations in a coordinated manner across jurisdictions; Discussed the Fisheries Act and the Species at risk act with regard to making sure there is a timely review of projects, as well as climate change policy, contents of the National Energy Board Act around landowner, public and crown consultation;
Imperial Oil	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Discussed Species at Risk Act with respect to the protection of wildlife and ecosystems Discussed the Canadian Environmental Assessment Act (CEAA), with respect to sustainable development and oilsands development
Suncor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Discussed future federal government policies related to energy production, environmental technologies, economic diversification and trade with respect to oil sands development; Discussed Bill C-606 that would prohibit transportation of oil by tankers on Canada's Pacific North Coast as well as the topic of developing a national energy strategy which includes opening new markets for natural resources
Enbridge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Seeking improved efficiencies in the government secondary permitting processes for Department of Fisheries and Oceans Permits and Transport Canada permits for pipeline construction, seeking improved efficiencies in the environmental assessment processes.

The goal of the petroleum industry is to promote policies that will increase the potential for making profit, while blocking policies that will impede business as usual. For example, over the past four years 17 out of the 36 corporations and industry associations have lobbied the federal government on taxation laws that apply to their projects or the industry. Similarly, 10 have lobbied on aboriginal consultation and policies in relation to industry projects while 27 have lobbied on climate change policies and regulations as they affect the oil industry. Looking further into the topics and policies that these six corporations have been targeting, connections can be made to recent policy decisions. For

example, Bill C-38 sets out to change over 70 laws, including many environmental and regulatory laws which will benefit the petroleum industry.

2. Lobby firms and consultant lobbyists

For the companies and industry associations examined in this study, in-house lobbyists account for the majority of communications with DPOHs. To compliment the work of their own lobbyists, many corporations and industry associations will seek out the services of government and public relations firms to arrange and conduct meetings with DPOHs. Of the dozens of lobby firms^x employed by Canada’s petroleum industry, three firms – Global Public Affairs, Hill + Knowlton Strategies and Earnscliffe Strategy Group – stand out as powerhouses. Since July 2008, these three government relations firms have been hired by 22 of the 36 major corporations and industry associations profiled in this report (see Table 6). In addition, since July 2008, forty-six consultant lobbyists have worked for the ‘big three,’^{xi} and twenty-one have lobbied for more than one corporation or industry association in the petroleum industry since July 2008.^{xii} Furthermore, in order to maximize reach and influence, some corporations and industry associations simultaneously retain the services of multiple lobby firms.

Table 6 – Petroleum industry clients of Global Public Affairs, Hill+Knowlton and Earnscliffe Strategy since July 2008

Lobby Firm	Corporate clients
Global Public Affairs	(17) Alliance Pipelines Limited Partnership, BP Canada, CAPP, CEPA, Canadian Natural Gas, Canadian Natural Resources Ltd., Cenovus Energy Inc., Chevron, Devon Canada Corp., Imperial Oil Ltd., Nexen Inc., Ridley Terminals Users Group, Shell Canada Ltd., Suncor Energy Inc., Synenco Energy Inc., Teck Resources Ltd., Total E&P Canada Ltd.
Hill + Knowlton Strategies	(5) Athabasca Oil Sands Corp., CNOOC International Ltd., Enbridge, Husky Energy Inc., Shell Canada Ltd.
Earnscliffe Strategy Group	(4) Cenovus Energy Inc., Integrated CO2 Network, Nexen Inc., Total E&P Canada Ltd.

One of the motivations for the petroleum industry to seek out the services of consultant lobbyists is that many have had previous careers with the Government of Canada. The lobbyist registry indicates that forty-five consultant lobbyists hired by the industry have had notable careers within the federal government. In some cases consultant lobbyists have jumped back and forth through the revolving door between jobs with the government and working as consultant lobbyists for the petroleum industry. Several consultant lobbyists that actively lobbied the government on behalf of the industry since July 2008 have links to the current Harper government. For example:

- [Ken Boessenkool](#), who recently became BC Premier Christy Clark’s Chief of Staff, has lobbied on behalf of Suncor and Enbridge while working for Hill + Knowlton Strategies and subsequently with the CGI Group, which is an affiliate of Hill + Knowlton. Boessenkool previously worked as policy advisor for Stephen Harper while he was in opposition in 2002-2004, but has more

^x For a complete list, see Appendix D – List of all lobby firms (July 2008 to May 2012)

^{xi} For a complete list, see Appendix E – List of all Lobbyists (July 2008 to May 2012)

^{xii} For a complete list view Appendix F – Lobbyists that have represented more than one corporation or industry organization

recently worked in the Harper campaign war room during three consecutive elections, reportedly playing a key role in the 2011 federal election.¹⁰

- [Kristin Anderson](#), considered a heavy hitter on the oil and gas lobby scene, currently works for Global Public Affairs and is registered as an active lobbyist for 9 oil and gas corporations and industry associations. Conversely, from 2002 to 2005, she worked in the office of the leader of the opposition under Harper and also in the conservative war room during the 2004 election.¹¹
- [Goldy Hyder](#) works for Hill + Knowlton Strategies and has represented Husky Energy and currently represents the Athabasca Oil Sands Corporation as well as TransAlta, among others. Previously he worked as director of policy and chief of staff to Joe Clark in 2000-2001 when he was leader of the PC party and was also a conservative party strategist for the 2004, 2006, 2008 and 2011 federal elections.¹²
- [Geoff Norquay](#), currently employed by Earncliffe Strategy Group, has lobbied for the Integrated CO2 Network, an advocacy association that promotes and lobbies for Carbon Capture and Storage on behalf of many oil companies, and in 2004-2005 held the position of the director of communications in the office of the leader of the opposition, Stephen Harper at the time. Norquay has also previously represented Suncor and Shell Canada.¹³

There are other important examples of revolving door not specifically linked to the Conservative Party. For example:

- [Dan Seekings](#), a top lobbyist for Global Public Affairs who is currently representing a whopping 15 petroleum corporations and industry associations, spent an impressive 33 years in the federal government before becoming a lobbyist. His positions have included geologist for the National Energy board from 1983 to 1990 (including a 3 year exchange with Petro-Canada), to advisor and executive assistant to the Minister of Natural Resources (1990-2002) and ultimately becoming the Chief of Staff to the Leader of the Government in the House of Commons in 2002 and Chief of Staff to Minister of Public Works and Government Services from 2002 to 2006.
- [Carolyn Chisholm](#), currently works for Global Public Affairs and represents 8 corporations and industry associations. She was previously employed as policy analyst for the liberal caucus in 1994-1996 and then senior policy advisor to the Liberals in the Senate from 1997 to 1999.

In another example of the revolving door, six CAPP employees and executives have held positions, often high ranking, at the National Energy Board, an independent federal agency whose stated purpose is to regulate pipelines, energy development and trade in the Canadian public interest.^{xiii} The Canadian Gas Association also has two high ranking executives that have held important positions in Canadian government before beginning careers representing industry interests. [Paul Cheliak](#) was an economist for Natural Resources Canada in the Natural Gas Division until January 2009, before going over to represent natural gas industry interests. The other, [Ruth York](#), occupied two positions that are relevant to the oil and gas industry from January 2010 to May 2011, first working as Policy Advisor for the Mackenzie Gas Project Office at Environment Canada, then as Policy Analyst for the Energy Sector at Natural Resources Canada. Finally, [Brenda Kenny](#) spent nearly 10 years at the National Energy Board (1996 to 2006) as

^{xiii} The CAPP employees in question are, [Nancy Bérard-Brown](#), [David Collyer](#), [Barry Jardine](#), [Beth Lau](#), [David Pryce](#) and [Nick Shultz](#). In addition CAPP staffer [Paul Barnes](#) has a long history with another environmental regulator, the Canada-Newfoundland Offshore Petroleum Board.

Business Leader of Planning, Policy and Coordination before becoming President of the Canadian Energy Pipelines Association. In this case, it is worth noting that Ms Kenny “was charged with strategic planning and regulatory development as well as advancing new ways of approaching the Board's mandate.”¹⁴

There are also cases of consultant lobbyists who leave their jobs to start new careers – or to return to old ones – with the Government of Canada. One such consultant is Yaroslav Baran who deregistered as a lobbyist with Earncliffe Strategy Group in 2008 so that he could enter the Conservative Party’s ‘war room’ for that year’s election. After the election, he served as the Conservative Party’s spokesperson and then became the chief of staff to Government House Leader Jay Hill. Baran also served as the communications strategist for the Conservatives during the 2004 and 2006 election campaigns and from April 2002 through August 2005, he held various communications and public affairs posts in the leader of the opposition’s office. In 2006, he worked for the lobby firm Tactix Government Consulting where his clients included Shell Canada and Enbridge. Baran finally returned to Earncliffe Strategy Group where he is currently employed as the senior parliamentary advisor to clients on the legislative process.

In many cases the federal alumni discussed above are now working for the same companies that they were previously being paid to regulate. Despite federal lobbying rules that mandate a cooling off period of five years for former federal employees and elected officials before they begin lobbying the federal government, these people can work for lobby firms as consultants or volunteers. Well connected former DPOHs who are regularly hired by lobby firms to give advice to consultant lobbyists on specific files are not required to register as lobbyists. In addition, former DPOHs who do volunteer work as lobbyists are not required to register with the Commissioner of Lobbying. This means that former corporate executives or employees are permitted to lobby all levels of DPOH’s on a volunteer basis. In its present formation, Canada’s lobby disclosure regulations make it nearly impossible to monitor the influence on policymakers through family ties, friends or golf course connections.

3. Transparency

As mentioned above, there are some fundamental loopholes or omissions in the Lobbying Act that create a serious lack of transparency in the way corporate lobbying is disclosed in Canada. In addition to the loopholes highlighted in the previous section, another issue is that the Lobbying Act only requires the registration of communications between in-house and consultant lobbyists and high level DPOHs, but disregards the lobbying of lower level yet equally important and potentially influential government employees. Under the present rules, any lobbying of government officials below the level of Assistant Deputy Minister is not recorded in the lobbyist registry. This leads to situations where registered lobbyists are able to approach and communicate with important civil servants without ever disclosing that the meeting has ever taken place.^{xiv} In another loophole, any person who works for a corporation

^{xiv} In one example consultant lobbyist Dan Seekings has not recorded communications with any DPOHs since 2010 even though as of September 3rd, 2012 he is registered as a consultant lobbyist for 14 companies and organizations from the oil and gas industry and one forestry industry company. This situation means that Seekings could have had multiple communications with public officials not covered by the current Lobbying Act, thereby leaving the general public in the dark about who he has been meeting with.

and whose in-house lobbying activities are less than 20% of their regular duties, is not required to register with the commissioner of lobbying. This means that corporations can hire former DPOHs as in-house lobbyists and ask them to devote 19.99% of their time to lobbying the Government of Canada without ever registering their name with the commissioner. This rule allows DPOHs at any level to leave their positions with the government today and begin working for a corporation as a lobbyist the next day thereby perpetuating the revolving door between government and industry.

Yet another example of the relative weakness of Canada's lobby regulations is that records filed with the Government of Canada only list the date of the communication, date of submission, the names of the DPOHs and lobbyist and the topic of the meeting. The records do not elaborate on the type of contact that occurred between lobbyists and DPOHs. The lack of financial disclosure and details about the nature of each meeting means that there is a serious lack transparency in Canada's lobby regulations. This lack of transparency was on display in September 2012, when mining watchdog MiningWatch Canada discovered that four Members of Parliament and one Federal Senator traveled to Guatemala as guests of the Canadian gold mining giant Goldcorp.¹⁵ The junket, which was paid for by the corporation, had been arranged by consultant lobbyist and former Liberal cabinet minister Don Boudria. In this case Boudria, following Canada's lobbying rules, registered the entire trip with the Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying of the Federal Government of Canada as a single basic 'communication.' This is an example of how lobby records do not discern between expensive international travel paid by the company and simple telephone calls or cups of coffee between lobbyists and DPOHs and highlights the opaqueness of Canada's federal lobbying rules.

Disclosure of the financial cost of lobbying is another item that missing from the Act. Compared to the United States where lobby regulations require companies to disclose lobby expenditures, companies in Canada are not required to report the amount of money they spend on lobbying. Because of this lack of disclosure, it is almost impossible for the Canadian public to calculate the amount of money corporations spend on lobbying. While the numbers would be substantially different in Canada, in 2011 alone, the US oil and Gas industry spent nearly 150 million dollars on lobbying the United States government.¹⁶ These figures provide an example of how much the industry is willing to spend on lobbying. Many of the companies with the biggest lobbying expenditures in the US, including Shell, ExxonMobil, ConocoPhillips, Chevron, BP and Marathon Oil, also have major operations in Canada.¹⁷

Because companies and industry associations are not required to disclose lobby expenditures, any analysis of whether or not lobbying is worth the expense is impossible in the Canadian context. In the absence of financial information, the ratio of recorded meetings between the oil industry and DPOHs to business friendly policy changes shows that big oil money is indeed influencing politics in Ottawa. Recent analysis of the U.S. situation, where figures on lobbying expenditures are available, shows that lobbying is worth the money invested by corporations and special interests. Investment research firm Strategas Research created a lobbying index which tracked 50 companies in the United States that spend the most money on lobbying (as a percentage of assets). The results show that the companies that spend more on lobbying are financially outperforming those that choose to spend less.¹⁸ While the situation in Canada is fundamentally different than the U.S. because of a much smaller government and different political system, the concept of a corporation or industry group meeting with DPOHs to suggest

policies that might help or hurt the corporation is the same. Unfortunately, due to the Canadian Government's lack of transparency the public does not have the tools to properly assess and counter the influence of big oil money.

This lack of transparency in the Lobbying Act has not gone unnoticed by the Canadian media, civil society and academics, some of whom have been critical of the porous nature of the Act. Organizations like Democracy Watch¹⁹ have been monitoring and providing analysis on the Lobbying Act for years. The organization regularly calls for a rewriting of the Act to close the loopholes in order to increase government accountability. In his testimony before The House of Commons Standing Committee on Access to Information, Privacy and Ethics of the Government of Canada during its recent statutory review of the Lobbying Act, Democracy Watch's Duff Conacher commented, "The act is so full of loopholes it should not be called the Lobbying Act; it should be called the 'some lobbying by some lobbyists act,' because that's all it requires: disclosure of some lobbying by some lobbyists"²⁰ Despite Conacher's pleas to the government to close the numerous loopholes in the Act, the Government of Canada's response to the committee's review will do nothing to strengthen the Act thereby leaving the loopholes open for more secret lobbying.

Without fundamental changes to the Government of Canada's Lobbying Act the Canadian public will remain in the dark about the amount of pressure some of the world's biggest and wealthiest corporations bear on elected officials and bureaucrats. Legislation introduced by the Jean Chretien Liberals in 2003, and the Harper conservative's 2006 Accountability Act set out to control the amount of money corporations can donate to federal parties and candidates. The goal of these federal rules was to end, or at least, severely limit the influence of corporate money in Canadian politics. While the Accountability Act succeeded in some areas, it set no limits on, nor did it require the disclosure of how much money corporations spend on lobbying. The Canadian state is in the process of being fundamentally altered by the petroleum industry through lobbying. Consequently, the role of the state is being rejigged to operate in favour of the resource sector and the petroleum industry in particular, thereby increasingly transforming the political order of Canada into that of a petro state.

4. Conclusion

This report has shown how corporations and their industry associations will use intense lobbying to influence public policy in Canada. They have the money; they have the incentive, and based on the industry friendly policy shifts over the past few years these massive lobbying efforts are paying off. The literally thousands of meetings, phone calls and junkets – all listed as 'communications' in the lobbyist registry – by the petroleum industry since 2008 demonstrate that oil money is playing a significant role in shaping the legislative and regulatory environment in Canada. Successive oil friendly Conservative governments have helped to facilitate this situation, but a weak Lobbying Act that impedes true transparency has created major loopholes where corporate influence can occur beyond the prying eyes of the Canadian public. The findings presented here clearly show how oil and gas money is corrupting policy making in Canada, and how, in many ways the political landscape in this country has been redrawn by the influence of this surging industry.

In response to this shift, therefore, we call for a full independent public inquiry in order to investigate how Canada may be on the road to becoming a petro-state due to the ability of the petroleum industry to exert influence on the Canadian government policy making through their lobby operations.

How deep this form of corruption goes into Canada's political system is not clear, therefore a public inquiry in the form of previous inquiries such as the 1978 Royal Commission on Corporate Concentration (Bryce Commission) which was established to inquire into "the nature and role of major concentrations of corporate power in Canada,"²¹ or the 2006 Commission of Inquiry into the Sponsorship Program and Advertising Activities (Gomery Commission) that investigated the infamous 'sponsorship scandal' is urgently needed. In effect, the time has come to update the findings of both these two Commission Reports in terms of the threat of corruption posed by the increasing power and influence of the petroleum industry over public policy and the emergence of a petro-state in Canada.

According to the Government of Canada's Inquiry Act an inquiry can be made into matters connected with the good Government of Canada or the conduct of any part of the public business. Given that Canada's system has become more and more tainted with the meddling of the petroleum industry there is ample justification for the establishment of a full inquiry with the power to call witnesses, examine evidence and ultimately make recommendations for policy changes. The Canadian public has the right to see inside the halls of their public institutions and to get a full picture of who is really driving important policy decisions that would regulate one of the most environmentally destructive industries on the planet. The Government of Canada should be acting in the public interest rather than in the interest of corporations who stand to profit financially from policy changes.

Ultimately, what is at stake is nothing less than the nature and quality of democracy in this country. In our current parliamentary system royal commission inquiries can provide a useful tool to expose democratic deficits and open the road to reinforcing our democratic institutions. Properly conducted, commission inquiries can probe the deeper forces behind the formation of a petro-state in this country and propose solutions required to not only erase the corruption but also dismantle its structures and mechanisms. Surely, this is the very least we can do to counter the emerging threat of a petro-state to democracy in Canada today.

Appendix A – This appendix contains two tables, first a list of the Global Fortune 500 profiled in this report, and secondly the top Canadian companies.

Companies ranked by 2012 Fortune 500 ranking²²

Rank	Corporation	Country	Sales Rev. (\$B)	Profits (\$B)	Notes on ownership and tar sands projects
1	Royal Dutch Shell	UK	484.4	30.9	Through subsidiary Shell Canada, owns 60% of Athabasca Oil Sands Project (20% Chevron, 20% Marathon Oil); ²³ also own orion/Cold Lake and Carmon creek projects ^{24,25}
2	Exxon Mobil	US	452.9	41.1	ExxonMobil owns 69.6% of Imperial Oil; ²⁶ Imperial Oil has 25% interest in Syncrude, ²⁷ owns 70.9% of Kearl project with Exxon subsidiary ExxonMobil Canada Energy (29.1%), and owns Cold Lake project ²⁸
4	BP	UK	386.4	25.7	50% partner with Husky energy of Sunrise project; 50% partner with Devon Energy of Pike project; 75% owner with Value Creation of Terre de Grace project ²⁹
5	Sinopec	China	375.2	9.4	50% partnership with Total for Northern Lights project; 9.03% interest in Syncrude; Financial backer of the Northern Gateway Pipeline project ³⁰
6	CNPC (PetroChina)	China	352.3	16.3	Owns 60% of Dover project and 100% of Mackay River Project ^{31,32}
8	Chevron	US	245.6	26.9	20% interest in Athabasca Oil Sands Project ³³
9	ConocoPhillips	US	237.2	12.4	50% of Surmont Project with Total, ³⁴ 50-50 partnership with Cenovus for Foster Creek, Christina Lake and Narrows lake projects ³⁵
11	Total	France	231.5	17.1	50% of Surmont Project with ConocoPhillips; ³⁶ 38.25% of Joslyn with Suncor (36.75%), Occident Petroleum (15%) and Inpex Canada (10%); ³⁷ 39.2% interest in Fort hills project with Suncor (40.8%) and Teck Resources (20%); 50% partnership with Sinopec for Northern Lights project ³⁸
40	Statoil	Norway	119.5	14.05	60% owner of Kai Kos Dehseh (Leismer) project with PTT Exploration and Production of Thailand ³⁹
95	PTT Public Company Limited	Thailand	79.7	3.4	Subsidiary PTTEP has 40% interest in Kai Kos Dehseh project with Statoil (60%) ⁴⁰
101	China National Offshore Oil Corporation (CNOOC)	China	75.5	8.8	14% stake in MEG Energy (Surmont and Christina Lake projects); ⁴¹ 35% interest in Long Lake project with Nexen (65%) ⁴²
255	Suncor Energy	Canada	40.2	4.3	Owns and operates Chard, Base operations/Millennium, Firebag, Voyageur South, Lewis, Meadow Creek (25% Nexen); 36.75% of Joslyn with Total (38.25%), Occident Petroleum (15%) and Inpex Canada (10%); Owns 12% of Syncrude projects; ⁴³
352	Murphy Oil	US	31.4	0.87	5% interest in Syncrude; ⁴⁴
458	Occidental Petroleum	US	24.2	6.8	Owns 15% of Joslyn project ⁴⁵
466	Husky Energy	China	23.6	2.2	Majority owned by Chinese billionaire Li Ka-Shing;

Top Canadian companies operating in the Tar Sands ranked by annual revenue

Company	2011 Sales Rev. (\$B)	Profits (\$B)	Notes on ownership and tar sands projects
Suncor Energy	40.2	4.3	Owns and operates Chard, Base operations/Millennium, Firebag, Voyageur South, Lewis, Meadow Creek (25% Nexen); 36.75% of Joslyn with Total (38.25%), Occident Petroleum (15%) and Inpex Canada (10%), Owns 12% of Syncrude projects, ⁴⁶
Enbridge	19.1	1.0	Major pipeline corporation and proponent of Northern Gateway project, among others; Partially owns N-Solv corporation (Hatch Ltd. is majority owner) that has a small in-situ pilot project;
Cenovus Energy	15.4	1.5	Owns and operates Pelican lake and Telephone lake projects; 50-50 partnership with ConocoPhillips and operator for Foster Creek, Christina Lake and Narrows lake projects; ⁴⁷
Canadian Natural Res.	13.5	2.6	Owns Horizon, Grouse, Gregoire Lake, Kirby projects as well as Primrose/Wolf Lake ⁴⁸
Teck Resources	11.3	2.6	Owner and operator of the Frontier project; ⁴⁹
TransCanada	9.0	1.6	Major pipeline corporation; Proponent of Keystone Pipelines among others
Nexen	6.3	0.7	7.23% interest in Syncrude, Owns 65% of Long Lake project (35% for CNOOC); 25% interest in Hangingstone project (JACOS is operator) ⁵⁰
Canadian Oil Sands	3.8	1.1	Owns 36.74% of Syncrude ⁵¹

Appendix B – This chart ranks the 27 companies (ExxonMobil is included in Imperial Oil’s figures) profiled in this report by the number of communications with DPOHs that were filed by in-house and consultant lobbyists hired by each company between July 2008 and November 2012.

Name of Corporation	Total comm with DPOH's (in-house and consultant lobbyists)	Number of lobby firms used by each company	# Consultant Lobbyists assigned to each company
TransCanada Corporation	279	6	9
Imperial Oil	205	5	1
Suncor Energy Inc.	196	5	6
Enbridge	143	7	16
Shell Canada Ltd.	118	6	16
Cenovus Energy Inc.	94	2	8
Teck Resources Ltd.	78	4	12
Marathon Oil Corp.	70	1	1
Kinder Morgan	49	2	9
ConocoPhillips	48	0	0
Nexen Inc	45	2	7
Chevron	41	4	6
CNOOC International	34	1	5
Husky Energy Inc.	32	1	3
Canadian Natural Resources Ltd.	29	1	3
BP Canada	20	2	4
Laricina Energy Ltd.	9	2	3
North West Upgrading Inc.	5	0	0
Pengrowth Energy Corporation	4	1	1
Total E&P Canada Ltd.	2	2	7
Petrobank Energy	2	0	0
SinoCanada Petroleum Corporation	2	1	2
Statoil	2	1	1
Athabasca Oil Sands Corp.	1	1	3
Devon Canada Corp.	0	1	1
Synenco Energy Inc.	0	1	5
Total Communications	1,508		

Appendix C - Number of communications with DPOHs, number of consultant lobbyists hired and number of lobby firms hired for each industry advocacy organization from July 2008 to August 2012, in order of organizations that have logged the most communications with DPOHs.

Name of Industry Organization	# of comms. with DPOH's	# Consultant Lobbyists	# Lobby firms
CAPP	536	14	1
Canadian Gas Association	279	4	4
Canadian Energy Pipeline Association	198	12	2
Canadian Fuels Association (formerly Canadian Petroleum Products Institute)	167	6	1
Integrated CO2 Network (ICO2N)	29	5	3
Ridley Terminals Users Group	16	7	1
Canadian Natural Gas	0	5	1
Alberta In Situ Oil Sands Alliance	0	3	2
Total communications	1,225		

Appendix D – List of all lobby firms and the companies they represented between July 2008 and May 2012

Lobby Firm	Companies they represent (number of companies)
Global Public Affairs	(17) Alliance Pipelines Limited Partnership, BP Canada, CAPP, CEPA, Canadian Natural Gas, Canadian Natural Resources Ltd., Cenovus Energy Inc., Chevron, Devon Canada Corp., Imperial Oil Ltd., Nexen Inc., Ridley Terminals Users Group, Shell Canada Ltd., Suncor Energy Inc., Synenco Energy Inc., Teck Resources Ltd., Total E&P Canada Ltd.
Hill + Knowlton Strategies	(5) Athabasca Oil Sands Corp., CNOOC International Ltd., Enbridge, Husky Energy Inc., Shell Canada Ltd.
Earncliffe Strategy Group	(4) Cenovus Energy Inc., Integrated CO2 Network, Nexen Inc., Total E&P Canada Ltd.
Crestview Public Affairs	(3) Alberta In Situ Oil Sands Alliance, Canadian Gas Association, Teck Resources Ltd.
High Park Advocacy Group Inc.	(3) Canadian Energy Pipelines Association, Canadian Gas Association, Transcanada
Strategex Consultants Inc.	(3) Enbridge, Integrated CO2 Network, Shell Canada Ltd.
Borden Ladner Gervais LLP	(2) Teck Resources Ltd., Transcanada
Brendan Hawley & Associates	(2) Canadian Gas Association, Marathon Oil Corp.
Osler, Hoskin & Harcourt	(2) Kinder Morgan, Suncor Energy Inc.,
Prospectus Associates in Corporate Development	(2) Enbridge, SinoCanada Petroleum Corp.
Bennett Jones LLP	Shell Canada Ltd.
Canadian Strategy Group	Alberta In Situ Oil Sands Alliance
Ensignt Canada	Enbridge
Fasken Martineau DuMoulin LLP	Enbridge
Fleishman-Hillard Canada Inc	Kinder Morgan
Fraser Milner Casgrain LLP	BP Canada
GCI Group Canada	Suncor Energy Inc.
GS Government Consulting Services	Suncor Energy Inc.
Hemmera Envirochem Inc.	Shell Canada Ltd.
Justenvironment	Suncor Energy Inc.
Leah Murray Communications	Laricina Energy Ltd.
MB Tarr & Associates	Canadian Gas Association
McMillan LLP	Teck Resources Ltd.
Miller Thomson LLP / Miller Thomson Pouliot	Pengrowth Energy Corporation / Energy Trust
National, cabinet de relations publiques	Enbridge
Pricewaterhousecoopers LLP	Transcanada
PVF Consulting Inc.	Transcanada
Rundle Energy Services Ltd.	Transcanada
Strategic Results Consulting	Transcanada
StrategyCorp Inc.	Laricina Energy Ltd.
Sustainable Growth Company Inc.	Integrated CO2 Network
Tactix Government Relations and Public Affairs	Enbridge
Temple Scott Associates Inc.	Canadian Petroleum Products Institute

Appendix E – List of all 109 Lobbyists, the lobby firms they worked for and the oil companies and industry associations they represented between July 2008 and May 2012.

Lobbyist name	Lobby firm	# of Corps.	Corporation names
Dan Seekings	Global Public Affairs	15	Alliance Pipelines Limited Partnership, BP Canada, CAPP, Canadian Energy Pipelines Association, Canadian Natural Gas, Canadian Natural Resources Ltd., Cenovus Energy Inc., Chevron , Nexen Inc., Suncor Energy Inc., Imperial Oil Ltd., Shell Canada Ltd., Synenco Energy Inc., Teck Resources Ltd., Total E&P Canada Ltd.
Aysha Raad Gil	Global Public Affairs	10	Alliance Pipelines Limited Partnership, CAPP, Canadian Energy Pipelines Association, Canadian Natural Gas, Chevron, Imperial Oil Ltd., Shell Canada Ltd., Synenco Energy Inc., Teck Resources Ltd., Total E&P Canada Ltd.,
Carolyn Chisholm	Global Public Affairs	10	Alliance Pipelines Limited Partnership, CAPP, Canadian Energy Pipelines Association, Canadian Natural Gas, Cenovus Energy Inc., Chevron, Imperial Oil Ltd., Nexen Inc., Shell Canada Ltd., Synenco Energy Inc.
Tim Kennedy	Global Public Affairs	9	Alliance Pipelines Limited Partnership, CAPP, Canadian Energy Pipelines Association, Cenovus Energy Inc., Chevron, Imperial Oil Ltd., Shell Canada Ltd., Synenco Energy Inc., Teck Resources Ltd.
Kristin Anderson	Global Public Affairs	8	Alliance Pipelines Limited Partnership, CAPP, Canadian Energy Pipelines Association, Chevron, Canadian Natural Resources Ltd., Nexen Inc., Shell Canada Ltd., Synenco Energy Inc.
Rebecca Staley	Global Public Affairs	7	CAPP, Canadian Energy Pipelines Association, Canadian Natural Gas, Devon Canada Corp., Imperial Oil Ltd., Shell Canada Ltd., Total E&P Canada Ltd.
Ben Forer	Global Public Affairs	6	BP Canada, Canadian Natural Resources Ltd., Shell Canada Ltd., Teck Resources Ltd., Total E&P Canada Ltd., Chevron
Evan Wilson	Global Public Affairs	4	CAPP, Cenovus Energy Inc., Shell Canada Ltd., Total E&P Canada Ltd.
Harry Near	Earncliffe Strategy Group	4	Cenovus Energy Inc., Integrated CO2 Network, Nexen Inc., Total E&P Canada Ltd.
Lorraine Royer	Global Public Affairs	4	Alliance Pipelines Limited Partnership, CAPP, Cenovus Energy Inc., Shell Canada Ltd.
Velma McColl	Earncliffe Strategy Group	4	Cenovus Energy Inc., Integrated CO2 Network, Nexen Inc., Total E&P Canada Ltd.
Goldy Hyder	Hill and Knowlton Canada	3	Athabasca Oilsands Corp., CNOOC International Limited, Husky Energy Inc.
Richard A. Morgan	Global Public Affairs	3	CAPP, Cenovus Energy Inc., Teck Resources Ltd.
Robert Landry	Strategex Consultants Inc.	3	Enbridge, Integrated CO2 Network, Shell Canada Ltd.
Timothy Egan	High Park Advocacy Group Inc. & Self-employed	3	Canadian Gas Association, Canadian Energy Pipelines Association, Transcanada
Allan Cocksedge	Global Public Affairs	2	CAPP, Shell Canada Ltd.
Brendan Hawley	Brendan Hawley & Associates	2	Canadian Gas Association, Marathon Oil Corp.
Candice Laws	Global Public Affairs	2	CAPP, Canadian Energy Pipelines Association
Chad Rogers	Crestview Public Affairs, Inc.	2	Alberta In Situ Oil Sands Alliance, Teck Resources Ltd.
Gar Knutson	Borden Ladner Gervais LLP	2	Teck Resources Ltd., Transcanada
Ken Boessenkool	Hill and Knowlton Canada	2	Enbridge Inc., Suncor Energy Inc.
Nicole Foster Woolatt	Global Public Affairs	2	CAPP, Canadian Energy Pipelines Association
Adam Bolek	Crestview Public Affairs	1	Canadian Gas Association
Alan Young	Tactix Government Relations and Public Affairs	1	Enbridge
Andre Albinati	Earncliffe Strategy Group	1	Nexen Inc
Andy Gibbons	Hill + Knowlton Strategies	1	CNOOC International Limited
Anthony Stikeman	Tactix Government Relations	1	Enbridge

	and Public Affairs		
Ashley Brambles	Hill + Knowlton Strategies	1	CNOOC International Limited
Brian Klunder	Fleishman-Hillard Canada Inc	1	Kinder Morgan
Bruce Hartley	Prospectus Associates in Corporate Development	1	SinoCanada Petroleum Corporation (Sinopec)
Bryan Thomas	Fleishman-Hillard Canada Inc	1	Kinder Morgan
Charles Birchall	Tactix Government Relations and Public Affairs	1	Enbridge
Clarke Cross	Tactix Government Relations and Public Affairs	1	Enbridge
Colin MacDonald	Borden Ladner Gervais LLP	1	Transcanada
Colleen Mason	Fleishman-Hillard Canada Inc	1	Kinder Morgan
Cyrus Reporter	Fraser Milner Casgrain LLP	1	BP Canada
Daniel Goodwin	Hill and Knowlton Canada	1	Husky energy Inc.
Daria Hasselmann	Hemmera Envirochem Inc.	1	Shell Canada Ltd.
David Crump	Hill and Knowlton Canada	1	Shell Canada Ltd.
Don Boudria	Hill and Knowlton Canada	1	Shell Canada Ltd.
Douglas Powrie	Borden Ladner Gervais LLP	1	Teck Resources Ltd.
Edward Goldenberg	Bennett Jones LLP	1	Shell Canada Ltd.
Elizabeth Roscoe	Hill + Knowlton Strategies	1	CNOOC International Limited
Elizabeth Wagdin	Global Public Affairs	1	Canadian Natural Gas
Emilie Idene	Hill and Knowlton Canada	1	Husky energy Inc.
Emily Bates	Global Public Affairs	1	Ridley Terminals Users Group
Eric Beynon	Sustainable Growth Company Inc.	1	Integrated CO2 Network
Fedora Kalenda Mushiya	Global Public Affairs	1	CAPP
Fitti Lourenco	Hill and Knowlton Canada	1	Athabasca Oil Sands Corp.
Francois Tougas	McMillan LLP	1	Teck Resources Ltd.
Gar Knutson	Borden Ladner Gervais LLP	1	Teck Resources Ltd.
GAR KNUTSON	Borden Ladner Gervais LLP	1	Transcanada
GENEVIEVE YOUNG	Global Public Affairs	1	Ridley Terminals Users Group
Geoff Morrison	Global Public Affairs	1	Canadian Energy Pipelines Association
Geoff Norquay	Earncliffe Strategy Group	1	Integrated CO2 Network
Gil Barrows	Global Public Affairs	1	Teck Resources Ltd.
Gisèle Taylor	Temple Scott Associates Inc.	1	Canadian Petroleum Products Institute
Gord Nettleton	Osler, Hoskin & Harcourt LLP	1	Kinder Morgan
Gordon Shields	GS Government Consulting Services	1	Suncor Energy Inc.
Graham Fox	Fraser Milner Casgrain LLP	1	BP Canada
Greg MacNeil	Fleishman-Hillard Canada Inc	1	Kinder Morgan
Gregory Kolz	Ensign Canada	1	Enbridge
Hal Danchilla	Canadian Strategy Group	1	Alberta In Situ Oil Sands Alliance
Jack Hughes	Borden Ladner Gervais LLP	1	Transcanada
Jacqueline LaRocque	Ensign Canada	1	Enbridge
James Peterson	Fasken Martineau DuMoulin LLP	1	Enbridge
Jeff LeBlanc	Temple Scott Associates Inc.	1	Canadian Petroleum Products Institute
John E. Jenkins	Rundle Energy Services Ltd.	1	Transcanada

John Ferguson	Self-employed	1	Suncor Energy Inc.
Kathleen McGinnis	High Park Advocacy Group Inc.	1	Transcanada
Kevin Macintosh	Fleishman-Hillard Canada Inc	1	Kinder Morgan
Kim Doran	Tactix Government Relations and Public Affairs	1	Enbridge
Kristen Lawson	Miller Thomson LLP / Miller Thomson Pouliot	1	Pengrowth Energy Corporation / Energy Trust
Larry Charach	Strategic Results Consulting	1	Transcanada
Leah Murray	Leah Murray Communications	1	Laricina Energy Ltd.
Lisa Samson	StrategyCorp Inc.	1	Laricina Energy Ltd.
Lisa Stilborn	Temple Scott Associates Inc.	1	Canadian Petroleum Products Institute
Lise-Ann Jackson	Self-employed	1	Canadian Energy Pipelines Association
Lynne Hamilton	Hill and Knowlton Canada	1	Shell Canada Ltd.
Marina Connors	Global Public Affairs	1	Ridley Terminals Users Group
Mark Rudolph	Justenvironment	1	Suncor Energy Inc.
Michael Coates	Hill + Knowlton Strategies	1	CNOOC International Limited
Michael Mactaggart	Global Public Affairs	1	Teck Resources Ltd.
Michael Tarr	MB Tarr & Associates	1	Canadian Gas Association
Michael Von Herff	Fleishman-Hillard Canada Inc	1	Kinder Morgan
Michael W Robinson	Earncliffe Strategy Group	1	Nexen Inc
Michael Westcott	Crestview Public Affairs Inc.	1	Alberta In Situ Oil Sands Alliance
Steven Schumann	Temple Scott Associates Inc.	1	Canadian Petroleum Products Institute
Nick Mulder	Global Public Affairs	1	Ridley Terminals Users Group
Nicola Pantaleo	PRICEWATERHOUSECOOPERS LLP	1	Transcanada
Olivia MacAngus	Hill and Knowlton Canada	1	Enbridge
Patricia Toner	Global Public Affairs	1	Ridley Terminals Users Group
Phil Von Finckenstein	PVF CONSULTING INC.	1	Transcanada
Philip Cartwright	Global Public Affairs	1	Ridley Terminals Users Group
Robert Rosenfeld	StrategyCorp Inc.	1	Laricina Energy Ltd.
Robin Sears	Ensignt Canada	1	Enbridge
Ruth York	Fleishman-Hillard Canada Inc	1	Kinder Morgan
Ryan Clarke	Hill and Knowlton Canada	1	Athabasca Oil Sands Corp.
S. Christopher Phelan	Tactix Government Relations and Public Affairs	1	Enbridge
Sara Neamtz	Fleishman-Hillard Canada Inc	1	Kinder Morgan
Sara Rodier	Ensignt Canada	1	Enbridge
Sarah Koskie	Global Public Affairs	1	CAPP
Scott Thurlow	Temple Scott Associates Inc.	1	Canadian Petroleum Products Institute
Sean Kirby	Prospectus Associates	1	Enbridge
Stan Ebel	Osler, Hoskin & Harcourt	1	Suncor Energy Inc.
Stefania Bartucci	Global Public Affairs	1	Ridley Terminals Users Group
Torrance Wylie	Global Public Affairs	1	Teck Resources Ltd.
William Pristanski	Prospectus Associates in Corporate Development	1	SinoCanada Petroleum Corporation (Sinopec)
William Simpkins	Self-Employed	1	Canadian Petroleum Products Institute
Yvan Loubier	National, cabinet de relations publiques	1	Enbridge

Appendix F – Samples of lobbied subject matter reported by corporations and industry associations between July 2008 and May 2012

Aboriginal consultations and involvement in projects	
<i>CAPP</i>	- Aboriginal Constitutional and Treaty Rights in relation to Aboriginal consultation policy pertaining to resource management.
<i>Enbridge</i>	- Regulatory processes for Aboriginal Crown Consultation - advocating for the government to implement clear policies to ensure the government's duty to consult with Aboriginals is met and concluded within predictable timelines
<i>Shell Canada</i>	- Aboriginal Consultation and Accommodation Policy - related to energy development and land access and the duty to consult
Greenhouse gas emissions and climate change regulations as it relates to oil industry	
<i>CAPP</i>	- Turning the Corner -Regulatory Framework to air emissions standards for oil and gas facilities - Climate Change policy in Canada in respect to new climate change policy for greenhouse gases in the oil sands industry related to potential new reduction targets, cap and trade provisions and specific policies that may be directed at oil sands.
<i>Total E&P Canada</i>	- Climate Change Policy regarding upgrading & in situ & other future plans for programs or policies affecting climate change
<i>Nexen</i>	
Canadian Environmental Assessment Act provisions and processes as it relates to oil projects	
<i>CAPP</i>	- Canadian Environmental Assessment Act - as it relates to timely rigorous and predictable review process for oil and gas projects
<i>Shell Canada</i>	- Canadian Environmental Assessment Act - related to improving efficiency and project approvals
<i>Imperial Oil</i>	- Canadian Environmental Assessment Act as it relates to the need for efficient environmental assessment procedures for oil and gas projects
<i>Enbridge</i>	- Regulatory streamlining - seeking improved efficiencies in the environmental assessment processes
Species at Risk Act requirements in relation to projects	
<i>Devon Canada</i>	- Species at Risk Act - As it relates to balancing conservation with development needs of major resources projects
<i>Marathon Oil</i>	- The Species at Risk Act as it relates to oil sands (mining and in-situ) exploration, production, refining/upgrading and transportation.
<i>CAPP</i>	- Species at Risk Act - as it relates to review of the act and balancing wildlife protection with existing and future oil and gas exploration projects
Tax laws and tax incentives for oil projects	
<i>Nexen</i>	- Consultation & discussions on new, or changes to existing legislation regarding the Income Tax Act & corporate taxation.
<i>TransCanada</i>	- Proposal to amend the income tax act
<i>CEPA</i>	- Pipeline Development (Capital Requirements) - Discussion surrounding fiscal competitiveness as it relates to pipeline development in Canada.
Fisheries Act as it relates to oil projects	
<i>CAPP</i>	- Fisheries Act with regard to proposal repeal of the Fisheries Act and a new Fisheries Act.
<i>Marathon Oil</i>	- The Fisheries Act as it relates to oil sands (mining and in-situ) exploration, production, refining/upgrading and transportation. - Regulatory streamlining - seeking improved efficiencies in the government secondary permitting processes for Department of Fisheries and Oceans Permits and Transport Canada permits for pipeline construction,
<i>Enbridge</i>	
<i>CEPA</i>	- Fisheries Act - discussion in respect to ensuring that large linear infrastructure projects, of national importance and significance are completed in a timely fashion while respecting fish habitat

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