

# MONITOR

Progressive news, views and ideas



**CCPA**  
CANADIAN CENTRE  
for POLICY ALTERNATIVES  
CENTRE CANADIEN  
de POLITIQUES ALTERNATIVES

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## MONITOR

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*Founded in 1980, the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives (CCPA) is a registered charitable research institute and Canada's leading source of progressive policy ideas, with offices in Ottawa, Vancouver, Regina, Winnipeg, Toronto and Halifax. The CCPA founded the Monitor magazine in 1994 to share and promote its progressive research and ideas, as well as those of like-minded Canadian and international voices.*

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RÓISÍN WEST

# Arrested development

WHEN I THINK about September 11, I think about two young men: Chris\* and Carlo. One of them I grew up with. The other, I've never met but have become intimately familiar with his untimely death. Both were killed in 2001, an ocean apart—one in Ontario, one in Genoa, Italy.

Chris grew up in Southern Ontario as neoliberalism was taking hold. He worked his way through school during the Harris years as teachers walked the picket lines, as classes got bigger, as kids like Chris got lost in the noise. He came of age in a city that once offered an array of secure blue collar jobs—now offshored through NAFTA—leaving precarious and low-wage employment in their wake.

Carlo was a 23-year old student who was killed by Italian police officer Mario Placanica at a G8 protest in July 2001 in Genoa's Piazza Alimonda. The G8 protests in Genoa were part of a growing international anti-globalization movement. Building on the energy of the Battle of Seattle in 1999 and the anti-FTAA protests in Quebec City in 2001, the Genoa protests brought together a vast array of dissenters from religious groups to environmentalists. On the first day of the meeting, police, unprovoked, teargassed a peaceful march, resulting in a three-hour standoff throughout which they continued to teargas the crowd. In the chaos, Carlo Giuliani walked toward a police vehicle carrying a fire extinguisher. He was shot before the armoured vehicle drove over his body. A doctor in the crowd was unable to resuscitate Carlo after police left.

Why do I think of these two young men when I think about September 11? The night before the towers fell,

I received a call telling me that Chris had been murdered. We'd eventually learn he had been killed by a friend for money. In the 10 years following September 11, Canada spent \$92 billion on national security, including a near doubling of the military budget. There's a quiet resignation I feel when I think about how big \$92 billion is compared to how small the community I grew up in is, and how many communities like mine there are across the country that need investment, whose kids need investment. And instead of building up our kids, we pumped \$92 billion into a global war on terror in the first ten years alone.

Carlo's death, by contrast, is an important reminder that, while 9/11 opened a floodgate for increased surveillance by and militarization of police units, the use of disproportionate force against certain groups predates the 2001 terror attack. His death follows the use of disproportionate force in Canada at the FTAA protests in April 2001, the killing of Dudley George at the 1995 Ipperwash Crisis and the use of over 400 RCMP officers and 77,000 rounds of live ammunition in the 1995 Gustafsen Lake Standoff against 18 Ts'Peten Defenders.

In 2004, I had the privilege of traveling to Genoa to meet some of Carlo's loved ones and to hear firsthand not only about the day that Carlo was killed but the aftermath of his death. His friends paid the €30 fare for a cab to take me from the train station to Piazza Alimonda, to show me where Carlo had fallen and the shrine that still stood in his honour. When I offered to repay them, they shook their heads. They didn't want money. What they wanted was for me to share Carlo's story, so he wouldn't be forgotten.

In the hours and days that followed Carlo's death, Piazza Alimonda's signs were vandalized to read "Piazza Giuliani" and a new phrase was adopted by the anti-globalization movement: *Por todos nuestros muertos, ni un minuto de silencio. Toda una vida de lucha*. To honor our dead, never a minute of silence. We will live lives of struggle.

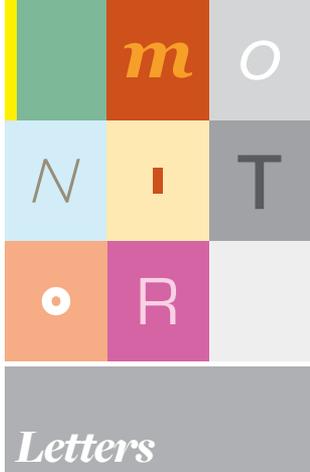
While I am honoured to share Carlo's story and have carried it with me all these years, I think Chris' story matters just as much. The difference is that there are no murals of Chris anywhere. No one wrote a book about a year without Chris. He was just gone. For every Carlo, there are hundreds of Chrises—young people whose lives are cruelly and irrevocably shaped by neoliberal policies and austere cuts.

Now that we have been blessed with two decades of hindsight, it is my sincere hope that we can assess not only the damage that 20 years of anti-terrorism legislation has wrought at home and abroad, but consider how redirecting federal funds to military expenditures stunts the potential of our communities to succeed. No one should be shot at a protest. And no one should be killed when their life is just beginning. Both of these deaths were entirely preventable.

For Carlo and for Chris, never a moment of silence. **M**

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\*name has been changed.



## Protecting the oases that remain

The phrase “Agricultural Desert” describes a landscape that has been stripped of all its natural habitats. The process of land clearing, wetlands drainage, shelter belt removal and the dislocation of farm families that once occupied the land has been completed. The commercial crops that have replaced the wetlands and uplands are products that have a commercial value. They can be bought and sold and traded. Those natural lifeforms, displaced by the Agricultural Desert, are without value in the economic system. Therefore, they do not have a right to exist. The Agricultural Desert has an insatiable need to expand and consume all that lies before it. This is not a natural force; it is a creation of man.

The Agricultural Desert draws its ever increasing energy from the continuing industrialization of the agriculture production system. Fertilizer and herbicides designed to work in harmony with the crops emerging from patented seeds. The desert demands larger farms, using rented or purchased technology,

priced to extract most, and occasionally all of the value of the crop produced. Greater volumes of production at smaller margins, reduces rural population and disposable incomes until the Agricultural Desert evicts occupants from the land, silencing the voices defending the few oases that may remain.

The oases that remain are not products of the marketplace. They are the products of persons who recognize a lifetime of observation, the value and beauty of natural life. A value that cannot be described or even recognized by the marketplace. The two oases I have occupy 110 acres. I have signed agreements with the understanding these oases will exist in perpetuity. The existence of these agreements angers the Desert. Its voice has demanded that the government limit the protection of my oasis to a term of not more than 20 years.

It is not a long physical distance from my home to a favourite oasis of my youth but involves a long journey in time, back to 1955. I made the journey last fall, a beautiful warm October day. There was a light smell of smoke in the air and a blue haze along the line of hills on the horizon. It’s best to go alone to visit the past. You can speak freely to the departed. I could see the landscape as it had been. The natural hay meadows, designed by nature, skirted by clumps of diamond willow. The strides of youth, in pursuit of sharp tailed grouse. The place where I found my first

duck nest and checked on it until it hatched. A small flight of mallards circle and drop into the slough. The voices of the past speak and I answer them. The Desert had taken it all. Nothing from the past had survived. The bounty of the Desert had been harvested. The fall tillage had been completed. The tractor pulling the cultivator had been steered by a satellite, the tillage marks, perfectly straight for a mile. There was not a sign of a human hand being present. This land would be empty until next spring. The big machines would return for three or four days to mate with the Agricultural Desert. The voice of the Desert assures me, it must be so to feed a starving world. I fear that left to apply its own values, the Desert will surely create a starving world.

**Fred Tait**  
Rossendale, MB

## Curbing Big Oil’s influence

The Corporate Mapping Project has done an excellent job in highlighting the extent to which the oil industry has held unreasonable control over Canadian society with its tentacles and toxins seeping into all aspects of our lives.

Even reverent organizations like the Royal Canadian Geographic Society with its popular magazine are poster boys for the oil industry. With the Society’s support, many thousands of Canadian children are taught to idolize Shell Oil, the funder

of classroom programs on energy.

As Josh Axelrod from the Natural Resources Defense Council states, the only way for oil companies “to deal with their emissions is to stop.” There are enough wells now to take the planet to dangerous levels for humans and the web of life that we are part of.

For decades the oil industry has been actively denying the science and evidence of climate change and promoting a car-dependent lifestyle while expanding the production of plastics, fully aware of the damage for us and future generations.

Will we wise up and stand up to the oil industry’s control of our governments, our institutions and the life on our planet?

**Melanie Milanich**  
Toronto, ON

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*Letters have been edited for clarity and length.  
Send your letters to [monitor@policyalternatives.ca](mailto:monitor@policyalternatives.ca).*



## New from the CCPA

### Uncovering petrol's power

**Big Oil in City Hall: Climate and Energy Politics in the Queen City** by Simon Enoch and Roxanne Korpan (CCPA-SK) is the first comprehensive look at the oil industry's lobbying and advocacy campaign waged against Regina's city council in January 2021. Using correspondence acquired through a Freedom of Information request, as well as interviews with five of the councillors involved, the report identifies the key players, tactics and arguments used by industry and its political allies to overturn the City's sponsorship amendment. It illustrates the formidable political, economic and cultural power the oil industry still wields—particularly in Western Canada.

### Pushing back against P3s and reimagining municipal budgets

CCPA-MB continues to provide evidence-based responses to governments on the problems of Public-Private-Partnerships (P3s), which was almost chosen as the model for the City of Winnipeg's long-overdue North End Sewage Treatment Plant upgrades.

CCPA-MB will continue to work with progressive partners to unpack the dangers of privatization in multi-million infrastructure projects and make the case for a public model.

CCPA-MB is the birthplace of alternative budgeting, and our office builds on this work with the **2022 Alternative Municipal Budget** for Winnipeg. We are working with dozens of community experts and academics to put forward a fully-costed budget for people and the planet this spring.

### CCPA-BC investigation reveals critical staffing shortages at province's River Forecast Centre

An investigation by Ben Parfitt, the CCPA-BC Office's Resource Policy Analyst, has found that understaffing in the public service appears to have played a significant role in the late warnings and flood response last November. Ben learned that the province was clearly warned over a decade ago that staffing levels at its River Forecast Centre (RFC) needed to at least double in order to provide effective flood-risk assessment and early notice to communities in harm's way. The recommendations contained in the internal report Ben obtained have not been acted on—and staffing levels remain the same to this day. Ben's findings highlight the urgent need to enhance the capacity of the public service as we enter a time of growing climate emergency.

### Applying an intersectional lens to poverty in Ontario

The end of 2021 saw two big reports from the CCPA-Ontario office. **Poverty in the Midst of Plenty** put forward policy options to lift 500,000 Ontario children out of poverty. **A Disproportionate Burden** looked at the impacts of the pandemic on the job market for racialized and Indigenous workers, who were more likely to work in industries that lost jobs yet also more likely to work in occupations where the risk of exposure to COVID-19 was greater. In 2022, expect reports on post-pandemic education funding and the positive effects of raising the minimum wage. January to May will see the office focused on analyzing the current government's fiscal policies and unpacking the spin from all the parties—on every public policy front—as the weather and the politics heat up.

### Pushing back against three decades of broken promises

The CCPA-Nova Scotia released the annual Nova Scotia child poverty report card marking 30 years of data (1989–2019) since the promise was made in the House of Commons to end child poverty. Nova Scotia has the highest rate in Atlantic Canada and the third-highest provincial child poverty rate in Canada, as co-author Dr. Lesley Frank says, “30 years of pre-pandemic evidence is enough to demonstrate

that poverty has been legislated into existence through policy approaches. Swift and transformative action is paramount for the wellbeing of our children and families.” The Nova Scotia office welcomes new research associate Martha Paynter, Registered Nurse working in abortion and reproductive health care in Halifax, NS and doctoral candidate with the Dalhousie School of Nursing.

### Protecting low-income Canadians from inflation

Proponents of austerity argue that government responses to the pandemic, which went to support businesses and the jobless, are driving inflation. In **Not All Provinces Protect Their Poorest From Inflation**, Senior Economist David Macdonald identifies the four prices driving inflation this past fall—gasoline, housing, vehicles and meat—none of which have anything to do with supports like wage subsidies or the CERB.

Federal, provincial and territorial governments could index child and senior supports and sales tax rebates to provide some relief to the poorest Canadians. But the federal government could also use its authority to control or strongly influence key prices like housing, tuition fees, prescribed medicines and dental care and child care. This would make life more affordable, and reduce inflation at the same time. Stay tuned for more inflation analysis from the National Office in the new year. **M**



ILLUSTRATION BY KATIE SHEEDY

David Macdonald / National Office

## Another year in paradise CEO pay in 2020

IN HER NOVEMBER Throne Speech, Governor General Mary Simon stated that, as Canada emerges from the pandemic, “we should rebuild an economy that works for everyone.” As the pandemic winds into its fifth wave, one thing has become increasingly clear: amid a sea of families, small business owners and communities who have borne the brunt of COVID-19’s economic impact, Canada’s C-suite has skated through this unprecedented era largely unscathed, often with extra profits in tow.

In fact, the highest-paid 100 CEOs in Canada had the second-highest average compensation levels in

this country’s history during the pandemic.

Canada’s 100 highest-paid CEOs were paid an average of \$10.9 million in 2020, which is higher than their pay in 2019. As a result, those 100 CEOs now make, on average, 191 times more than the average worker wage in Canada. Before lunch hour on the first working day of 2022, January 4, Canada’s highest paid CEOs will have already racked up the same amount of pay that will take the average worker the entire year to accrue. The minimum wage required to get into the top 100 CEO pay club—\$6.1 million in 2020—stayed close to last year’s

rate, which was \$6.4 million. To put that into historical context, the top 100 CEO minimum wage in 2020 is the third highest on record, after 2019 and 2018. Again, this was achieved in the middle of the worst economic downturn since the Great Depression.

The rise of CEO compensation occurred even in companies that received pandemic government support, such as the Canada Emergency Wage Supplement (CEWS). Among the 100 best-paid CEOs in 2020, 35 of them headed companies that received the CEWS directly or indirectly through their subsidiaries or franchisees. The CEWS was meant

to go to businesses that saw large declines in revenue during the worst of the pandemic, but some companies with the highest-paid 100 CEOs in Canada continued to pay their CEOs extraordinary amounts while receiving the CEWS.

Changes in bonus pay is a major driving force behind rising CEO compensation in good times and bad. “Variable compensation”—encompassing different forms of bonuses—made up 82% of total compensation for the highest-paid CEOs in 2020. These bonuses have three broad components: direct cash bonuses, payment in the form of company stock and payment in the form of options to buy stock in the future at prices set today. Variable compensation as a proportion of all compensation has risen from roughly 70% a decade ago to over 80% in the past two years. Salaries have become a less important part of CEOs’ total compensation.

Direct share awards continue to be the dominant form of CEO bonus compensation. This trend started in 2013 and has picked up pace since then. On the other hand, stock options and cash bonuses have declined somewhat in overall importance since 2013. Prior to July 2021, only 50% of the value of stock options was taxable. In July 2021 however, that 50% inclusion rate was limited to only the first \$200,000 of stock options for large publicly listed corporations. Had the \$200,000 limit been in place in 2020, 71 of the highest-paid 100 CEOs would have exceeded it. The tax savings for 71 people in 2020 alone due to this one tax loophole was \$63.4 million.

## Recommendations

While the COVID-19 pandemic was generally bad for Canadians, it wasn’t for the wallets of its highest-paid CEOs. When it comes to recovering the expense of re-building our health care systems in addition to supporting workers and businesses hit hard by the pandemic, a basic principle should be at play: those who did best during the pandemic should be

expected to pay more than those who did the worst.

Half of the 100 best-paid CEOs ran companies with support from the government, or their bonuses were changed to forestall the COVID-19 impact on their compensation. In either event, the idea that “merit” is behind extraordinary bonus pay rings hollow.

Higher taxation levels can reduce inequality and help to refill government coffers following the impact of the pandemic. Some key steps related to fairer CEO pay measures could include:

**1. Capping the corporate deductibility at \$1 million total compensation per employee:** At present corporations can deduct all executive compensation from their corporate taxes. The United States has implemented a \$1 million cap on executive pay and Canada should too.

**2. Eliminating the capital gains inclusion rate loophole:** The largest means of compensation for Canada’s highest-paid CEOs is awards in stock. Over time, this makes CEOs, specifically, and corporate executives, in general, enormous shareholders in a company. As shares increase in value, these highly paid people disproportionately benefit from the fact that stock prices gains are taxed at half the rate as regular income.

**3. Eliminating the stock option deduction for large companies:** The stock option deduction saw an important cap of \$200,000 come into force in 2021. The justification of a cap, instead of full elimination, was, in part, to provide incentives to tech startups. None of Canada’s highest-paid 100 CEOs are in tech startups, but they still receive this tax break. It should be removed for large companies instead of capped, so that stock option gains are taxed just like wages.

**4. Implementing higher top marginal tax brackets:** The highest-paid CEOs also receive substantial compensation in cash bonuses in

addition to their average salary of \$1.2 million. This places them at the very top of Canada’s income distribution. Several thousand dollars to someone already making on average almost \$11 million means much less than that same amount to someone making \$50,000 or even \$100,000. As such, new revenues can come from higher brackets at the top, with little evidence that these high-paid CEOs would quit their jobs and move to lower-tax countries.<sup>1</sup>

**5. Introducing a wealth tax:** The stock options and stock awards in this report are valued when they are given out, not when they are eventually sold. In most cases, executives are making far more upon sale than what is being reported. Large holdings of company stock as a result of these award types make the net worth gap between CEOs and average Canadians much larger than the 191 times income gap. To constrain this growing wealth inequality, a wealth tax should be introduced. **M**

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To read the full report, visit [policyalternatives.ca/paradise](http://policyalternatives.ca/paradise)

1. LARS OSBERG. OCTOBER 2015. HOW MUCH INCOME TAX COULD CANADA’S TOP 1% PAY? CANADIAN CENTRE FOR POLICY ALTERNATIVES.



## Inside Trade

STUART TREW

# Canada–U.S. trade, from complicity to complacency

THOUGH I WASN'T an especially political person when New York City's Twin Towers came down in September 2001, I became fully "radicalized" by Canada's Global War on Terror-era civil liberties outrages—the security certificate regime, the deportation and torture of Maher Arar, the Canada-backed coup in Haiti, etc.—which I reported on for an Ottawa alt-weekly.

Mid-decade, the Council of Canadians hired me to help a campaign against corporate Canada's desires for deeper security and economic integration with the U.S. In a sense, I cut my teeth as a trade justice activist on the policy legacy of the "smart border" declaration that is the focal point of this issue of the *Monitor*.

That 30-point action plan certainly *looked* like a capitulation by the Chrétien government to the Bush administration's tech-drunk regime of biometric surveillance at home and the violent imposition and policing of market rule abroad. Interoperable no-fly lists, integrated border enforcement teams, diplomatic and visa policy coordination and the poorly named Safe Third Country Agreement all come out of that December 2001 handshake between John Manley and Tom Ridge.

In fact, the "grand bargain" with Washington on security was a Canadian idea from the beginning. Within a few weeks of 9/11, a Privy Council Office border task force was struck to figure out how Canada could use Bush's terror-mania to lock in some long-sought-after trade "wins." You leave our lumber, mad cows and rotting potatoes alone and we'll feed whatever population data you want into your Islamophobic AI-facilitated panopticon. That sort of thing.

If all went according to plan, the Canada–U. S. border would disappear for "legitimate" business, investment and travel as security and regulatory policies were aligned or reconciled. An EU-style common market would be established, though without anything like Europe's continental governing institutions. And Canada could put its perennial trade disputes with America behind it.

Things have not worked out this way. Canada's stalwart endorsement of U.S. foreign and security agendas constructed and enhanced U.S. imperial power, as Stephen Clarkson and Matto Mildenberger wrote a decade after the 9/11 attacks in their book, *Dependent America?*. Yet stable U.S. market access continues to elude export-dependent Canadian sectors. Some bargain.

But none of this is surprising. Canadian dreams of reining in U.S. unilateralism with stronger and more imposing trade-based disciplines on economic policy-making were always just that—pure fantasy. Having relinquished so much of our own policy space in the name of rules-based international trade, Canada is ill-prepared to respond to U.S. divergences from neoliberal orthodoxy.

Trump's steel and aluminum tariffs, and his withdrawal from the Trans-Pacific Partnership, startled the Trudeau government. Rhetorically, Canada distanced itself from the "angry creamsicle." But behind the scenes, our government spun Trump's deregulation agenda as an opportunity to remove U.S. food inspections on Canadian meat imports and develop harmonized North American standards in other areas.

Canada could work with Bush and Trump. So what should we make of our government's utter panic and confusion about how to respond to Biden's heterodox and, in many places, progressive economic agenda?

Yes, proposed rebates for purchases of electric cars made in the U.S. by unionized workers may well threaten Canadian auto jobs. And yes, beefed up local content requirements in U.S. infrastructure and "Build Back Better" legislation may freeze out *some* Canadian bids, at least on some state-level projects. But what a refreshing change from the usual government-backed union-busting and shoulder shrugging over corporate offshoring.

Canada could seek out another "grand bargain" with the Biden administration. Only this time it could be aimed at increasing unionization rates and wages across all of North America, electrifying our power and transportation networks, ending forced labour in global value chains, and setting a floor for labour and human rights in new trade deals.

That's the kind of power that it might not feel so bad to co-construct with the U.S. and Mexico, especially in contrast to Canada's complicity in the unhinged hegemonic excess of the global war on terror. It would definitely be a step up from yet another complacent "Team Canada" mission to Washington to help Mitch McConnell, Joe Manchin and Kyrsten Sinema water down Biden's more progressive ambitions. **M**

# Disproportionate burden

## COVID-19 labour market impacts on Indigenous and racialized workers in Canada

THE PHRASE “COVID-19 does not discriminate” was widely used at the start of the pandemic. As the pandemic has unfolded, however, it is becoming increasingly clear that the economic and health impacts of COVID-19 are not randomly distributed and do not affect everyone equally.

The impacts have been much more severe for marginalized people.

The fault lines of the pandemic have been drawn between low-wage and high-wage workers, between women and men, between those who could safely work from home and those who risked infection at work, between Indigenous Peoples and settlers and between racialized and white Canadians.

Far from being a “great equalizer,” the COVID-19 pandemic has exposed and widened underlying structural inequality in Canada. While federal government spending did much to mitigate the unequal impacts of the pandemic, it did not eliminate them.

This research analyzes the employment impacts of the pandemic on Indigenous and racialized workers in Canada and compares them with the impacts of the pandemic on non-Indigenous and white workers.

Among the research findings:

• **A disproportionate burden:** The economic and health impacts of COVID-19 were not randomly distributed and did not affect everyone equally. The impacts were more severe for marginalized people. At all times during the pandemic, a larger share of Indigenous and racialized households faced economic hardship compared to white households.

Figure 1 shows the shares of the population living in households that found it difficult or very difficult to meet basic financial commitments. On average, over the period July 2020 to June 2021, 28% of Indigenous Peoples and 31% of racialized households lived with economic insecurity compared to 16% of white households.

• **Employment in industries at risk of job losses:** During the pandemic period studied, three industries accounted for 80% of job losses in Canada: accommodation and food services; information, culture and recreation; and wholesale and retail trade. Racialized workers were over-represented in these industries both in 2016 and during the pandemic and were, therefore, at greater risk of job loss due to COVID-19.

• **Employment in occupations at risk of infection:** Throughout the pandemic, workers in some occupations have faced a higher risk of contracting COVID-19 at work. Indigenous women had the highest share of employment in occupations ranked in the top quartile for physical proximity, at 30.2%. Next were non-Indigenous women at 28%, followed by Indigenous men at 14.6%, and then non-Indigenous men at 12.5%. The data that was available for racialized workers was less detailed but even that data showed the unequal exposure to risk. It showed that 56% of racialized and white women worked in close proximity to others; 33% of racialized men and 28% of white men worked in those occupations.

• **Indigenous and non-Indigenous workers’ employment and unemployment gap:** The gap in the average employment rate between Indigenous men and non-Indigenous men changed only slightly during the pandemic, rising from 11.3 percentage points pre-pandemic to 11.5 percentage points over the first year of the pandemic, and decreasing to an average of 9.3 percentage points in the three months ending at June 2021, the end date of the study. Non-Indigenous women’s employment rate was 8.8 percentage points higher than that of Indigenous women in the 12 months before the pandemic, and it averaged 9.4 percentage points higher over the first year of the pandemic, dropping slightly to 8 percentage points in the three months ending June 2021. When the pandemic began, non-Indigenous women’s employment rate plunged sharply, nearly falling to the level of Indigenous women. But while employment for non-Indigenous women began to recover early in the pandemic, beginning an upward climb in May 2020, it was February 2021 before Indigenous women’s employment rate began to improve in earnest. By June 2021, both Indigenous men and Indigenous women saw employment numbers exceed their pre-pandemic levels. Indigenous men saw a 6.8% increase in overall employment; Indigenous women saw an increase of 0.6%. This is a hopeful sign that the gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous labour market outcomes will narrow.

The unemployment rate gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous women widened slightly, from 3.1 percentage points in the 12 months preceding the pandemic to 3.4 percentage points over the first 12 months of the pandemic, widening further to 3.9 percentage points by the end June 2021. The unemployment rate gap was unchanged at 6.1 percentage points in the 12 months preceding the pandemic and in the first 12 months of the pandemic, despite rising unemployment

rates for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous men. The gap shrunk to 5.4 percentage points by the end of June 2021.

• **Racialized and white workers' unemployment and employment gap:** During the pandemic period studied (July 2020 to June 2021), the gap in the unemployment rate between racialized and white workers increased compared to the rates in the 2016 census (the most recent pre-pandemic data available for racialized workers). For racialized women, the gap increased from 3.2 percentage points in 2016 to an average of 5 percentage points for the period July 2020 to June 2021, to an average of 4.7 percentage points between April and June 2021. For racialized men, the gap increased from 0.6 percentage points in 2016, to an average of 2.8 percentage points for the period July 2020 to June 2021, to an average of 2.5 percentage points between April and June 2021. There was a similar increase in the gap between unemployment rates for youth aged 15–24.

At the same time, there was a sharp decrease in the employment rate gap for racialized and white youth, from 16.1 in 2016 to an average 12.7 percentage points for the period July 2020 to June 2021. For prime-age workers, the employment gap between racialized and non-racialized workers grew between the 2016 census and the pandemic, from 6 percentage points to 6.5. **M**

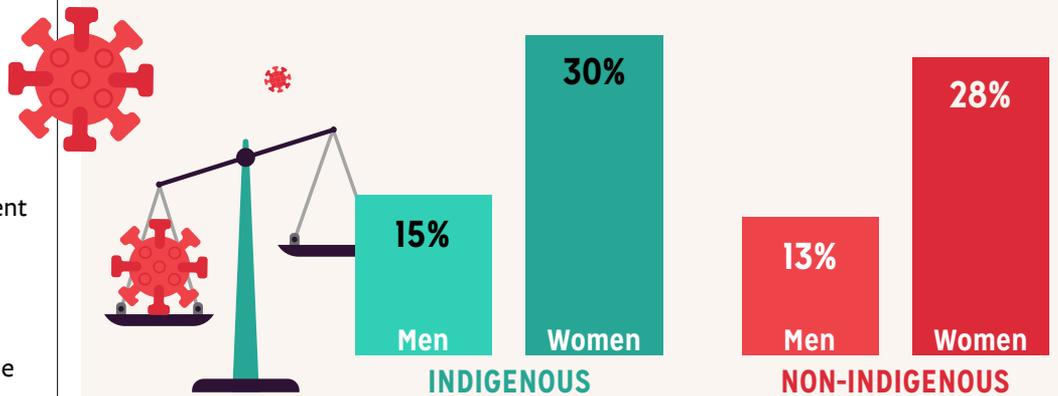
# Racialized and Indigenous workers in Canada are DISPROPORTIONATELY impacted by COVID-19

## SHARE OF PEOPLE LIVING IN HOUSEHOLDS WITH FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES

AVERAGE JULY 2020–JUNE 2021

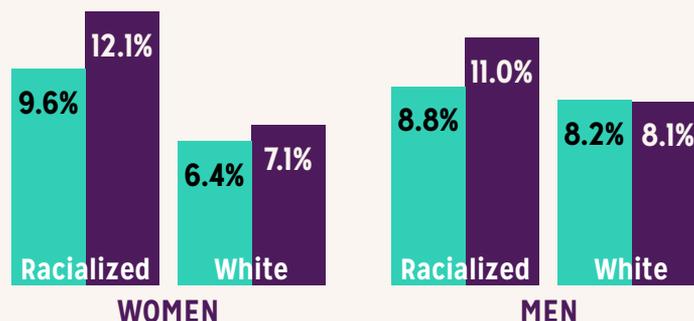


## SHARE OF EMPLOYMENT IN OCCUPATIONS AT HIGHEST RISK OF EXPOSURE



## UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BEFORE AND DURING THE PANDEMIC

2016 July 2020–June 2021





## Colour-coded Justice

ANTHONY N. MORGAN

### Variations on a theme

#### Twenty years of anti-terror measures in an already terrorized community

**I**N REFLECTING ON 20 years of anti-terror legislation in Canada, I cannot help but to think about how this period intimately relates to the centuries-long experiences of Black life in this country and on this continent of Turtle Island, now called North America. In reflecting on the theme of this issue, “Twenty-years of anti-terror,” I am immediately prompted to reflect on this period’s relationship to the nearly four centuries of terror Black people have experienced on the lands now claimed by Canada.

This reflection leaves me to firmly believe that the individual, social and systemic injuries and injustices caused by the anti-terror era could likely have been foreseen, prevented, pre-empted, less prevalent and/or less serious. In other words, I’m left feeling that Canada may have avoided many of the post-9/11 era’s incursions on the rights, freedoms, well-being and belonging of individuals if our country and society featured a greater awareness, understanding and reckoning with Canada’s history and legacies of slavery.

There are instructive and alarming consistencies between the histories and legacies of slavery, on one hand, and the anti-terror era on the other. To help illustrate this, it’s important to clarify the connections I’m making here by pointing to the specific experience of Black life in Canada since the early 1600s. This experience can be characterized as living within the conditions of terror.

The centuries of terror continually endured by Black people have come in the form of living under the reality, if not the perpetual and proximate threat, of having our lives, inalienable human rights, inherent dignity, fundamental self-worth and/or civil liberties taken, denied and/or violated by a state actor or private civilian.

This state of terror originates in the centuries of legalized enslavement of Black people in North America (including Canada) and the perpetuation of the systemic subjugation of Black people post-slavery. This has come through state-sponsored and/or socially supported practices of anti-Black racism in the forms

of segregation, lynching, violence, hate, exclusion, marginalization and disadvantage. These forms of discrimination have dominated the experiences of Black people in the areas of employment, education and business, housing, health care, social security, as well as the systems of child welfare, policing and incarceration, immigration and refugee systems. Historically, the terror came primarily from individuals in the roles of slave masters, slave-catchers, slave profiteers and pro-slavery civilians.

Since the abolition of slavery, the evolution of these roles are too often systematically operationalized through people serving as police, border agents, immigration officers, correctional officers, employers, work colleagues, child welfare workers, school administrators, and even social service workers. Today, this also includes private civilians now euphemistically referred to as “Karens.” These are people (typically characterized as white women), who scrutinize, monitor and surveil Black people because they view them as inherently suspicious and quickly call or threaten to call police, security and public safety officials on Black people for being in their presence and/or not behaving in ways that centre their sense of comfort by way of immediate and unconditioned compliance with the orders or expectations of white people. This is the spectre of anti-Blackness that Black people have and continue to live under in Canada and across North America.

I don’t think about this history and ongoing legacy of slavery in contrast to the previous two decades of anti-terror, but rather see the post-9/11 era as a permutation and extension of that history and legacy.

The last two decades have been characterized by specific and arguably avoidable human tragedies, social injustices and state interventions in the name fighting terror. There are the countless cases of state and social scrutiny, monitoring, surveillance, containment, control, violence, torture and punishment that primarily Muslim, Arab and South Asian individuals and communities have suffered and continue experience. The criminalization of protest, organizing and advocacy experienced by Indigenous and environmental activists and the militarization of state responses to perceived and actual threats of terror have too typically characterized the last twenty years of anti-terror.

Among those who have experienced the worst of the connections between Canada’s legacy of slavery and the last twenty years of anti-terror, are those who live at the intersection of Blackness and Muslim identities. These folks have been experiencing a unique and under-explored kind of suffering that Muslim Black feminist scholar, Délice Mugabo, has described as anti-Black Islamophobia. Black Muslims have had a very distinct experience of this anti-terror era given that the injustices of Islamophobic realities and outcomes flowing from this era have been inextricably connected to and compounded by their experiences of anti-Blackness.

These histories reflect and reinforce each other when we think about the role of moral panic driven by deep and widespread fear that has characterized both eras in similar and distinct ways. With respect to Canada's history of anti-Blackness, it's important to remember that in 1868, John A. MacDonald deployed the anti-Black stereotype about Black men as inherently predisposed to engaging in sexual violence, particularly against white women, to justify maintaining Canada's death penalty at the time, saying:

We have retained the punishment of death for rape [...] on account of the frequency of rape committed by negroes, of whom we have too many in Upper Canada. They are very prone to felonious assaults on white women.

Decades later in 1911, Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier supported the implementation of a policy of excluding Black people from freely migrating into Canada on the basis that "the Negro race" was "unsuitable to the climate and requirements of Canada."

The anti-terror era has similarly featured criminalizing and Islamophobic stereotypes to justify harsher legal penalties while also lowering and preventing migration of Muslims from Western and/or South Asian countries to Canada. This has been done on the basis of seeing these people, because of their faith, as inherently dangerous and threatening to Canada and Canadians.

The parallels also extend to invasions of privacy and security rights of Black people in Canada out of fear of Black organizing and protests. David Austin's book, *Fear of a Black Nation*, documents how, in the 1960s, the RCMP used their own spies as well as borrowed spies from the CIA to surveil, control and infiltrate Black student and community organizing in Montreal to stop the spread of the Black Power Movement. State surveillance out of fear of Black organizing and protest has continued to be a feature of Black life, having targeted leading Black advocacy organizations such as the Black Action Defence Committee in Toronto in the 1980s and 1990s, and even today with the state surveillance of the members and activities of the Black Lives Matter movement, confirmed by Canadian authorities in 2015 and 2021.

Finally, racial profiling has been an endemic feature of Black life for several decades, having taken on new, but deeply consistent and familiar forms during the anti-terror era. The Supreme Court of Canada has affirmed the illegality of racial profiling, defining it as:

Any action undertaken for reasons of safety, security or public protection, that relies on stereotypes about race, colour, ethnicity, ancestry, religion, or place of origin, or a combination of these, rather than on a reasonable suspicion, to single out an individual for greater scrutiny or different treatment.

In a recent landmark decision outlawing racial profiling and its associated practice of carding as a legitimate police practice, the Supreme Court of Canada in *R v. Le* decried it as a rights-ecviscerating form of over-policing. Specifically, the majority stated that racial profiling, "contributes to the continuing social exclusion of racial minorities, encourages a loss of trust in the fairness of our criminal justice system, and perpetuates criminalization."

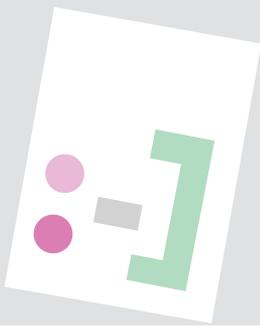
Black people in Canada, and Muslim, Arab and South Asian community members, find the histories and legacies of slavery and the anti-terror era have left them conjoined as the primary targets of the dubious and destructive practices of over-policing. Those living at the intersection of these identities, who have their bodies marked as both Black and Muslim, know this reality too painfully well.

In her book, *In the Wake: On Blackness and Belonging*, Prof. Christina Sharpe provides an exceptionally lucid analysis of the interrelationship between anti-Blackness and terror. In her text she uses the wake as a metaphor for the conditions of Black life informed by the history and legacies of slavery, to say that Black people find themselves "living in the wake." Explaining this, she writes,

[...] living in the wake means living in and with terror in that in much of what passes for public discourse about terror we, Black people, become the carriers of terror, terror's embodiment, and not the primary objects of terror's multiple enactments; the ground of terror's possibility globally.

This framing informs my own thinking about Blackness in Canada. As such, it leaves me frustrated when I encounter Canadian analysis of the specific anti-terror excesses spurred by 9/11. I wonder, "How could we not have more effectively seen this coming? Why weren't we as a Canadian society better prepared to prevent these widespread abuses?"

It reminds me that all Canadian lives can't matter, unless and until Black Canadian lives matter. **M**



## The good news page

COMPILED  
BY ELAINE HUGHES

### Repatriation wins

Benin President Patrice Talon and Culture Minister Jean-Michel Abimbola travelled to Paris to bring home 26 artifacts that were stolen from Benin during the colonial period by French forces 130 years ago. Many African nations are calling on former colonial powers including Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany to return stolen artefacts. / [Al Jazeera](#)

Also heeding the call to return looted artefacts is a Scottish university. In October, the University of Aberdeen returned a Benin Bronze to a Nigerian delegation, the third European institution in two days to return cultural artifacts to their African homelands. The bronze was among thousands looted by British troops in 1897. Following a recent review of its provenance, which confirmed its origin, the university contacted the Nigerian authorities to offer its return. / [Reuters](#)

More than 900 artifacts intercepted in an illegal shipment were returned

to the government of Mali by U.S. officials in November. The items, some of which date to the Neolithic period, were intercepted at the Port of Houston in 2009. Working with anthropologists, the U.S. Customs and Border Protection agency authenticated the pieces and began the process of returning the artifacts to Mali in 2011, a process that was delayed when the country fell into a period of civil unrest. The pieces will be sent to Mali's museums including the National Museum of Mali in the capital, Bamako. / [New York Times](#)

A small clay tablet dating back 3,500 years that was looted from an Iraqi museum during the 1991 Gulf War has been formally returned to Iraq. The cuneiform tablet, known as the Gilgamesh Dream Tablet, is one of the oldest religious texts. It was found in 1853 as part of a 12-tablet collection in the rubble of the library of Assyrian King Assur Banipal. Officials believed the tablet was illegally imported into the United States in 2003, then sold to the owners of craft store chain Hobby Lobby for \$1.67m who put it on display in the Museum of the Bible. / [Al Jazeera](#)

Thirteen stolen Ethiopian artefacts that spent the last century and a half hidden in private collections, have finally returned home. "Our country's ancient civilization's history, artefacts, fingerprints of Indigenous knowledge, culture...have been looted in war and

smuggled out illegally," said Ethiopia's tourism minister, Nasise Challa. These pieces were originally stolen following the 1868 battle of Maqdala between the British and Ethiopian empires. / [Reuters](#)

### Climate solutions

Three scientists recently won the Nobel Prize for Physics for helping to explain and predict complex forces of nature, including our understanding of climate change. Syukuro Manabe (Japan) and Klaus Hasselmann (Germany) were recognized for their work in developing forecast models of Earth's climate and "reliably predicting global warming." Manabe and Hasselmann are credited as laying the groundwork for knowledge of human-made climate change. The second half of the award went to Italian scientist Giorgio Parisi whose work focuses on explaining disorder, with a particular focus on the movement of subatomic particles. / [Associated Press](#)

A new Yale School of the Environment study finds that solar canopies on parking lots where the land has already been cleared, could provide a third of Connecticut's power, help meet the governor's target of a zero-carbon electric sector and contribute to environmental justice by reducing the urban heat island effect and avoid harming ecosystems. / [Yale Environment 360](#)

A new movement on farm land, known as agrivoltaics, involves mounting thousands of solar panels on posts eight feet high and spacing them far enough apart so a tractor can drive between them. One farmer using this system, Byron Kominek, has integrated the shade gained from the panels into his growing plans, planting crops beneath the panels which benefit from the extra coverage. The panels also reduce the evaporation of irrigation water and, in turn, keep the sun-baked solar panels cooler, making them more efficient. / [National Public Radio \(NPR\)](#)

Fort Severn First Nation, located 850 km north of Thunder Bay, recently powered up its 300-kW solar system which, according to Chief Paul Burke, will help the community of about 550 people transition off diesel fuel and generate between \$250,000 to \$350,000, depending on the amount of sun. Project manager Michael Wrinch predicts that, thanks to this one project, up to 400,000 litres of fuel could be saved. / [CBC News](#)

The world's first electric self-propelled container ship, Norway's 80-meter Yara Birkeland, departed on its 43-mile maiden voyage across a fjord from Horton to Oslo, transporting 3,200 tons of fertilizer. The trip, which would require 40,000 trips by diesel truck per year, will save around 1,000 tons of CO<sub>2</sub> annually. / [Good News Network](#)



COURTNEY SKYE

# PEACE, FRIENDSHIP AND TRUST

**Policing as  
treaty breaking**

**G**ROWING UP, I never knew how amazing it was that I was able to live on a reserve. Looking back, I realize that my family never taught me words to speak to the systemic oppression we experienced as racialized Indigenous Peoples. The values and ideas I carried from my childhood into adulthood have been defined by possibility and opportunity: the freedom to do what I wanted with my life; the personal responsibility I have to my clan and nation; a sense of reciprocity and interdependence to the other clan families in our Confederacy; and the obligation to care for children and future generations.

I grew up at Six Nations of the Grand River, a Haudenosaunee community established following the Haldimand Proclamation of 1784, which affirmed the use and enjoyment of six miles on either side of the Grand River for the Haudenosaunee, forever. Today, the current boundaries of the reserve are limited to about 5% of the land set aside in the Haldimand Proclamation. Six Nations, along with the other Haudenosaunee communities, many of them also known as places of resistance—Kanesatake, Tyendinaga, Kahnawake—are like postage stamps along our broader traditional territory affirmed in the Nanfan Treaty of 1701.

Now, as an adult, I study and build policy informed by the historic and ongoing Haudenosaunee resistance to colonial violence. Within the Haudenosaunee worldview, everything starts with what we call our Original Instructions; the way we as humans are supposed to live here on earth, in balance with other living beings. Throughout our history, visionaries, historic events and treaties, build and express our philosophies and laws. Treaty making is iterative, informed by our laws given to us by our Creator, sacred gifts that are the inheritance of our grandchildren. It is their laws, lands and waters that we borrow. What we take, and use, comes at the expense of our children, and we have to preserve it, using as little as we need to survive. It is an obligation, a burden, a sacred trust, to protect and conserve plants, animals, lands, and waters for future generations of Haudenosaunee children. This law binds us and pulls Haudenosaunee people to the frontlines of resistance across Turtle Island.

**W**e sit in his car, parked on the side of the road in the dark. Haudenosaunee don't eat in the dark, so the streetlight and interior lights are on. I haven't seen my cousin in almost two weeks; we normally eat breakfast at the local diner, but his flight had come in late so we settled for burgers in the car.

He looks exceptionally tired, which isn't new, but he seems too quiet, which is unusual. He has on a new coat that's too big for him, his usual camouflage jacket had been ripped off him by the RCMP in the recent raid of Wet'suwet'en territory. We eat in a silence that is painful considering our usual laughter and teasing.

"Court... I need to tell you what they did to me," he whispers.

In Ontario, police operations responding to Indigenous land defense actions are overshadowed by the death of Dudley George and the subsequent Ipperwash Inquiry. The Ontario Provincial Police operate under the Framework for Police Preparedness for Indigenous Critical Incidents which sets out an Indigenous specific response by police that includes the use of the Provincial Liaison Teams (PLT).

Skyler Williams, spokesperson for 1492 Land Back Lane, has been an activist on the frontlines of Indigenous land defense actions, including his most recent arrest during a raid in Wet'suwet'en territory.

"The oddest one out of all of them is one PLT, he always tries to talk like he's my friend. This last time the roads opened up, he sent me a picture of himself, sitting in a hunting blind, saying it's a beautiful day. It's a picture of him, with his gun, and the bush, like he's my buddy or something. It's one of those things, they're always finding a way to infiltrate communities so they can utilize those relations to put Indians in jail."

"I've been around communities for the last 20 years and I've seen these guys come in and just stir up [shit] and have really caused lasting impacts in the community by exploiting those divisions. They found a tactic that works."

"Police gather intelligence in our communities, so they can befriend us, so we will openly tell them things, and that's the most disgusting part of it. They try to convince our people, by lying, in whatever underhanded way, to convince our own people and in the greater good to rat out your friends. It's real sleazy stuff."

"People get it twisted in their heads, when a guy shows up without a gun, uniform or badge, and it's just some dude, and they generally try to make it an Indian that's standing in front of you. And they talk to you differently. Other people who don't understand what policing or gathering evidence looks like, just think it's some dude, who don't understand their whole job is to put Indians in jail for standing up for the land. I've heard and talked to so many people in our community who have openly given them information about things because they thought it was the right thing to do, or they thought they were just having a conversation with another person."

"The way of coming into our nations and pulling at the seams of our communities to see where we will fall apart is a pretty disgusting tactic in the age of truth and reconciliation and all the bullshit they try and spin."

**A** police vehicle pulls out behind us as we pull out of the restaurant.

"They're following us, they know I'm in your car," I tell her, "they're going to pull us over."

“They’re not going to pull us over, you didn’t do anything wrong,” she says.

“I was at Land Back, it doesn’t matter why I was there, they don’t care, they’ll arrest me,” I plead.

My auntie turns on her signal to indicate we are turning onto the road that runs alongside the river.

“Oh what the hell, they are pulling me over!” she exclaims.

“I told you, I’m going to get arrested, they’ve been following me since I left the site.” I plead further. I look at the river. Maybe if I run, I can make it to the water. It would be harder for them to arrest me. If they kill me, they’d have to drag my body from the river.

“It’s okay, I am not going to let them take you,” she reassures me as her vehicle slows down, “I’ll talk to them, it will be okay.”

My auntie pulls her car to a stop on the side of the road, the police vehicle already stopped behind her, an officer running up to her vehicle. She puts the car in park, the doors automatically unlock, and the police officer pulls open the door.

“Passenger, you are under arrest.”

For Haudenosaunee, our first treaties with the Dutch talk about our relationship to one another, based on mutual respect. For peace to exist between our nations, the Guswentah, or Two Row Wampum belt, speaks of peace, friendship, and trust existing between our nations. From the Guswentah, the Silver Covenant Chain, which anchors the British Crown to the Haudenosaunee Tree of Peace. This chain is made of silver, because silver, like relationships, require care to be maintained. Polishing the chain is a metaphor used to describe how our nations will work together in our relationship in order to have peace between our nations.

Currently, the relationship between our nations exists on the frontlines, where our communities continue to face being forcibly removed from our lands. We have ignored the past and failed to make things right. The resistance of Indigenous people, their memory of history, treaty, law, and land

stewardship are met with police violence. If a tarnished silver chain is being polished, it is because it is being pulled so tight with so much friction the rust is rubbing off from tension.

Denying the need to change the relationship between the Haudenosaunee and the Crown has become too apparent to my nation. True reconciliation will reshape Canada, retell history, and redraw provincial boundaries in order to respect the true human dignity of Indigenous nations.

Courtney Skye was arrested September 3, 2020 for mischief and disobeying a court order. She was arrested again on March 25, 2021 for breaching conditions. Her charges were withdrawn by the Crown on October 12, 2021 with no admittance of guilt. Approximately 50 people have been arrested in relation to 1492 Land Back Lane. To date, approximately 40 of those charged have had their charges withdrawn by the Crown with no admittance of guilt. **M**

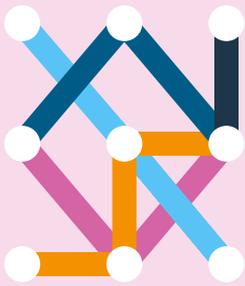
## Worth Repeating

“Enjoying the benefits of living and loving in community empowers us to meet strangers without fear and extend to them the gift of openness and recognition. Just by speaking to a stranger, acknowledging their presence on the planet, we make a connection. Every day we all have an opportunity to practice the lessons learned in community...Unlike other movements for social change that require joining organizations and attending meetings, we can begin the process of making community wherever we are. We can begin by sharing a smile, a warm greeting, a bit of conversation; by doing a kind deed or by acknowledging kindness offered us.”—*bell hooks, All About Love*.

On December 15, 2021, bell hooks died at her home in Berea, KY. She was 69. hooks wrote over 30 books, transcending genres from pedagogy to prose. Her work was unflinching and accessible. She wove together class, gender and race politics to create gripping intersectional analysis that was rooted in vulnerability and an honest account of her experience as a Black woman in America.

“She was utterly courageous in terms of putting on paper thoughts that many of us might have had in private.”—*Kimberlé Crenshaw, in the New York Times*

“We should remember on whose shoulders we stand. Her name is bell hooks. She spent nearly half a century helping us to both name things as they are, and then imagine how they could be.”—*Britney Cooper for The Cut*



## Index

### The smog of war

On October 7, 2001, the War on Terror began when American troops under President George W. Bush's direction invaded Afghanistan. When considering how these post 9/11 military actions and anti-terrorism measures have unfolded, some numbers jump to mind more readily than others. Like the over **\$14 trillion** that the Pentagon has spent since the start of the invasion of Afghanistan—with over a third of those dollars going to military contractors like Lockheed Martin and Boeing.<sup>1</sup> Or the **\$2.5 billion** that weapons makers have spent since 9/11 lobbying American Congress members.<sup>2</sup> The most incomprehensible are the nearly **1 million people**, including civilians, humanitarian workers, and journalists, who have been killed in military invasion-related violence.<sup>3</sup> Or the **38 million people** displaced by post 9/11 invasions and conflicts

in Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, Syria, Libya, Yemen, Somalia and the Philippines.<sup>4</sup>

But another story is looming still. The story of how national defence programs contribute to global greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions. Here, the American Army is the standout—but not the standalone—example of how military operations are contributing to countries missing their emissions reductions targets. As Neta C. Crawford, the Co-Director of the Costs of War Project at Brown University remarked in her study on the Pentagon's GHG emissions, “War and preparation for it are fossil fuel intensive activities.”<sup>5</sup>

**1** The U.S. Department of Defense's (DoD) global rank as the single largest institutional/organization consumer of petroleum products. The DoD is also the largest U.S. government user of energy.<sup>6</sup>

**1.2 billion metric tons** The amount of GHGs that the U.S. military emitted between the beginning of the Global War on Terror in 2001 and 2018.<sup>7</sup>

**122.4 million** The average annual number of barrels of oil purchased by the U.S. Defense Logistics Agency following the 9/11 attacks. The

Agency's annual petroleum purchases peaked between 2002 and 2012 when they averaged 134.3 million barrels per year.<sup>8</sup>

**269,230** Number of barrels of oil the U.S. military purchased on an average day in 2017. As one research team explained, “if the U.S. military were a country, it would nestle between Peru and Portugal in the global league table of fuel purchasing.”<sup>9</sup>

**16** The average number of gallons of fuel per day per soldier that the U.S. operations in Iraq and Afghanistan burned in 2006. In the 1990–91 Persian Gulf War, the rate was 4 gallons of fuel per soldier per day.<sup>10</sup>

**66 million metric tons** The average annual amount of CO<sub>2</sub> equivalent produced by the U.S. Department of Defence from 2010 to 2018.<sup>11</sup>

**742** The number of operational army bases that the United States had as of July 2021.<sup>12</sup>

**153** The number of countries in 2018 whose CO<sub>2</sub> emissions were less than the U.S. Department of Defence's (DOD). Only 55 countries had emissions equivalent to or greater than the DOD.<sup>13</sup>

**950.9** Kilo tonnes of CO<sub>2</sub> equivalent emitted by Canada's National Safety and Security (NSS) fleet in fiscal year 2019–20.<sup>14</sup> The department responsible for the majority of the NSS' emissions (706.3 ktCO<sub>2</sub>e), the Department of National Defence (DND), generated an additional 542 tonnes of CO<sub>2</sub> equivalent at its facilities in the same time period. The DND is the largest source of federal emissions.

**90%** The Government of Canada's GHG emissions reduction target, which it intends to reach by 2050. The government intends to achieve this by reducing emissions by an additional 10% every five years beginning in 2025. However, “the 40% and 90% absolute emission reduction targets do not apply to the NSS fleet.”<sup>15</sup>

Special thanks to Hadrian Mertins-Kirkwood for his assistance with this issue's Index. For more information on the role that DND emissions play in Canada's GHG emissions, check out Hadrian Mertins-Kirkwood and Jonah Somers's 2021 report, *Leading the way? A critical assessment of the federal Greening Government Strategy*, available at [policyalternatives.ca/LeadingTheWay](https://policyalternatives.ca/LeadingTheWay).

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ASAD ISMI

# Canada's attack on Libya helped spread terrorism internationally

SECTION 83.01 of the Criminal Code defines terrorism as an act committed 'in whole or in part for a political, religious or ideological purpose, objective or cause' with the intention of intimidating the public'...with regard to its security, including its economic security, or compelling a person, a government or a domestic or an international organization to do or to refrain from doing any act.' Activities recognized as criminal within this context include death and bodily harm with the use of violence; endangering a person's life; risks posed to the health and safety of the public; significant property damage; and interference or disruption of essential services, facilities or systems."  
—Department of Justice Canada

The NATO attack on Libya in March 2011, which was led by Canada and destroyed the Libyan government, state, and much of the country's infrastructure arguably makes Canada a terrorist nation, according to its own Department of Justice's definition of terrorism, provided above. All of the conditions outlined by the Department of Justice apply to Canada's attack on Libya. Canadian Lieutenant-General Charles Bouchard was commander of NATO's war on Libya, known as Operation Mobile, on which Canada spent \$347 million under Stephen Harper's Conservative government. The Canadian ship HMCS Charlottetown carried 240 officers and sailors to Libya. Ten fighter jets, one helicopter and 200 Canadian Forces members were also sent to Libya. Canadian planes bombed Libya, its troops carried out psychological

warfare operations and its special forces helped Libyan rebels on the ground. Members of Parliament from the Liberal Party, New Democratic Party and Bloc Québécois all voted to support Operation Mobile.

Canada's CF-18 jets have dropped 696 bombs on Libya as part of the NATO attack which included 10,000 bombing sorties that killed and wounded more than 5,600 civilians (up until July 2011 alone) and destroyed vital civilian infrastructure, particularly water facilities, leaving four million Libyans (out of a population of six million) without potable water. NATO bombing demolished hospitals, universities, homes and the entire town of Sirte (population 100,000). These are clearly war crimes and crimes against humanity that Canada and NATO are responsible for. The NATO attack lasted seven months until October 2011, eradicating Libya's central government, society and state and handing the country over to gangs of terrorists, criminals, Islamic fundamentalists and American operatives who started fighting with each other, pushing Libya into an abyss of violent anarchy that continues today, a decade later.

Libya went from being a prosperous country with Africa's highest standard of living (54th on the U.N.'s Human Development Index in 2010, which totalled 174 countries) and a welfare state to becoming one of the poorest and most devastated nations in the world today, where slavery abounds and traffickers prey on millions of people trying to escape to Europe in boats that often sink. Scott Taylor tells me, "Lt. General Bouchard bears at least partial responsibility for the crimes

committed by NATO in Libya." Taylor, who calls the aftermath of NATO's Libya war a "catastrophe," is a Canadian journalist who specializes in military journalism and war reporting. He is editor and publisher of *Esprit de Corps* magazine and a former infantry soldier in the Canadian Forces.

The NATO intervention derived from a series of lies spread mainly by the U.S. government about the intentions of Libya's ruler, Muammar Gaddafi. U.S. President Barack Obama and Hilary Clinton, his Secretary of State, claimed that Gaddafi was going to commit "genocide" against a group of rebels who had taken up arms against him in the city of Benghazi and that he was already bombing protestors from the air. Both of these assertions were untrue. As Professor Alan J. Kuperman, who teaches global policy at the University of Texas, clarified in 2011, "Gaddafi did not ever threaten civilian massacre in Benghazi as Obama alleged."

Obama's bombing accusation against Gaddafi was refuted by his own Secretary of Defense, Robert Gates. To purportedly prevent Gaddafi from carrying out genocide and stop him from bombing Libyans, Clinton had the United Nations Security Council approve enforcement of a "no-fly zone" in Libya in the form of Resolution. Obama and Clinton then used this very limited resolution to launch an all-out war on Libya which enormously exceeded the scope of a no-fly-zone.

As Taylor puts it, "The Canadian government willingly accepted the false narrative generated by France, the U.K. and the U.S. to justify

armed intervention in Libya. The U.N. Resolution authorizing a no-fly zone enforced by NATO was ignored in the intended scope and used to mount airstrikes against Gaddafi loyalists.” Taylor adds in a September 2016 article: “That’s right folks, NATO dropped bombs on Libyans to prevent Gaddafi from dropping bombs on Libyans.”

Taylor points out that a British parliamentary committee “roundly condemned” U.K. Prime Minister David Cameron’s role in the Libya disaster in a 2016 report and asks, “Where is the clamour in Canada for a similar investigation into our country’s role in that massive failure?...Cameron is not the only one responsible for the ongoing deaths and suffering in Libya. He has Canadian company in Harper and [John] Baird, [foreign affairs minister under Harper].”

Far from any censure, Harper awarded Bouchard the Order of Canada and gave him a military jet flyover in Ottawa. This is when even U.S. President Obama, whose bidding Canada was doing in Libya, called the NATO war, “a shit show” and blamed Britain and France for it although the attack would not have happened without Obama’s approval.

“There is simply no justification for the NATO attack on Libya,” Conn Hallinan tells me. He has been a columnist with *Foreign Policy in Focus*, a project of the Washington D.C.-based Institute for Policy Studies. Hallinan has written on foreign affairs for 50 years and retired in September. “It is a violation of international law to attack a country that does not pose a threat to other countries” he continues, “No one argued that Libya posed a threat to its neighbours or other nations, only that Gaddafi had threatened his people.

“The whole premise was a violation of international law and unfortunately, the U.N. was involved. Given that so many people are involved, it is unclear who one would prosecute, but one could start with Hillary Clinton, the person who pushed the war. Indeed, it was called ‘Hillary’s war’ in Washington. I would add the leadership of France and Italy, the former for starting the bombing, the latter for coordinating the bombing out of bases in Southern Italy.”

The real reason for the NATO invasion of Libya had to do with Western economic imperialism aimed at dominating Africa. Hallinan explains, “Libya was one of the last countries bordering the Mediterranean that was not a NATO member or a NATO ‘partner.’ Along with Syria, Libya has always been an independent actor in the region and many people in Washington and NATO have longed to end that status. I don’t think oil played a major role—but it is always a factor—but Washington has always been unhappy about Gaddafi’s effort to create an African investment bank and cooperative communications systems. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund want to control international finance and they have a particular interest in developing agriculture in Africa for the West.

European and Middle Eastern countries have snapped up hundreds of square miles of prime agricultural land in Africa to start industrial farming to ensure their food supplies in a time of climate change. Gaddafi always got in the way of those organizations. The uprising [in Benghazi] was the excuse they were looking for.”

Taylor explains the Canadian part in this economic imperialism, Ottawa being a “junior” imperialist dominated by the U.S.. Canadian foreign policy aims usually dovetail with those of the U.S. and U.K.: “I think you need to look no further than the SNC Lavalin scandal to realize that Canada has long had interest in developing Libyan oil and gas resources. Canada, like the other G8 countries, realized the looming threat of Gaddafi amassing gold reserves to create an African Union currency. This would have challenged the existing global banking system. With those gold reserves now outside Libya and the country awash in anarchy, that threat has been neutralized.”

The Canadian/NATO attack on Libya spread terrorism within and outside the country to Syria and several African states— especially Mali, where France had to send troops once more to prevent the military dictatorship’s fall to Islamic fundamentalists armed with weapons from Gaddafi’s looted arsenal and from NATO’s own extensive distribution of weaponry to Gaddafi’s opponents. “The NATO-backed rebellion saw the emergence of such extremist Islamic groups as the al Nusra Front and subsequently the anarchy opened the door to both al Qaeda and then Daesh (a.k.a. ISIS or ISIL) to get footholds in Libya,” emphasizes Taylor.

“The result of the invasion and overthrow has been a disaster,” concurs Hallinan. “The massive weapon caches of Gaddafi fuel insurgents and terrorists throughout Africa. And as [veteran journalist] Seymour Hersh showed, Libya was the key to the ‘rat line’ of arms going to Syria. The U.S., British, French and Israelis were using Gaddafi’s weapons to arm Islamic fundamentalists in Syria to wage war on the Bashar Al-Assad government. That, in turn, generated millions of refugees who are currently freezing to death on the Polish border. And insurgents in the trans-Sahel [an area comprising nine African countries] are using those weapons to overthrow governments or ignite civil wars. But then again, we [the U.S. government] knew that would happen. It is easier to rule during times of chaos than times of calm.”

Hallinan rejects the credibility of the “war on terror” entirely considering it “nothing but an excuse to invade Afghanistan and Iraq. You can’t wage a war against a tactic. Terrorism is the weapon of the weak and disenfranchised against the powerful. We [the U.S.] didn’t—and don’t now—care two hoots in hell about terrorism.” That certainly applies to Canada and NATO as well. As far the Western alliance goes, terrorism is an excuse to be a terrorist. **M**

WARREN URQUHART

# What we deserve

## Two important digital rights for Canadians

WE NEED TO regulate big tech: there's bipartisan agreement that makes this abundantly clear. The question now is how to regulate it. The Trudeau government has proposed Bill C-11 as one way to answer the big tech question. This Bill has promoted discussion: are we trading in private sector intrusion for public sector overreach? Or could C-11 be another chance for a public-private partnership that only enhances both parties' ability to surveil and own our data? 20 years after 9/11 America's Patriot Act and Canada's Anti-Terrorism Act have supercharged online surveillance. Paired with the concern of how companies like Facebook recklessly mishandle user data, the discussion around regulation has very much been: how do we limit government or Big Tech's online influence? Perhaps, though, we should switch the focus away from limiting what others can do, to focusing on what we deserve. What should we be guaranteed as online citizens? What are our Digital Rights?

This idea of Digital Rights was explored by the last minority Trudeau government in the now dormant Bill C-11. While an imperfect bill, C-11 had the foundation for providing a framework for what online users ought to be entitled to. We can build on what C-11 started to develop this framework for Digital Rights further, identifying key components for its success. To protect our interests, any Digital Rights guidelines should include the Right to Be Forgotten, the Right to Private Legal Action for Data and more.

The Right to Be Forgotten (RTBF) is powerful because it lets us acknowledge our data for what

it is: an extension of ourselves. The RTBF, roughly, means that an individual has the right to have their personal information removed from search engines. The RTBF has its legal origins in Europe, through the 2014 *Google Spain v AEPD and Mario Costeja Gonzalez* decision, and is embedded in Article 17 of the EU'S General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR). It allows, aside for some considerations regarding free speech, an individual to "request any data controller, at any time, to eliminate from their databases any piece of information regarding that data subject, regardless of the source of the information, and regardless of whether that information produces harm."<sup>1</sup>

We should switch the focus away from limiting what others can do, to focusing on what we deserve. What should we be guaranteed as online citizens? What are our Digital Rights?

There's something intuitive above the RTBF: if I consent (and whether "consent" is clicking a checkbox after thousands of words in legalese is another issue) to Facebook having my data, and they can use that data to profit from advertisers, shouldn't I also be entitled to have that data removed when I leave that platform? The RTBF restores a sense of autonomy for users and restores ownership over personal digital identity because it prioritizes consent. Beyond that intuition, the RTBF is effective because it can protect users from outside forces that use their data without consent.

The Clearview AI fiasco is a perfect example of how the public and private sector can work together to exploit user data, and how the RTBF has proactive utility. In 2020, the RCMP was found to have used facial recognition technology by Clearview, which harvested "billions of personal photos from social media".<sup>2</sup> In June 2021, an investigation concluded that the RCMP's actions were illegal, and violated the *Privacy Act*. By using this data, which was harvested without consent of users, RCMP could "match photographs of people against the photographs in the databank" and created "massive repositories of Canadians who are innocent of any suspicion of crime." Canada's Privacy Commissioner starkly ruled that "a government institution cannot collect personal information from a third party agent if that third party agent collected the information unlawfully."<sup>3</sup> The findings of the investigation directly contradicted what the RCMP stated a year earlier, that they were "not using Clearview AI on members of the public." This came after the

RCMP originally denied using Clearview AI, only to later correct the record.<sup>4</sup>

Where a RTBF would come in, is that with a codified right, users could remove their information from social media websites before applications like Clearview's extract their data. Not only does the RTBF limit what a website or digital service can do with users' data, but it preemptively protects users from extraction, because sites can't harvest data that's not available. With a RTBF, users not only protect themselves from anything the first party can do with their data but from the third party as well. An RTBF legislation would create proactive personal data protection.

Now, what happens in the event that personal data has already been illegally extracted or mishandled? An RTBF allows a proactive solution, but what about a reactive protection that allows users to seek compensation? That's where a Right to a Private Action, or the Right to Sue for Data, factors in. Of course, Canadians can already sue for privacy. Canada and its provinces, specifically Ontario, have recognized privacy torts. The idea of a Privacy tort, at least in a modern context, is recent, with 2012's *Jones V Tsige* case creating the privacy tort of Intrusion upon seclusion.<sup>5</sup>

The problem with Intrusion upon Seclusion and other privacy torts is that they are focused on individual lawsuits, where most data issues would best be served in class actions, as data leaks usually involve a large number of people. Class actions help bring justice by (1) saving time by letting one legal proceeding work for all plaintiffs, when litigating all their claims would take years upon years and (2) making bad actors pay a large collective sum that is the collective of many smaller losses experienced by everyone in a "class" of (a \$20 dollar loss per user may not mean much to the individual users, but a company that has to pay out \$20 to 100,000 people will feel the ramifications of its misbehaviour). Canada has made some steps to address privacy on an individual level, but on a class action level, particularly with Premier Ford's Class actions reform making class actions harder to succeed,<sup>6</sup> our country has been lacking. With a plaintiff-unfriendly class actions regime regarding data and privacy, not only are regular people left out of compensation, but Big Tech and those who violate our online privacy easily avoid meaningful mechanisms that ensure accountability.

The problem with privacy class actions is that our legal regime is not sure how to value data. Of course, we know that a data leak, that contains sensitive information like banking, financial passwords and social insurance numbers is valuable and can have downstream effects up to and including identity theft. However, our legal system views proving an individual's harm in widespread privacy invasions as "a difficult and expensive task."<sup>7</sup> The way that class actions work, proving that damage, and that everyone suffered

damage through the commonality of the breach, is essential to winning a case. Perhaps some members of the class are able to prove a financial loss because a data leak enabled hackers to steal \$1,000 each from them, but other members, at the time of the lawsuit, experienced no loss. We know that those hackers *can* take that \$1,000 at any time with the information they have, but by not experiencing a loss by the time of the lawsuit, the member's chances of winning in court dip considerably, even though the courts acknowledge the future danger of the leaked data.

What is needed, then, is an expanded Right to a Private Action for Data Issues. The good news is that there are a lot of ways to achieve that. One approach is to add a *cy pres* settlement function, as *Kadri and Cofone* have written about, for data and privacy cases specifically.<sup>8</sup> *Cy pres* allows courts to distribute settlement funds to charities when it is too expensive or difficult to assess individual claims of loss (such as those who may be at risk of a future loss, but have not yet experienced it). This way, there is still accountability for the actions of an actor that mishandled data. That serves the disciplinary function of class actions, but in terms of compensation, the Canadian law related to this area, Personal Information Protection and Electronic Documents Act (PIPEDA)—as also suggested by *Cofone*<sup>9</sup>—can create new penalties, separate from class actions for privacy violations. These penalties can then be distributed to those who weren't able to prove loss (in class or singular actions) to compensate victims of breaches. Both methods allow our legal system while it is learning to value and protect data to compensate and to punish privacy violations.

The public should not stop with demanding a more refined Right to a Private Action for Data and an RTBF. This is just the start. We deserve the Right to Not be Tracked, the Right to Free Internet and the Right to Net Neutrality, much of which is in the spirit of the Magna Carta for the Web.<sup>10</sup> However, to get there, we need to reorient the conversation around what we deserve. The RTBF and the Right to a Private Action, are important tools to begin that reorientation. With those rights and more, Canadians can fight digital overreach by public and private actors. **M**

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For a complete list of resources related to this article, visit [MonitorMag.ca/Current](http://MonitorMag.ca/Current)

# YOUR CCPA

## Get to know **Sheila Block**

OFFICE: **ONTARIO**

POSITION: **SENIOR ECONOMIST**

YEARS WITH THE CCPA: **SEVEN**

**This issue is all about how 20 years of anti-terror legislation has reshaped Canada. Do you have any memories about communities organizing or resistance movements from the past two decades that are particularly prominent for you?**

I am inspired by the movement around decent work in Ontario. It is a form of grassroots organizing that is deeply rooted in communities, builds bridges between the labour movement and community groups, and has made progress in getting policy change. It is one of movements over the last 20 years that simultaneously provides mutual aid, builds bridges with other progressives, and does effective advocacy work.

**What are you most excited to do with the CCPA Ontario team next year?**

This year is an election year in Ontario, and that means I will be working with my colleagues to publish insightful and accessible analysis of the issues that are important to voters so they can make informed choices.

**Outside of the CCPA, what progressive policy issues are you following?**

I am trying to learn more and deepen my understanding of decolonization. I'm particularly interested in the connections between Indigenous liberation in Canada and in Palestine.



**When you aren't writing groundbreaking analysis, how do you fill your time?**

Like many of us, I have been doing a lot of walking since the pandemic began. I have developed a new appreciation for back lanes in my neighbourhood. There is a lot of art in them!

**What are some challenges that are prominent in the region where you live?**

Our region is facing so many challenges it's hard to know where to start. But I think what is top of mind for me is the underinvestment in the caring economy—from how expensive day care fees are in Toronto to the continuing tragedy in long-term care throughout the province, to the strain on care workers in hospitals and in frontline social services. The pandemic has taught us both how thinly spread these services are and how essential they are.

**What gives you the most hope right now?**

The incredible organizing efforts that I see in the next generation of activists give me a great deal of hope.

**If you could give one piece of advice to a progressive economist who is just starting out, what would it be?**

There are a lot of interesting issues that you can work on. Pick a few, build up some expertise and make sure that your work is grounded in and supports grassroots organizing efforts.

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Find a summary of Sheila's latest research on page 8 or on our website at [policyalternatives.ca/disproportionateburden](https://policyalternatives.ca/disproportionateburden).

# SETTLER WORK:



Written by Róisín West  
Layout & Illustration by  
Katie Sheedy

## The ongoing history of disproportionate force

**When the RCMP's armoured vehicles entered unsundered, unceded Wet'suwet'en territory on February 6, 2020, one hereditary chief described them as an invading army.<sup>1</sup> The officers had dressed for the part, arriving in tactical gear and fully armed.**

This style of arrival and dress has become increasingly common for police forces across Canada post-9/11. So how did we get here and why do Indigenous communities face disproportionate force when encountering militarized police forces? In order to get those answers we have to first revisit the history of policing in Canada.

## THE NORTHWEST MOUNTED POLICE AND COLONIAL INROADS

The history of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) begins with an earlier iteration of the force during the settlement period of Canada's colonization. The Northwest Mounted Police (NWMP) was established in 1873 as a pan-Canadian police force.<sup>2</sup> *Reclaiming Power and Place: The Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls* (the MMIWG Commission's report) notes that the NWMP combined military, police and judicial functions. As European settlers began to populate the prairies, historian Sarah Carter explains that Indigenous people came to be seen as a "distinct threat to the property and lives of [these] white settlers."<sup>3</sup> This led the NWMP to enforce an illegal pass system requiring all Indigenous people to obtain a pass before leaving the reserve. However, many people needed to access local towns for work and to secure an income. Any First Nations person found in a local town without a valid pass could be arrested. First Nations women found without a pass risked being brought to the NWMP barracks where they could face "physical harm and violence."<sup>4</sup>

The dehumanizing of Indigenous women extended beyond the pass system. First Nations women were hypersexualized and had their mothering skills called into question by members of the settler community. This atmosphere allowed flagrant police misconduct to be ignored, despite it being flagged the the Lieutenant-Governor for the Northwest Territories in 1878, in a letter to the NWMP Commissioner James Macleod. In 1880, Manitoba Member of Parliament Joseph Royal raised the issue of the NWMP's "disgraceful immorality" and their human trafficking of Indigenous women. The issues were once again raised by Liberal MP Malcolm Cameron in 1886. But, in an all-too-familiar scenario, the NWMP was responsible for investigating itself and, as such, allegations of misconduct were commonly dismissed.<sup>5</sup>

"Métis scholar and activist Howard Adams has explained: [Indigenous people] suffered brutality under the Mounties, who frequently paraded through native settlements in order to intimidate the people and remind the natives they had to "stay in their place." ... The Mounties were not ambassadors of goodwill or uniformed men sent to protect [Indigenous people]; they were the colonizer's occupational forces and hence the oppressors of [First Nations] and Métis."<sup>6</sup>

## WHERE WE ARE NOW

When we consider how disproportionate force is playing out in a post 9/11 context, we have to consider two forces at play. The first is a deep-seated, systemic discrimination against FNIM people. The second is the militarization of police forces across Canada.

Reviewing the security documents produced during the surveillance of Idle No More, researchers found a two-pronged approach to framing Indigenous movements: both as criminal threats with the potential to disrupt Canada's economic status quo and as "extremists," a powerful label in the post-9/11 age of counterterrorism.<sup>7</sup> This frame of "extremism" is critically important for "blurring the boundaries between activism,

protests and terrorism.”<sup>8</sup> While extremely potent in the post-9/11 context, this frame is not new and has been used against Indigenous resistance movements for decades.

When thinking about the problem of disproportionate force the heavy handed treatment of Indigenous elders and supporters at blockades such as those found at Fairy Creek and Wet’suwet’en likely comes to mind. This behaviour was decried by B.C. Supreme Court Justice Douglas Thompson in his ruling against Teal Cedar’s injunction extension request in October 2021.<sup>9</sup>

However, the use of excessive force against Indigenous people does not end at the barricade.

## 9/11 AND THE MILITARIZATION OF POLICE FORCES

The model of policing that most readers are likely familiar with, and that is most commonly presented to Canadians, is a “community policing” model. This style of policing centres on building relationships with communities and focuses on crime prevention. But as researchers Brendan Roziere and Kevin Walby found in their FOI-fueled examination of Canada’s police services, the use of militarization by police forces is on the rise. Militarization is antithetical to the community policing model and brings with it its own military policing mentality, which understands the police as outside of the communities, acting as anonymous enforcers. This mentality seeps into the broader police culture, beyond members of police paramilitary units (PPUs). Because they do not belong to the community, they are not accountable to the community and they are inherently suspicious of its members.

The use of PPU and SWAT teams has increased exponentially over the past two decades. While prior to 9/11, these units deployed an average of 60 times per year (1980-1997), Roziere and Walby’s research revealed that, as of 2017, the average number of yearly deployments was 1,300 per agency representing a 2,100% increase in 37 years.<sup>10</sup> This is particularly concerning because militarized police practices are more likely to be used against marginalized communities, including Indigenous communities.<sup>11</sup> The use of force by PPU has also been shown to lead to more frequent use of lethal force against civilians.<sup>12</sup> The city that had the highest rate of deployment of their PPU in Roziere and Walby’s study was Winnipeg, the Canadian city that also has the largest FNIM population.<sup>13</sup>

As Canada doubles down on its identity as a petrostate, the role of militarized police forces and the use of disproportionate force become ever more important to protecting the interests of the state. Writing about the use of excessive force against the Idle No More movement, Crosby and Monaghan introduce the logic of elimination as a key concept for understanding the continual use of disproportionate violence by state actors. “As Wolfe (2006) notes, the genocidal logic of settler colonialism is a structure, not an event. Though we can highlight particular events within our understanding of settler governmentality, it is the rationalities of colonialism that make the everyday practices of Canadian governance seem “normal.”<sup>14</sup>

## WHERE CAN WE GO FROM HERE?

Researcher Vicki Chartrand argues that one critical step Canadians need to take is to stop talking about colonization as though it is something that happened in the past. “Framing colonialism as something of the past [e.g. colonization’s legacy], however, de-historicizes existing colonial relationships and displaces an understanding of the links between incarceration, sovereignty, and the state. Indigenous struggles and experiences are thus symptomized as an unfortunate but inevitable consequence, while the structural and systemic manners in which Indigenous people continue to be colonized are rarely explored.”<sup>15</sup>

**From the MMIWG Commission’s Recommendations:** *“The idea of access to justice is broader than the simple administration of the courts, or the conduct of police, though... A human rights-based approach to justice therefore involves understanding that justice is a broader concept than just administration.”<sup>16</sup>*

**Rights guaranteed by UNDRIP and the UN Human Rights:**

**UNDRIP Article 1.** *Indigenous peoples have the right to the full enjoyment, as a collective or as individuals, of all human rights and fundamental freedoms as recognized in the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and international human rights law.*

**UDHR Article 3.** *Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.*

**UDHR Article 5.** *No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.*

**UDHR Article 20 (1)** *Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.*

**UNDRIP Article 2.** *Indigenous peoples and individuals are free and equal to all other peoples and individuals and have the right to be free from any kind of discrimination, in the exercise of their rights, in particular that based on their indigenous origin or identity.*

**UNDRIP Article 3.** *Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.*

**UNDRIP Article 10.** *Indigenous peoples shall not be forcibly removed from their lands or territories. No relocation shall take place without the free, prior and informed consent of the indigenous peoples concerned and after agreement on just and fair compensation and, where possible, with the option of return.*

**UNDRIP Article 26 1.** *Indigenous peoples have the right to the lands, territories and resources which they have traditionally owned, occupied or otherwise used or acquired.*

**UNDRIP Article 30 1.** *Military activities shall not take place in the lands or territories of indigenous peoples, unless justified by a relevant public interest or otherwise freely agreed with or requested by the indigenous peoples concerned.<sup>17</sup>*

**For the full article and a complete list of references, please refer to the online version at [MonitorMag.ca](https://www.monitor-mag.ca)**

ANNA-LIZA BADALOO

# Two decades of Islamophobia

## The invisible toll on the health of Muslims in Canada

WE CANADIANS hold many myths about ourselves. We like to think that we respect each other's differences and celebrate diversity. We may even consider ourselves morally superior to and more "woke" than our American neighbours.

But statistics tell a different story: in the last five years, more Muslims have been killed in targeted hate-attacks in Canada than in any other G7 country.<sup>1</sup>

Twenty years ago, in the wake of the 9/11 attacks, Canada, like many countries, enacted strict anti-terror legislation. Although the stated aim of this legislation was to keep *all* Canadians safe, Muslim Canadians have experienced quite the opposite in the years that followed the passing of the Anti-Terrorism Act.

For two decades, Muslim Canadians have endured every day aggressions while bearing witness to more violent acts of Islamophobia. Muslim Canadians report being regularly harassed and subject to microaggressions at work, school and in public spaces. Mosques and community centres have come under violent attack. Canada has become a country where wearing a hijab can put a target on your back, and where many mosques now require security.

But there are other, more insidious impacts on Muslims that aren't nearly as visible: on health and health equity. How might Canadian policy mechanisms be used to heal the last 20 years of damage done to the Muslim community? Is there a role for policy to meaningfully improve Muslim health and experiences in the health care system?

### On distress and isolation

Dr. Ahmed N. Hassan, MD, FRCPC, MPH is a Staff Psychiatrist and Clinician Scientist at the Centre for Addiction and Mental Health (CAMH) and Assistant Professor of Psychiatry, Pharmacology and Toxicology at the University of Toronto.

When it comes to how Islamophobia impacts Muslim health, it's not about a set of specific health conditions. Rather, it's about recognizing the potential impacts of prolonged stress. "Overall, it's about psychological distress. What specific disorder will appear depends on a lot of factors," Hassan explains. "If you're under psychological stress, you increase your vulnerability to a variety of disorders. Everyone will express it differently. For some people, this might express itself as depression, anxiety or problems communicating."

This chronic distress makes Muslims more vulnerable to developing Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). But again, it depends on the person. "Not everyone that gets into a car accident will develop PTSD," Hassan notes. "But if they were already under psychological distress before the accident, they would be at high-risk to develop PTSD."

In his specialty of treating addictions, Hassan has seen first-hand how some individuals may turn to substances as a PTSD coping mechanism. "So, you feel distress. If you try alcohol and find that it relieves the distress, what's next? You are going to drink more alcohol."

Particularly relevant during the pandemic, social isolation is another invisible health consequence. "On an individual level, Muslims get

stereotyped and labelled. Socializing is limited, as there is Islamophobia," Hassan explains. "People will be fearful of their Muslim neighbours—what if they have some terrorist connection? This creates isolation, which is not good for health."

What happens when the Muslim identity intersects with other marginalized identities such as being a woman, Black or being 2SLGBTQIA+? This is exactly what the concept of intersectionality acknowledges. Those layers of discrimination aren't just cumulative; they are more than the sum of their parts. As Kimberlé Crenshaw describes, "Intersectionality is a lens through which you can see where power comes and collides, where it interlocks and intersects. It's not simply that there's a race problem here, a gender problem here, and a class or [2SLGBTQIA+] problem there. Many times that framework erases what happens to people who are subject to all of these things."<sup>2</sup> The health outcomes of queer, Black Muslim women will be more impacted than their heterosexual, non-Black, Muslim counterparts.

### Islamophobia, trust and health equity

Given the chronic stress that many Muslim Canadians are living with, what happens when they encounter the health care system?

"Islamophobia is destroying health equity," Hassan states without hesitation. "Islamophobia creates and perpetuates social stigma towards Muslims. This increases distress and feelings that they are being discriminated against. Most importantly, research shows that this decreases access to health systems."

Most Canadians trust the health care system implicitly, confident that they will receive diligent, respectful care. Unfortunately, this isn't the case for many Canadian Muslims. "It's about ongoing anti-Muslim policies and media coverage. Muslims automatically feel that they are being discriminated against," Hassan explains. "So, they are in distress, and want to seek help to relieve that distress. But they feel that the system is already against them. Therefore, they will be very reluctant to seek help from the health care system. In their head, it's linked to the same people who created these policies and structures."

Hassan is the lead author of the 2021 study *Inspiring Muslim Minds: Evaluating a Spiritually Adapted Psycho-educational Program on Addiction to Overcome Stigma in Canadian Muslim Communities*. During their research, some troubling information about health equity emerged. "We asked them to identify barriers to accessing the health care system. They said that they cannot trust the system," says Hassan. "They fear that confidentiality will be broken. That doctors may reveal their addictions issues to their employer. That they may potentially lose their jobs and homes."

The source of this deep distrust? Islamophobia. "They have been exposed to cumulative stress and trauma from 20 years of being categorized as terrorists," Hassan explains.

### How policy could improve Muslim lives

Policy is a tool. Like all tools, it can be used to improve or destroy lives.

Which policy mechanisms could be leveraged to improve Muslim lives in Canada? There is certainly no lack of options.

In 2018, the Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage released their report, *Taking Action Against Systemic Racism and Religious Discrimination Including Islamophobia*,<sup>3</sup> in which a diverse group of witnesses brought

## A whole of government approach

Here is a sample of the NCCM's holistic government recommendations<sup>5</sup> that have the potential to significantly improve the health of Muslim Canadians, and reduce health inequities.

### Create new government entities and legislation

Pause federal "Countering Violent Extremism" programs, and require Public Safety Canada to develop a new program in close consultation with racialized communities

Establish a new federal oversight body for the Canadian Border Services Agency (CBSA)

Create a federal Office of the Special Envoy on Islamophobia

Create a National Anti-Islamophobia Strategy

Create a Hate Crimes Accountability Unit in all provinces

Ban white supremacist groups from incorporating and holding rallies on provincial property

Establish provincial Anti-Racism Directorates and Councils with Muslim representation

Pass municipal street harassment bylaws with authority

Enable mayors to build Anti-Islamophobia Advisory Councils/ Circles with Muslim representation

### Examine internal government issues

Study the failure of national security agencies to deal with white supremacist groups, including how such views may have permeated CSIS, Communications Security Establishment (CSE) and the RCMP

Enshrine zero tolerance for Islamophobia and inclusion of intersectionality across all federal departments

Ensure Muslim representation in provincial agencies, boards and commissions

### Allocate new government funds

Create a National Support Fund for Survivors of Hate-Motivated Crimes

Allocate federal research funding for studying Islamophobia

Fund provincial programs and organizations supporting Muslim youth

Provide dedicated municipal funding for local community-based anti-Islamophobia initiatives

Fund municipal anti-Islamophobia public awareness campaigns and celebrate the history of local Canadian Muslims

Fund municipal alternative measures to policing

Revise existing legislation

Undergo a comprehensive legislative review of the federal Canadian Human Right Act (CHRA) as part of an overall renewal of how Canada deals with modern forms of Islamophobia and hate

### Improve public opinion of Muslims

Empower Canadian Muslims to tell their own stories in the media

Enable provincial Ministries of Education to work with school boards and local Muslim communities to develop anti-Islamophobia strategies in schools

Conduct regular provincial polls to determine the state of racism and Islamophobia in their province, and determine the relevant aspects of Islamophobic sentiment

forward several policy recommendations<sup>4</sup> specific to Muslim communities from a national strategy to the need for education and training to reduce Islamophobia. But four years later, many of these recommendations have yet to be implemented.

Following the National Summit on Islamophobia, in July 2021 the National Council of Canadian Muslims (NCCM) released over 40 recommendations that represent a holistic policy approach, with concrete recommendations for federal, provincial and municipal governments to “address Islamophobia and aim to remove systemic barriers faced by Muslim communities.”<sup>5</sup> Six months after the horrific attack in London, Ontario that killed three generations of a Muslim family, the NCCM followed up in November 2021 with their proposal to create the provincial Our London Family Act,<sup>6</sup> providing specific provincial policy recommendations to Ontario.

### The importance of engaging all levels of government

No single level of government can effectively dismantle Islamophobia in Canada—an integrated government approach is needed. The NCCM July 2021 report deftly demonstrates the importance of involving all levels of government in combating Islamophobia. This innovative report also separates recommendations, differentiating between violent and systemic Islamophobia, thus acknowledging the need for a two-pronged approach.

Although the Our London Family Act is strictly provincial, it builds on their previous recommendations by asking Ontario to examine legislation as varied as the Education Act, the Not-for-Profit Corporations Act and the Anti-Racism Act.

### Islamophobia as a systemic disease in the Canadian body politic

PTSD isn’t limited to individuals—it can extend to entire communities, countries and even to the global community. Hassan provides some insight into how PTSD develops in individuals and the potential implications on the Canadian body politic. “Let’s say a woman gets assaulted by her male partner. [When] PTSD [happens], she may come to believe that all men are bad. You see how this could lead to problems in her relationships,” Hassan explains. “It’s the same thing in Islamophobia. Something happens, and it becomes linked to all Muslims. Which is obviously not the case.”

Thus, all Canadians (Muslim and non-Muslim alike) become affected. We are collectively entering our second decade of national PTSD—which means the impacts have become intergenerational. What could cure this insidious, national illness? “People need to know that Muslims are not dangerous,” says Hassan. “The only way to be less fearful, is not to have constant media coverage that presents Muslims in a negative light.” Constant reinforcing of the narrative of violent

Muslims can reactivate a hypervigilance and suspicion in the Canadian public toward their Muslim members.

He also notes the need for increased government funding to make health services more accessible for individuals who have already been affected.

Rebuilding trust on both sides is the prescription to address the root causes of Islamophobia, and both individual and national PTSD.

Despite increasing calls for action, governments remain slow to implement concrete anti-Islamophobia initiatives. But there is hope on the horizon. On November 23, 2021, the City of Brampton unanimously endorsed all of the NCCM’s municipal recommendations, and requested that the motion be circulated to the Region of Peel, City of Mississauga and Town of Caledon.<sup>7</sup>

Are Canadian governments ready to actively dismantle systemic Islamophobia by looking inward at police forces, RCMP, CSIS, and CBSA and creating an Anti-Islamophobia strategy? Are policy-makers prepared to put ending Islamophobia firmly on the public policy agenda, and work to regain the trust of Canadian Muslims that has been sorely undermined after two decades of anti-terror policies?

As the pandemic has shown us, it’s amazing what different levels of the Canadian government can do when they choose to move in unison on a particular issue. The roadmap for initiatives that reduce public stigma and fear of Muslims, enact meaningful pro-Muslim legislation at all levels of government, and provide concrete support for the most vulnerable members of the Muslim community has been laid out. It’s time for all levels of Canadian government to take confronting Islamophobia off the back burner, for the good health and prosperity of all Canadians. **M**

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ANNE DAGENAIS AND TIM MCSORLEY

# In clear view

## Confronting Canadian police use of facial recognition technology

**I**F YOU BLINKED, you would have missed it: This past June, Canada's national police force was found to have broken the law when they used facial recognition technology that violated the most basic aspects of Canada's privacy laws.

While it could be chalked up to it being the summer, or focus being on the pandemic, it unfortunately fits in the long history of police and intelligence agencies in Canada being able to skirt privacy and other laws under the guise of protecting public safety and national security, with few repercussions apart from a soundbite from relevant officials and ministers promising to do better and that, of course, protection of rights is paramount.

It was on June 10, 2021, that the Privacy Commissioner of Canada and several provincial and territorial counterparts released their finding that the RCMP had violated the federal Privacy Act by using controversial—and illegal—facial recognition software provided by Clearview AI. The Privacy Commissioner and his colleagues had already found, in February 2021, that Clearview AI broke Canadian law first by collecting over 3 billion facial images, without the consent of a single person, to populate their system, and then by contracting their facial recognition database and software to police agencies and private companies across the country.

As federal Privacy Commissioner Daniel Therrien said when the decision on Clearview AI was released, “What Clearview does is mass surveillance and it is illegal. It is an affront to individuals’ privacy rights and inflicts broad-based harm on all members of society,

who find themselves continually in a police lineup. This is completely unacceptable.”

When the RCMP's ties to Clearview AI were originally revealed in early 2020, the force initially denied, then downplayed their use of software from what was already a company mired in controversy—from its co-founder's cozy relationship with white supremacists to its fast-and-loose relationship with the law in the United States, to its secretive contracting with hundreds of police forces across that country. What eventually came out was that the RCMP had been using the Clearview system for months and made hundreds of searches—for what, we don't know—hiding it from the Privacy Commissioner, the media and the public. In fact, it was eventually revealed that the RCMP has had an almost 20-year history of using facial recognition technology, without ever revealing what technology they've used or how they use it.

The Mounties' recent foray into facial recognition isn't limited to Clearview AI. Last year, the *Tyee* also revealed that the RCMP in B.C. had contracted with a U.S. company for use of its “terrorist” facial recognition database. This company promised access to a databank of 700,000 images of terrorists; who they are, how they are determined to be “terrorists” or the accuracy of the company's information is impossible to assess. The RCMP won't reveal why or how they used this system either.

We've known for years that law enforcement and intelligence agencies have been dodging rules around surveillance and privacy

protections. While the problem dates back much further, the issue has grown exponentially in the 20 years since the start of the War on Terror, following the attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001. It led to an all-out effort by national security agencies to collect as much information as possible, with little regard for privacy or other rights. In 2013, National Security Agency (NSA) contractor and whistle-blower Edward Snowden revealed what many suspected was bubbling below the surface: that the U.S. spy agency, along with allies in countries like the U.K. and Canada, were running vast, covert mass surveillance operations of questionable legality, out of view of politicians, oversight bodies and the public. In 2016, it was revealed that the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) had been illegally retaining troves of Canadians' data completely unrelated to threats in order to engage in data analysis. While the data was “walled-off,” the response from the federal government wasn't to forbid such data-collection, but instead to legalize it with the passage of the *National Security Act* in 2019. While the bill established a series of strict safeguards around private data about Canadians, this was less so for foreign information, and created nearly open-season on the wide-spread collection of vaguely-defined “publicly available information.”

So the concerns around the RCMP and facial recognition—and the use of facial recognition surveillance in general—didn't appear in a vacuum; it's part of a long, ongoing debate about surveillance, privacy and the use of new technology in the pursuit of national security.

That said, facial recognition technology, and in particular facial recognition surveillance, presents its own particular set of hazards. That's why organizations who study the issue across Canada—ranging from academic institutes to think tanks to human rights and civil liberties groups—have called for, at a minimum, a moratorium on law enforcement and intelligence agency use of the technology until there is further, public study and appropriate rules put in place. We at the International Civil Liberties Monitoring Group, along with nearly 70 other organizations and experts on the issue, have demanded an outright ban on the use of facial recognition for surveillance purposes, along with a moratorium for all other uses of the technology.

### Why is there such an urgent need for action?

First, facial recognition allows for mass, indiscriminate and warrantless surveillance. Both real-time (live) and after-the-fact facial recognition surveillance systems subject members of the public to intrusive and indiscriminate surveillance. This is true whether it is used to monitor travellers at an airport, individuals walking through a public square, or activists at a protest.

While police are required to obtain a warrant to surveil individuals either online or in public places, there are gaps in our current laws about whether this applies to facial recognition surveillance. These gaps may also allow police and other agencies to use mass surveillance in the hopes of being able to identify a person of interest—putting all of us under the microscope.

Second, there is a dangerous lack of regulation of facial recognition technology in Canada, including around transparency and accountability of law enforcement and intelligence agencies. The Privacy Commissioner of Canada has warned that current privacy laws are a “patchwork” that do not address the risks posed by facial recognition technology. We've seen this play out when the RCMP and police forces across the country lied about whether they use facial recognition technology, without repercussion. Some police forces even said they weren't aware that their officers had started using facial recognition technology. Municipal, provincial and federal oversight boards and elected representatives certainly weren't aware. Even once it was revealed police services were using this technology—some of it illegal, in the case of Clearview AI tech—there was no fall-out or accountability.

Third, multiple independent studies have shown that the algorithms on which some of the most widely used facial recognition matching technology is based are biased and inaccurate. This is especially true for people of colour, who already face heightened levels of surveillance and profiling by law enforcement and intelligence agencies in Canada.

Even if the algorithms could be improved, there are concerns about the kinds of databases that are used to

match and identify facial patterns. For instance, some police forces use mugshot databases as the comparison dataset. However, these databases are flawed and should be questioned in terms of their reliability and whether they increase further stigmatization, especially given the disproportionate policing of communities of color across Canada.

Finally, facial recognition technology is a slippery slope. The current scope for the use of facial recognition technology in Canada by law enforcement is unknown. What we do know is that multiple police forces are using various versions of facial recognition technology for multiple purposes all across the country, at all levels. We also know that they have access to the most intrusive forms of facial recognition surveillance. For example, the Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA) ran a pilot project using real-time facial recognition surveillance at Toronto's Pearson Airport for six months in 2016, with little to no public notice beyond the Privacy Impact Assessment on its website. Meanwhile, the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) has refused to confirm whether or not they use facial recognition technology in their work.

Even if we choose to believe that the current use of facial recognition technology by Canadian law enforcement is limited, the fact that it is unregulated means that even limited use has the potential for serious harm. Its use normalizes its role in society, allowing facial recognition to spread and gain acceptance over time, until it can no longer be put back in the box.

We have seen this in other jurisdictions: limited use of facial recognition by law enforcement in other countries has typically led to greater and much broader rollouts of the technology.

In the U.K., facial recognition is already being used at sports matches, street festivals, protests, and even on the streets to constantly monitor passers-by.

It is easy to imagine that without proper scrutiny, public debate and regulation, the same will eventually come to Canada. **M**

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To send a message to the Minister of Public Safety calling for a ban on facial recognition surveillance and legislative reform, visit [iclmg.ca/banfr](http://iclmg.ca/banfr).

MERLIN CHATWIN AND THOMAS LINDER

# Canada's smart tech future

## Open cities or opaque surveillance?

**P**EOPLE AROUND the world are recognizing the potential of emerging “smart” technologies—those technologies that use machine learning, artificial intelligence and large-scale data analysis—to provide more efficient and effective services. However, there is also significant potential for them to cause harm around privacy, discrimination, transparency and the corporate capture of what are publicly and democratically controlled tools of government.

This danger is increasingly well recognized by both the public and governments, and in 2017 the Canadian federal government conducted the Smart Cities Challenge, a \$75 million initiative that demonstrated a clear alternative approach to the failed attempt by Google's Sidewalk Labs to launch a smart city project in Toronto. Among many elements, the Smart Cities Challenge winners stood out in contrast to the Sidewalk Lab's project through their foundational emphasis on resident-led design and development.

The importance of having deeply transparent and democratic principles underpinning the development and implementation of potentially dangerous smart technologies is clearly well understood by both the general population and the government. Indeed, the Government of Ontario has pledged to continue to develop its artificial intelligence framework based on Open Government Partnership principles, a set of values that cement transparency, privacy, harm reduction and public engagement into the process.

Yet, how is it that the same kinds of data collection and analysis

technologies, financed by the same municipal and provincial bodies, are exempt from these democratic principles when used by police forces?

Extensive research, including a recently completed four-year doctoral investigation into the rise of smart technologies in Canadian policing by one of the authors, shows that, over the last two decades, Canadian police forces have replaced their emphasis on a strategy of ‘community-based policing’ with one of ‘intelligence-led policing.’ This strategy eschews building relationships of trust with communities to understand what they are experiencing and instead deploys a growing digital surveillance machinery to extract a bird's eye version of that information without consent or oversight.

At the core of this strategy is the building of “real-time operations centres” (RTOCs) in police services across Canada: high-tech surveillance hubs modelled directly after U.S. Fusion Centres, deeply controversial mass surveillance units built post-9/11 for domestic counterterrorism programs.

These RTOCs bring together the same kinds of smart, AI-driven, surveillance-based technologies that many smart city projects utilize, and indeed they frequently integrate existing smart city systems like data from public transit cards<sup>1</sup> or private and public CCTV networks into their surveillance apparatus.

The fact that there is not at least the same level of public oversight into and control over the police procurement and usage of these technologies poses a serious democratic deficit.

### RTOCs in Canada

While appearing under a variety of names, RTOCs are already operational in almost all major municipal police services across Canada.

Based on thousands of pages of access to information requests, on-site visits and interviews, Thomas Linder<sup>2</sup> pieced together how over the last decade such centres in Niagara, York Region, Ottawa, Calgary, Edmonton, Vancouver and more have become the go-to solution for Canadian police forces looking to “modernize” for the “digital age.”

Much like cities looking to smart city technologies, these police services are responding to a perceived need to operate effectively in an increasingly digital society. However, this research shows that police forces have avoided a public debate about the best approach and, instead, unilaterally adopted a mass surveillance model developed by the U.S. military and domestic counterterrorism agencies in the aftermath of 9/11.

This model involves centralizing and expanding surveillance capabilities to reach far beyond those parts of society that police previously had access to, and doing so with tools that have a well-established potential for abuse and discrimination.<sup>3</sup> These tools are developed by corporations like IBM, Palantir and Motorola Solutions who build similar technologies for U.S. and Canadian military and national security agencies and are also frequently contracted to help guide the police services in developing their RTOCs. The militarized counterterrorism model is baked into these Centres from the start.

While there have been several high-profile scandals around

technologies like automated facial recognition,<sup>4</sup> predictive policing<sup>5</sup> and international mobile subscriber identity (IMSI) catchers<sup>6</sup> that have led to their discontinuation, smart surveillance technologies very much like ones used in many smart city projects are still being used by these RTOCs to provide this potentially highly problematic information directly to routine police operations without any public debate or oversight.

Under the guise of “Open-Source Intelligence,” these centres treat all publicly available information on the internet as fair game for surveillance recording. This includes social media surveillance tools that extend police gaze deep into areas of people’s everyday lives in ways that users are mostly not aware of and have not consented to.

While police have long used CCTV in a few key areas, RTOCs enable the deployment of many more cameras by linking existing private (like campuses and malls) and public (like parks, transit, or roads) networks. Research shows that CCTV can exacerbate discriminatory stereotyping,<sup>8</sup> and RTOCs enable real-time CCTV access to spaces that previously were not policed in this way.

Another key function is to incorporate an increasing number of databases, from private and public sources, such as the information of people who have merely come into contact with the police through programs like “carding,”<sup>9</sup> to external databases that collect information like demographics, vehicles and licenses and anything else Canadian privacy laws don’t expressly prohibit. Such data mining has well-established potential harms and may even prove to be in breach of Charter rights.<sup>10</sup>

Smart city technologies frequently utilize the very same kinds of open-source data collection, CCTV coverage, or data mining technologies, yet as the rejection of Sidewalk Lab’s project and the winners of the Smart Cities Challenge show, there is a strong public and governmental push for a public, democratic debate around transparency, harm avoidance and resident participation.

Given the striking similarities and the deep enmeshment of smart city technologies and the RTOCs, there is no reason the same debate should not take place for police utilization of those practices and technologies. As for smart city projects, the Open Smart City principles can provide a strong framework for how to move forward with smart technologies in a way that benefits residents and the communities in which they live.

### Open Smart City Principles

Open Smart City principles<sup>11</sup> recognize that the benefits and harms of smart technology, in policing as well as in smart cities, are frequently unevenly distributed across communities and as such emphasize values of equity, public oversight and control. These values are distilled in five principles:

1. The ethical, accountable and transparent governance of the use of technologies.
2. Democratic, participatory and collaborative approach across community, private, public and civil society sectors.
3. The consideration of technologies that are fit for purpose and that work against harm and bias.
4. An open data management structure in which privacy is guaranteed and custody and control over data generated by smart technologies is held and exercised in the public interest.
5. A recognition that data and technology are not automatic solutions to social problems. Rather than quick techno-fixes, these issues often need innovative and strategic social, economic and political solutions.

These principles are the basic requirements for a democratic technological society and local governments are applying them to Open Smart City projects across Canada. Unfortunately, the kinds of opaque acquisition and usage of smart surveillance technologies by police forces as described at the top of this article frequently stand in direct contradiction to them. Indeed, some departments actively worked to prevent legitimate research of their activities!

This conspicuous desire for exemption from democratic transparency and governance says a lot about how these technologies and their usage are understood by police forces. Yet this kind of counterterrorism-inspired approach is counterproductive and many nascent projects around the world have demonstrated alternatives. For example, the Police Data Initiative—which involves more than 120 agencies across the United States—is taking steps in the right direction for open data governance values; in Oakland, California, and now in many other U.S. municipalities, residents have gained considerable power over police technology procurement and budgeting;<sup>12</sup> and the Vancouver Police Department has been taking steps to involve public and civic groups in the development of its GeoDash predictive policing technology to minimize potential harms.

Clearly, these issues are significant and their resolution should not be left up to the combination of corporations and police to determine. The Open Smart City principles provide a clear framework of values for public and democratic discussion of their application. A public debate may determine that in certain instances, some of these principles apply differently to policing as opposed to, say, smart urban traffic management, or it may determine that an issue does not warrant a high-tech solution or even a policing solution at all. Whatever the outcome, it is essential that a democratic debate based on common, publicly understood values is had. **M**

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# Meet Paige Galette, CCPA donor

**Paige Galette is a Haitian activist and feminist, and President of Les Essentielles, a francophone women's organization in Yukon.** She has been passionately involved in political movements fighting for social justice, including the labour movement, women's movement, queer movement, and the Black liberation movement. Paige has also contributed to the *Monitor* magazine, used and shared CCPA research in her continued role as an activist and has recently become a donor.

**Tell us about someone you find particularly inspiring right now.** My friends are my closest inspiration. I am in awe of Angela Code, a member of the Sayisi Dene First Nation (Denesuline/Chipewyan) who this past year founded Dene Cha'niyé, teaching sustainable hunting ethics and education from an Indigenous perspective. My friend Siku Allooloo, an Inuk/Haitian Taíno writer, artist and educator, whose work was recently featured in INUA, the inaugural exhibition of Qaumajuq, the new Inuit art centre at the Winnipeg Art Gallery. And my sister Pascale Diverlus, a Haitian community organizer, storyteller, communications specialist and educator, who continues to push progressive groups and organizations beyond their ideal of progress, onto freedom, inclusion and liberation of Black people.

**Can you give us one example of how COVID-19 has forced you to think outside the box?** It's been the concept of "on the ground" organizing. We've been forced to go digital, a territory most progressives are scared of going into, but know it's been time! I've appreciated the creators of social education on Tik-Tok and podcasters. As someone who is tired of



seeing petitions as the only means of organizing, it's about time we recognize digital organizing can be effective and fun.

**Where should CCPA supporters turn their attention to?**

There is a lot of activism in the North that sadly doesn't get the same recognition, praise and support as the work down South. Groups such as Northern Voices Rising (Yukon), BACupNorth (NWT) and Nunavut Black History Society (Nunavut) are doing great work in challenging the narrative

that Black people, Black Histories and Black Culture doesn't exist in the North.

**What has the CCPA done lately that's made you feel proud to be a supporter? In your opinion, what makes the CCPA special?**

The CCPA's work on affordable child care. Sitting on the Yukon Government's Child Care Board, I felt the need to be well informed on the matter prior to contributing to advice to the Minister. I felt CCPA's research, illustrating the contrast between provinces and debunking myths, was very insightful. Policy and economic analysis should be accessible and easily understood by all. CCPA has the fascinating ability to explain what can easily be complicated, to thoroughly understand. That makes their articles easy to share.

**Could you tell us why you decided to support the CCPA?**

It's important to support great work. For me, I support organizations that make space for people who look like me and who are committed to making our lives better.

AYSHA IMTIAZ

# We are all Afghanistan

TWO DECADES is a long time to endure the impacts of anti-terrorism legislation and their sanctioned actions. It was long enough for me to grow up, from a scared 5th grader on the morning of 9/11 to a young Muslim woman who left an America, ravaged by its aftermath, for Canada.

It was even long enough for me to see that, although we immigrated to Canada wide-eyed and hopeful, anti-terrorism legislation here and the Islamophobia that it allowed to take hold, didn't discriminate between criminals and creative writing students. Now living in Karachi, Pakistan with three children of my own, we are firmly outside of this bubble, peering in at the policies and places that I once called home.

This past fall, imagery of Afghani residents clinging to airborne planes haunted the global conscience. And understandably so. The striking exodus was chaotic and dystopian. Unprecedented. But when you live in this part of the world, those horrific pictures are a small stretch from the lengths someone you know might go to to get out. The descent into harsh reality can also feel just as sudden and catastrophic. A free fall.

Much has been said about the impact that "routine surveillance" and "social sorting" has had on Muslim immigrants once they're in Canada, but I maintain the undoing starts much closer to home. The process of immigrating is, itself, incredibly stressful and difficult to navigate. While Canada's federal government has a site to help immigrants verify the legitimacy of their immigration representatives, there are loopholes and susceptible areas that uncouth immigration

"agents" prey on, such as by saying that while they might not be listed, they are authorized representatives of a lawyer that is. This practice is made more complicated by the captivating, yet unfounded, beliefs reverberating widely among the developing nations' consciousness. Rose-tinted information shared by relatives abroad, combined with unregulated legal representation in the home country and compelling alibis on behalf of agents create the necessary conditions for a perfect storm.

What happens when immigration procedures are mired by misinformation on social media and capitalized on by promises sold with slick marketing tactics against a backdrop of insidious psychological warfare?

Collectively, it spawns a similar, albeit less visible, form of desperation.

## A stage set for disappointment

Tuba Tanveer, a Muslim influencer with a substantial YouTube following, migrated to Canada from Pakistan in 2020 and is currently based in Calgary.

"When it comes to immigration, I believe the basic thought behind it is building a better life for oneself and paving the way for a better future," she says. And it's this 'trade-off', abandoning what is, at times, a life of comfort in the homeland for next-generation dividends like equitable health care, education, safe workplaces and comprehensive social security that constitutes the lure of the immigration siren.

Coupled with political instability, systems riddled with corruption, costly private education—and often, turmoil or extremism—in their home nation, for many, the temptation becomes too great and

the stakes too high *not* to take the plunge.

It's a psychological phenomenon, says Tanveer: "people think if they change their environment, everything in their life will magically change... What people need to understand is leaving their country will not end their hardships and struggles. It will just change the nature of them."

This misunderstanding is fuelled, in part, by the stories of loved ones abroad. Many expats may paint more positive portraits of their lives than they actually experience, putting up a compelling façade and hiding, for example, their underemployment hardships or the reality of poverty in ethnic enclaves in Toronto in order to alleviate stress or avoid bringing shame upon their families. This behaviour contributes to sprawling gossamers of glittering promises and lies about the reality Muslim immigrants face in Canada.

It's a lose-lose situation, explained Murtaza Haider, a professor of Real Estate Management at Ryerson University and a Director of Regionomics Inc. While he rooted his searing commentary on Pakistani migrants specifically, it is equally representative of many Muslims from developing nations: "Pakistan-born immigrants [have become] the face of Canada's urban poverty. Their dismal performance in Canada and the spread of religious fanaticism back home will most likely further reduce immigration from Pakistan," he wrote.

## Adding fuel to the fire

The greener pasture expectations of immigration, instead of being pragmatically managed by immigration consultants, are shamelessly capitalized. "The consultants lure people in with 'too good to be true'

statements,” concedes Tanveer. As a result, a rich smorgasbord of fraudulent traps await immigration hopefuls: marriage scams, permit scams, illegal job offers, phishing emails, phone calls and fake immigration websites.

The segments of society with lower education levels and an elementary proficiency in English are most at-risk for these lures. And discerning between the lawful and unlawful leaves immigrants navigating a virtual minefield.

Donovan H. Francis, founder and managing lawyer at GOOSELAW Immigration, posits that what the law describes as “marriages of convenience” (an offence under the Immigration Act) are one of the most prevalent forms of fraud. Though severe penalties exist for both the non-Canadian and Canadian parties alike, he says, “I know from a statement published by the Canadian government that out of 46,300 immigration applications for spouses and partners processed in 2010, approximately 16% were refused. They estimate that most of the refused cases were on the basis of a fraudulent relationship. However, there is no hard data on this.”

Being prepared to face severe penalties speaks to the level of motivation, by any means necessary, immigration hopefuls may feel. “The motivation is often driven by the perception that life in Canada will be better than life in their home countries. Quite often, people fall into these situations because of a lack of understanding of how the immigration system works,” says Francis. “Frankly, I believe that less people would fall into this predicament had they received honest and sound legal advice at the outset. In fact, there have been publicly reported cases where fraudulent immigration consultants have deliberately misled clients about this matter, resulting in heartbreak and misery.”

### **The clash of expectations and reality**

Even when immigrants arrive lawfully within Canada, their lived reality often doesn’t match up to their dreams.

In her 2020 article for the *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, “All of This Happens Here?” Dr. Mary Jean Hande and co-authors explored the experience of disillusionment with Canada, its employment opportunities and worker protections that immigrants experience when they witness the jarring contradiction between their expectations and reality. “The stark contrast between the promise of Canada’s egalitarian workplaces and the reality of precarious employment experiences, including poor regulation and enforcement of employment standards, leads to the disappointment and disillusionment of many immigrant workers... leaving them wondering why they immigrated to Canada in the first place” writes Hande and her team.

“Based on research I conducted as part of the Closing the Employment Standards Enforcement Gap project,

our team found that precarious (and predominantly racialized) immigrant workers in Ontario had very little recourse when their employment rights were violated,” explained Hande in a statement.

“Violations ranged from months of unpaid wages, health and safety violations and harassment in the workplace. Employment standards are not strictly enforced in Ontario and often the onus is on precarious workers to make complaints against the employer to the government, which is a time-consuming, risky, exhausting and complex process that often results in minimal or no compensation. Many of the precarious workers we talked to expressed surprise, frustration and sometimes resignation when their hopes and expectations of a “better life” in Canada were contradicted with precarious, dangerous work and unpaid wages and no government protection when employment standards were violated or wages were left unpaid. This disillusionment with Canada often set in when such employment violations persisted even after getting permanent or citizen status. Sadly, some of the workers we interviewed felt that their working conditions and quality of life would have been better if they had stayed in their home countries,” she summed up.

### **Hate the fanatic, not the religion**

With Islamophobia deepening and spreading across Canada over the past two decades—creating conditions in which three generations of Muslims can be wiped out in one fell swoop—the risks facing Muslims in Canada can at times quite literally become deadly.

“Islamophobia is a product of wrong narratives that [are] presented about Islam on multiple platforms and people believing in everything [they hear],” says Tanveer. Even in the context of Afghanistan, she maintains, “people are not running from Islam, it’s the extremism that they’re scared of, [like] the very first move of the Taliban government in Afghanistan where they banned girl’s education and restricted them to their houses. This is not Islam. Islam is not strict; it does not cage women. It does not promote violence.”

“Extremism in any form or shape is unbearable and so Afghans are trying their best in a place that promotes it. But they’re also trying to get out, as they cannot continue to live in those circumstances where they see a dark future,” she adds.

But is their alternative *systemically* guaranteed to be much brighter?

I’ve walked those grass blades. I know those fields.

And two decades of anti-terror legislation targeting Muslims writ large is long enough to realize... in some ways, we are all Afghanistan. **M**

JOLSON LIM

# Is CSIS monitoring protesters in the name of profits?

THE EXTENT to which the Canadian government's security apparatus is used against peaceful citizens is a question worth asking in light of the RCMP's ongoing militarized response to Wet'suwet'en Nation's opposition to the Coastal Gaslink Pipeline.

It's a question not only of whether the government is truly protecting its citizens and their rights to assemble, protest and speak, but also of how the definitions of "threats" and "national interest" are used and abused to oppress dissent and bolster capital interests.

Like the RCMP, national intelligence should be put under the microscope, especially because it operates discreetly. Are government sleuths serving the special interests of capital—and in doing so, illegally upholding colonialism and environmental destruction?

Unfortunately, recent history shows national intelligence, often under the guise of protecting infrastructure deemed to be in the national interest, may be doing just that.

An essential place to start this discussion is with the thousands of pages of Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) documents published in 2019, offering the public a rare peek at the extent to which the federal spy service monitored environmental and Indigenous activists opposed to the now-cancelled Enbridge Northern Gateway Pipeline project in British Columbia.

The files, dubbed the Protest Papers, show that CSIS kept significant tabs on protest and organizing activities of Indigenous

groups and environmentalists who opposed the project. The documents raised questions as to whether the spy service overstepped its mandate, effectively allying with the oil and gas sector when there was no violent threat.

The British Columbia Civil Liberties Association (BCCLA) had to fight for five years to get documents on how CSIS tracked pipeline opponents published, first filing a complaint in 2013 to the spy service's watchdog, the Security Intelligence Review Committee (SIRC). The committee reviewed the complaint, hearing from witnesses in both CSIS and the civil society community. In the process, CSIS created more than 500 operational reports relevant to the committee's inquiry.

In 2017, SIRC dismissed BCCLA's complaint, prompting the association to ask the Federal Court of Canada to revisit the decision. In the Federal Court process, more than 19 volumes of records from SIRC's review were released and subsequently published by the BCCLA.

The Protest Papers confirmed suspicions from organizations including the Dogwood Initiative, Leadnow and Sierra Club, as well as the Idle No More movement, that the Canadian government's intelligence arm was watching them.

Beyond simply monitoring protestors' activity, the documents suggest that the spy service passed along information to oil companies and the National Energy Board (NEB), the former arms-length oil and gas regulator that environmentalists had long criticized as being too cozy with the petroleum

producers. BCCLA asserted that the spy agency had violated section 19 of the CSIS Act for sharing information on protesters with members of the private sector. That section clearly defines to whom CSIS can disclose classified information obtained in their function, limiting the sharing of information to peace officers, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and National Defence and their designates, and "any minister of the Crown or person in the federal public administration" when the sharing of information is deemed in the public interest.

Also concerning is that the sharing of information was a two-way operation. The documents reveal how the energy industry passed along reports to CSIS about perceived threats, with the agency keeping such information for potential future use. The documents show how CSIS participated in meetings with Natural Resources Canada and the private sector, including the petroleum industry, at the spy service's headquarters in Ottawa.

A CSIS witness, according to the documents, told a closed SIRC hearing that the material "just sits" in our system, but "should something happen, should violence erupt then we will go back to this and be able to see that we had this information." Optically, the fact that CSIS held onto such reports from private companies and met with them in their own headquarters offers little confidence that the spy service is fulfilling its role to serve the public.

The review committee urged CSIS to ensure it was keeping only "strictly necessary" information, as stipulated in the laws that govern the spy service's operations. CSIS

is barred by law from spying on civilians unless it has reason to. However, the review committee ultimately ruled that CSIS's activities did not go as far as surveillance of activists, and information was collected incidentally from investigating other threats, a conclusion that BCCLA disagreed with, leading it to pursue a review in Federal Court.

What triggered the fight to obtain the CSIS records was a 2013 article, published in the *Vancouver Observer*, that quoted emails from an NEB official stating that the arms-length agency consulted with CSIS, the RCMP, Enbridge, TransCanada Corp. and a private security contractor working for the NEB on security threats. The file containing the correspondence had been obtained through an access to information act.

The *Observer* report immediately worried BCCLA, ForestEthics, Sierra Club, Leadnow.ca and the Dogwood Initiative. They soon believed they were being targeted by the agency in a coordinated spying campaign. BCCLA launched a complaint in 2014 to SIRC alleging that the spy service had overstepped its legal authority by monitoring activists.

Many of the documents released through Federal Court are heavily redacted, making it difficult to determine what CSIS specifically said about the monitoring of these organizations. "As they are so heavily redacted, we are really left with more questions than answers," said Alexandra Woodsworth of Dogwood.

But the fact that Canada's spy service kept tabs on activists to the known extent it did was more than enough to chill the broader civil society community. Celine Trojand, then-director of organizing for Dogwood, testified to SIRC that the original *Observer* story forced the organization to beef up its data security. Trojand added that after the article was published, some Canadians were reluctant to participate in environmental activism, "because they were worried that they would be 'on a government list.'"

As the *Observer* reported, Jamie Biggar, co-founder of Leadnow.ca, testified to SIRC that there was a looming sense that his organization "simply couldn't even know the size and the scope of surveillance or intelligence gathering that was being conducted." His organization had previously alleged there was possible surveillance of a workshop held in 2013, which a CSIS employee allegedly attended. The workshop was intended to help prepare citizens to testify to the NEB about the Northern Gateway pipeline. In effect, CSIS became an extension of the oil industry's counterprotest efforts.

Beyond the Protest Papers, CSIS had followed Indigenous protesters. In these cases, activists are perceived as potentially violent, offering the agency room to monitor them as threats to national security. Heavily-redacted CSIS documents obtained by the *National Post* in 2014 show that the spy agency was involved in preparing an all-of-government approach to dealing with the Idle No More protests, if they "escalated."

The redactions were, in part, because the information related to "the efforts of Canada towards detecting, preventing or suppressing subversive or hostile activities," according to a letter from the spy agency, the newspaper reported. The sections of the documents that actually deal with what evidence the government had that the protests might have taken a violent turn, and what it would have done if that had happened, were not disclosed.

Idle No More organizer Clayton Thomas-Muller told the *Post* that the movement has registered multiple reports of CSIS agents contacting various First Nations during the height of the movement, including "non-traditional tactics...to get one-on-one time from various active indigenous activists." Indigenous filmmaker and activist Clifton Nicholas told the newspaper he had been contacted by CSIS on three occasions.

More recently, CSIS monitored the 2020 Six Nations-led land occupation in Caledonia, Ont., as a potential threat to national security, gathering intelligence on it during road blockades, *APTN News* reported last June. CSIS monitored the dispute and its "potential for violence," citing "notable concerns regarding critical infrastructure." In this case, CSIS denied it was investigating protesters, suggesting it was part of routine information gathering.

"The inclusion of critical infrastructure immediately makes this a national security problem in their eyes,"- Jeffrey Monaghan, the author of *Policing Indigenous Movements* and professor at Carleton University, told *APTN*. "There's a language around violence, and there's also a language around the sovereignty claim—and seeing sovereignty claims as a threat to the Canadian state."

Meanwhile, CSIS has refused to release internal records on Indigenous-led actions in support of Wet'suwet'en hereditary chiefs by using an exemption under the access to information law normally reserved for information related to gathering intelligence to detect or suppress terrorism.

All this should create cause for concern for the public. Is information gathering and monitoring appropriate when there is no threat to the public? Are the definitions of "critical infrastructure" and "national interest" being abused by Canada's security apparatus to defend the interests of capital at the expense of individual rights?

These questions ought to be asked in the context of Canadians' changing attitudes around both the climate crisis and Indigenous reconciliation, and a commitment from the government to address these issues substantively.

Canadians should be skeptical, particularly as CSIS lobbies for more power under its governing act. Fundamentally, Canadians must ask themselves who the spies really protect. **M**

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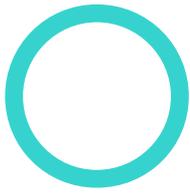
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**CHOICES  
OF RHETORIC  
AND  
CHOICES OF  
ACTION**

-

AN  
INTERVIEW WITH  
**BRUCE  
COCKBURN**  
ABOUT ART, ACTIVISM  
AND A LIFETIME  
OF KICKING AT THE  
DARKNESS



On the evening of June 26, 2002, activists and organizers from around the world settled into the worn velvet seats of Calgary's Uptown Cinema. This was the seventh day of non-violent protests against the G8 Kananaskis meetings, the first meetings of their kind to be held after 9/11.

As the lights lowered, the concert organizer, Bourbon Tabernacle Choir's Chris Brown, took to the stage. He was soon joined by the Brothers Creegan of Barenaked Ladies fame and Bruce Cockburn. The *Monitor* recently reached out to Cockburn to discuss that concert and his lifetime of activism, catching up with him as he prepared to head out for his 2nd Attempt 50th anniversary Tour across the United States and Canada.

**The Monitor:** Music has always played a vital role in social justice movements. There are, of course, protest singers, like Pete Seeger and Joan Baez, whose craft is centred around activism. But other artists like yourself and Tracy Chapman tend to weave social justice issues in as part of a broader tapestry. I'm wondering if you agree with that assessment and how you situate social justice within the landscape of your work?

**Bruce Cockburn:** Yeah, I do agree with that. I have not felt obliged to present myself or to try to create songs or a body of work that is focused on any one particular issue. I've always seen what I do as being about life in the broadest sense, whatever that means. And life in the broadest sense for me includes a moral consideration. I was raised to care about what happens to people around me, and the world in general, and to pay attention to it. And on top of that, adding the spiritual values that I have, including the notion of loving my neighbour. Well, you know, you can't love your neighbor and ignore your own complicity in your neighbour's pain. So that's the starting point for my approach to

those things, to songs that might be said to be about issues.

After that it's circumstantial. I wrote the songs about Central America, which are the most blatant statements of that aspect of what I do, because I was there. I experienced the things I experienced and heard from other people about the things they were experiencing firsthand. Those things had an impact.

You only write your own feelings like that. I feel like that's my job—to translate what I've experienced of life into something that's communicable to everybody and can be shared by everybody. I'm always going to be writing from my perspective. And I think that in the case of the instances of injustice that I've mentioned in songs, those feelings would have been shared by any thinking person or feeling person in those circumstances.

So I feel like there's something to share there [with people who] have not been in those circumstances or haven't been exposed to those things. The songs are a way of kind of exposing and pointing a finger: there's something you should look at.

I don't feel like it's my job to sell an idea to people, but I do feel that it's appropriate to try to be

persuasive. And in suggesting that people would probably feel the way I do it, if they were confronted with these things.

**M:** In *Rumours of Glory*, you suggest that the song that will forever be most associated with you is *If I had a Rocket Launcher*. Why do you think it is such a memorable piece from a career that spans 50 years and 34 albums?

**BC:** When I say that, it's just based on the fact that that's what people ask for all the time and the one that people who don't really pay much attention to what I do associate with. So I mean, as opposed to *Wondering Where the Lions Are*, which was a bigger hit by quite a bit, actually back in its day, but very few people, especially people that don't have little kids know it.

But I hear far more, oh yeah, Bruce Cockburn, you're the guy who wrote the rocket launcher song, you know, that kind of thing.

So that's why I say that. Not because I think it's more memorable than others. But I think what people have responded to in it is that sense of outrage or the expression of rage that everybody feels. We all carry it with us. And so that gets a rise out of people, even if they've never paid any attention to what someone's actually talking about... I think that did expose the raw, kind of pain and anger. That's in that song. I think people have responded to that.

**M:** Virginia Woolf is famously quoted as saying "as a woman I have no country. As a woman, my country is the whole world." When I listen to your body of work, I feel like this quote could be repurposed to read that, for you, as a musician "the whole world is your country" as you both draw on global musical traditions and demonstrate global solidarity in your lyrics and your politics. What drew you to push beyond traditional boundaries, and how do you hold on to that in a time when fear of the other seems to be reaching an all time high?

**BC:** Well, I don't find I have to expend effort to be either interested or to hold onto these things. I just want to know what's going on over a wide area. I'm interested in a lot of different things. And I read about those things, but I've also been lucky enough to be able to travel the way I have.

What impelled me to go to Central America in the first place was curiosity. I didn't go there looking for a cause to attach myself to. My brother Don was involved with solidarity work back then in El Salvador and he kept feeding me Central American things to read and what I read about the Nicaraguan revolution just made me want to go there and see what it looked like up close.

[Growing up], it felt like there was something really momentous about the success of the Cuban revolution and the overthrow of Batista and the Nicaraguan revolution felt momentous in the same way. Except the Nicaraguan revolution seemed to be free from what I was reading at the time of the abuses that the Cuban revolution carried with it. I forget which Sandinista I spoke to about this—it might have been Ortega himself—he said, each revolution, we learn from the one before. So the Russian revolution was different from the French revolution, and the Cuban revolution was different from the ones before, and the Nicaraguan revolution. You know, they're trying not to make the mistakes that they can see that have been previously made in circumstances like that. So there was a feeling that, had it been allowed to succeed, we'd be looking at a pretty different world, right?

Of course, it wasn't allowed to. And Ortega has not carried on in the way that it looked like he was starting out.

**M:** The reason I wanted to talk to you for this issue of the *Monitor* was because of your performance at the Uptown Theatre in Calgary during the G8 demonstrations in 2002. I was listening to an episode of Nora Loreto and Sandy Hudson's podcast recently and Nora was trying to explain to a listener who had submitted a question how different it was to protest right after 9/11. Because if you don't know, you don't know. And you performed at the solidarity concert in Calgary on that Wednesday night with Chris Brown and the Brothers Creeggan.

I was wondering if you could take us back to that concert, if you have any particular memories of how it felt to be in Calgary at that time, or how it felt to be a part of solidarity movements at that time.

**BC:** What I remember was a kind of heady atmosphere of adventure... that we were all out there making a statement, but there was this sinister side of it, that the event itself was moved out into the wilderness and heavily guarded. And there were all kinds of rumors. I don't know if they were true or not. The military guarding the conference had orders to shoot on site

and that sort of thing. Nobody had put that to the test as far as I know, but they made it very hard for anyone protesting to be seen by any of the heads of state or their delegations that were present.

Those people were aware of what was going on of course, because they were watching the news as much as anybody else, I'm sure. But I thought that was a dark move to have made. It made certain kinds of practical sense from the government perspective. But it seemed to fly in the face of the rights we have to be heard.

I think in Canada—and this may be ignorance talking because I don't spend very much time in Canada these days—it seems to me, we were insulated to some extent from the worst effects of the anti-terror attitude that exists in the world. I think that you get a worse version of it in England and the U.S. and I'm sure in some other countries it's far worse, but it's still there.

It showed up when we were involved in the landmine issue. There was a campaign to ban landmines, and at the same time, there was a confrontation going on in B.C., between the RCMP and [the Ts'peten Defenders at Gustafsen Lake]. They were in a confrontation without very much actual violence, but at one point the RCMP employed what they called an in-ground explosive device.

So basically they mined that protest camp's access road and they're lucky they didn't kill anybody. They blew the wheels off somebody's truck.

It's a strange simile to use maybe, but one time I was being taken on a boat ride in a rainforest area of Australia. There were crocodiles, and we didn't see any, but at one point in this little tiny creek that we were in, a ripple went across the surface of the water in front of us. That was a crocodile under the water. It was big enough that exerting itself underwater, you could see the ripple on the surface, this kind of V-shaped ripple as if there was a boat there.

And to me, incidents like that landmine episode in B.C. are that ripple. The reason that we don't see as much of the worst effects of any terrorist policy in Canada is that we're lucky. And it doesn't come up very often. If it was more present in its negative effects, if there was such a thing as terrorism that was more present in Canada, we would see a lot more repression.

We don't get challenged a lot on things. It's interesting that a guy who shoots up a mosque in Quebec can be called a terrorist. But that kind of terrorism is handled very differently... Islamic terrorists are not [treated] the same as homegrown, white honky terrorists because only one side gets extrapolated.

**M:** Are there other solidarity efforts in Canada and the U.S. that you have supported, and stand out in your memory, over the past twenty years?

**BC:** I think one of the most important things that I felt drawn into was the issues faced by Indigenous People in North America.

I confess I'm kind of in the same boat, as I think a lot of white middle-class people are with these things, because I'm not in it every day. And because my focus has been, in the last decade, on my family.

It's always impressed me and it still does that the Indigenous groups that end up getting a voice are so restrained in their use of that voice, even now. I find that impressive and moving. And, I wonder how long we can expect that to last. As things get more kind of down to the wire, environmentally and socially, and this kind of very confrontational climate that we're all in, and there again, I mean, there's anti-terror mentality in action against Indigenous protest groups.

I mean, it's obscene, actually. I could say the RCMP, but I don't think it's just the RCMP in it. But the way that authority responds to even the slightest suggestion of things being disrupted is so heavy handed and so conspicuously racist it's very disturbing and it seems to me that we ought to be able to fix that easily, but we haven't and we don't.

**M:** Do you think that the role of artists and musicians in resistance movements has changed in the age of anti-terrorism?

**BC:** I think you have to assess who the artists think that their audiences are. Most of the time, when people take those political stances, they're playing to an audience. If you don't think anybody's listening to you, or if you think that you're going to drive away the audience you have, by making a particular statement, you're going to think pretty hard about that statement. The Van Morrisons and the Eric Claptons taking this strong anti-vaxxer stance, I mean, I have no reason to think they're not sincere in doing that, why would they not be? But I think they're also interested in that audience and maybe only because they feel that's who they're communicating with.

To me, I don't think the role has changed that much. I think that it's everybody's job in society to take a stand on issues, especially on issues that affect everybody. We're all supposed to be paying attention. We're all supposed to take responsibility for what happens. An artist's position in things is such that you can make a point publicly and be heard. And therefore you should.

That's how I see it. And I don't think that's changed. I think the tolerance for outspokenness with respect to issues is a kind of whimsical thing, almost. It's kind of an unpredictable element because when a point of view is seen to be widely popular, then the media will be a willing participant in conveying that point of view from the artist to the public. When it's not, they won't.

So, that's kind of what it comes down to. I don't think it's about the artists. I think that when you don't hear these kinds of things—there was a period, a decade ago, where you didn't hear very much protesting coming from the artistic community. It's not because the artists weren't doing it, it's because the media weren't talking about it or weren't covering it.

Fashions come and go, too. There are times that it's just not so fashionable for a young artist, for instance, to be thinking about those things. The 80s were like that where, oh, I don't want to talk about issues, you know, just want the money. And that was the prevailing attitude. But that was a reaction to there having been a degree of fashionable acceptance of protest before that. So it looks like the pendulum just keeps swinging back and forth.

I think the job of us human beings is to maintain our commitment to whatever extent we can to as many good things as we can, regardless of where the pendulum is.

**M:** What roles can artists and musicians play in undoing and

repairing the harm that two decades of anti-terrorism legislation has brought to communities at home and abroad?

**BC:** I don't know, in the big picture, how we get out of it. I think somehow someone has to develop a voice and have it be heard. And I don't know how that's going to happen.

You look at someone like Greta Thunberg. We're hearing her voice. I wonder, why are we hearing her voice, and not the voices of others who might be saying the same thing? Is it because she's the most effective of all the possibilities, or is it because it's good to have a mascot out there saying the things that we know should be said, but [to whom] we don't really have to pay that much attention? I'm a little afraid it's the latter. But at the same time, it's great that she's there, and that we're at least hearing her voice. But I don't know how we get it.

I think on a personal level, the answer lies in trying to be as discerning as possible and paying attention to the impact of our own choices on others. So the choices of rhetoric and choices of action: it comes down to that.

When I go out the door in the morning, I want everybody I meet to have a good day and I do whatever I can to facilitate that. Mostly, what it means to me is that I'm polite to people and respectful as much as possible.

We're now comfortable insulting each other and, and, you know, behaving like a bunch of angry teenage boys, thoughtless, thoughtless, and rude and lacking in judgment. I mean, I think that the whole society is being encouraged to behave that way. And so whatever we can do on a personal level to offset that is going to be a good thing.

And that's a moment by moment thing, really. We can have all the ideas we want about the big picture and we need some. We have to work on the big issues. But, it really comes down to how you treat the people you meet. **M**

NORA LORETO

# Five books to understand work and the work of organizing

**W**HEN I READ stories about work, I inevitably fall into thinking about organizing within those workplaces. For me, the world of work cannot be untied from the world of organizing. Not only is work a sophisticated expression of organizing within a specific location, it is also where we spend most of our waking hours. Just as our workplaces are organized by our bosses, for workers to be able to pressure bosses into doing anything, it requires that we organize too: organized resistance is the only option when we are dealing with organized exploitation. As such, here are my top five books about work and organizing:

## 1. THE PLEASURES AND SORROWS OF WORK

ALAIN DE BOTTON

I loved this book. De Botton takes a deep dive into different kinds of work, including tracing a tuna from the moment it was fished out of the Indian Ocean to the moment it appeared in its final, processed form in the freezer case at a British grocery store, and even into the home of its ultimate consumption. I love how de Botton writes: I find his style engaging and interesting, even if I don't share his political orientation. But for anyone who loves to read about work, this book is a true delight.

## 2. THE ROAD TO WIGAN PIER

GEORGE ORWELL

Orwell the non-fiction writer is my favourite writer of all time (I admit, I have never read any of his fiction). In this, Orwell brings us to the world of work, poverty in 1937. The

descriptions of the people he writes about in this book have stayed with me for years, and he introduces organizing as a key element to improving the lives of this destitute working class. Orwell writes about the struggle of getting poor people involved in socialist organizing, and though the way in which he writes betrays an upper class chauvinism, it feels like he could be writing about poverty and organizing today.

## 3. MAKER

JIM SINCLAIR

This brand-new novel by Montreal-based writer Jim Sinclair draws on his experience working in an aerospace plant for 25 years. His story features Nicole Fortin, a union activist who becomes a reluctant union president during a moment where the company's foreign ownership wants to turn the screws to the Montreal plant workers. It's a very fast read and anyone who's been involved in the union will recognize themselves in Sinclair's cast of characters.

## 4. LECTURE

KWAME TURÉ

Available on Youtube

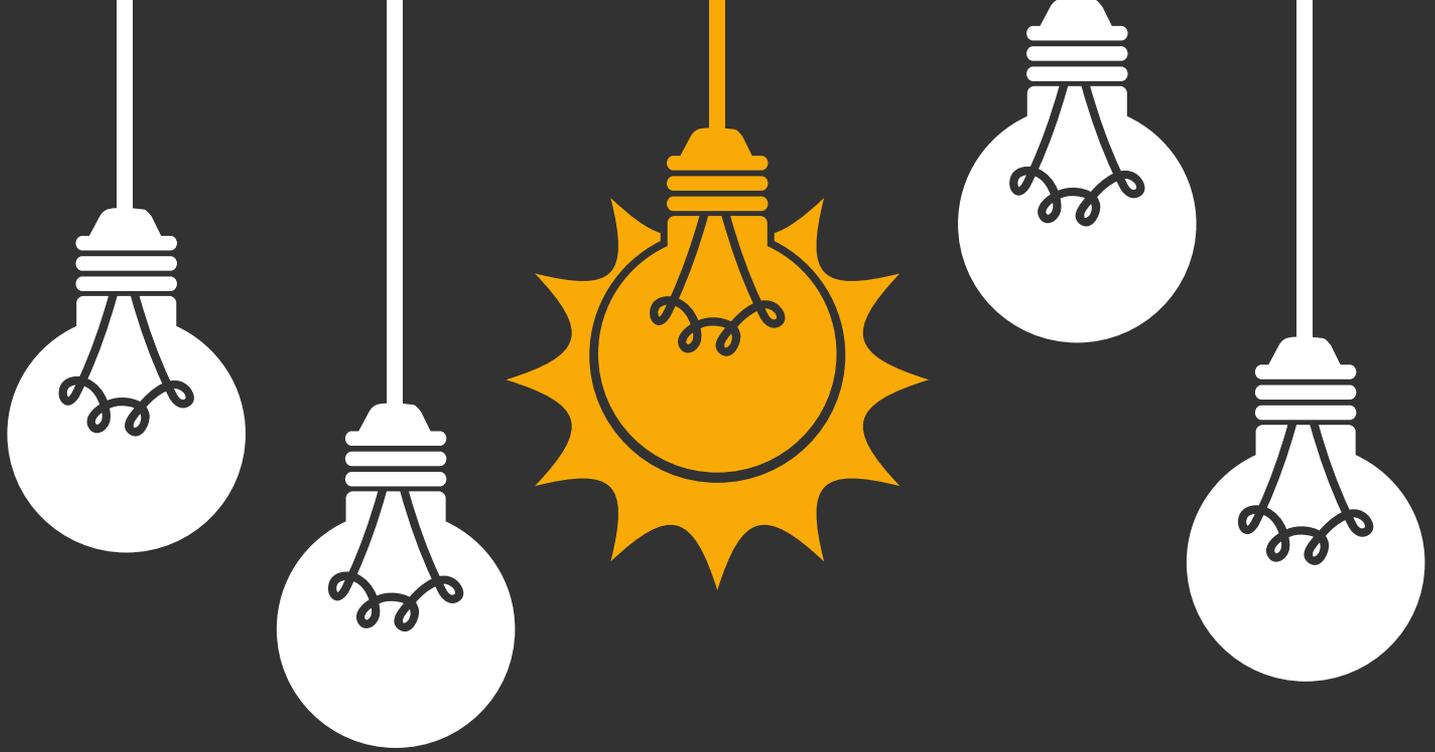
Ok, so not a book but a speech that talks about the difference between mobilization and organization. Given at a meeting of the All-African People's Revolutionary Party, Turé talks about how organizing is the only way in which "the enemy will use mobilization to demobilize us! Mobilization is easy. Very, very easy." He explains that people are ready to mobilize against injustice, and so mobilization becomes easy. Except, it orients people around issues rather than

towards the broader systems that enable injustice in the first place. Turé argues that mobilization is temporary, whereas organization seeks to be permanent to be able to seek significant (or revolutionary) change.

## 5. THE COMBAHEE RIVER COLLECTIVE STATEMENT

The Combahee River Collective was a group of Black lesbians who sought to elaborate a Black feminist vision to challenge white feminism's focus on gender as being the most important element of one's identity. In 1980, they released this statement, the result of four years of discussion and debate, and it laid out clearly how intersecting identities, and specifically as Black lesbian women, demonstrated the limitations of the white feminist movement of the second wave. The Statement still has a critical message for everyone organizing in the workplace, within communities and across struggles today: that if the voices of marginalized people, including queer Black women, are systemically ignored, that there will never really be any gains. **M**

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