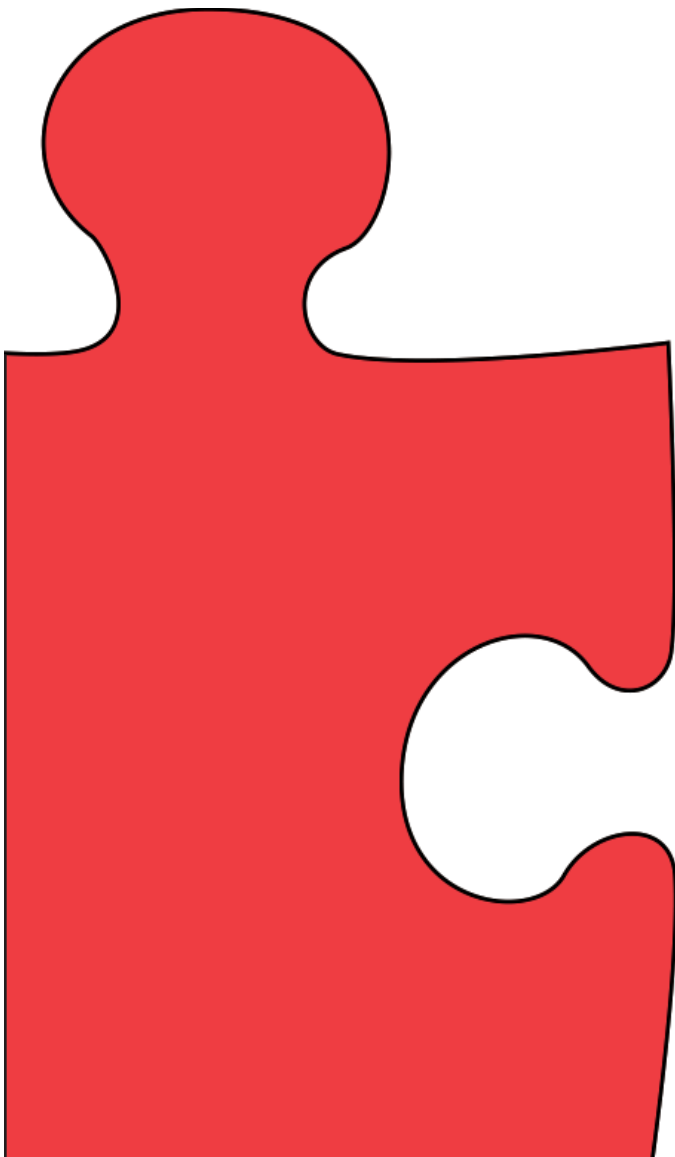


INTEGRATE THIS!

CHALLENGING THE SECURITY AND PROSPERITY PARTNERSHIP OF NORTH AMERICA

A free teach-in, March 31-April 1, 2007



Report by the Council of Canadians



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May 2007

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Part I: What We Saw

The energy was palpable in Ottawa from March 30 to April 1st, 2007. Over 1,500 people crammed into a concert hall and a high school to learn about the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America and how to fight it. Activists, academics, workers, policy experts, journalists, artists, musicians, facilitators – and even breakdancers – congregated for Integrate This! Challenging the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America, a free teach-in sponsored by the Council of Canadians, the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives and the Canadian Labour Congress.

Avi Lewis, acclaimed broadcaster and the moderator for the Integrate This! panel discussions captured participants' enthusiasm when he said:

“There is a geeky thrill to a teach-in. There’s the fact that you’ve come here on a Saturday morning. That you’re smelling the high school hallway smell, and that you are excited by that. I find that intoxicating. Teach-ins are pivotal moments and people remember them ... you’re going to be able to say I was there in that high school auditorium in Ottawa. And you are going to leave here full of facts ...”

When we saw hundreds of people stream into the auditorium of the Ottawa Technical High School at 8:30 on a Saturday morning, we knew that we were in the midst of an exciting political moment.

Council of Canadians staff members were still riding a wave of excitement from the night before, when a roster of over 25 musicians, artists and dancers gathered at Capital Music Hall for our Power In Numbers party, the official launch for the Integrate This! teach-in.



Local stars Andrew Vincent and the Pirates and Soul Jazz Orchestra shared the stage with Nomadic Massive, a collective of hip-hop artists from Montreal who electrified the crowd in English, French and Creole. We also heard from DJ Rise Ashen and slam poets Doretta Charles, John Akpata and Ritallin, and watched in awe as local breakdancers flipped and spun through



Avi Lewis

“Teach-ins are pivotal moments and people remember them ... you’re going to be able to say I was there in that high school auditorium in Ottawa.”

– Avi Lewis

the air. Host Alanna Stuart kept driving the message home that this party was a protest against the SPP. Artist Kenji Toyooka provided some live painting on canvas while VJ Matt Cameron complemented the beats with video images.

Council staff members were on hand to answer questions about the teach-in and sign people up for email updates.

So we were thrilled to see that even after a late night, people still had lots of energy for a long day of discussion and action planning on Saturday, March 31. It was incredible to see the connections being made that day between students and veteran Council chapter members, between environmentalists and anti-poverty activists, and between workers and volunteers from dozens of social justice and non-profit organizations. We met activists from Canada, the U.S. and Mexico, all dedicated to raising awareness about the danger that the SPP poses to their countries' independence, social security and environment.

This is the kind of energy that propelled people to take to the streets and disrupt the World Trade Organization meeting in Seattle in 1999. It's the kind of passion that saw thousands of people braving tear gas to protest against the Free Trade Area of the Americas in Quebec City in 2001. It's the kind of dedication that encourages more than 800 people to spend a sunny Saturday in a high school auditorium.

"The stakes are very high here," said Maude Barlow, National Chairperson of the Council of Canadians. "And we have the opportunity not only to defeat something that is profoundly wrong for our peoples and for the sustainability of our planet, but to promote something very, very different."



This report is designed to give you a taste of what we discussed and what we learned together at the Integrate This! teach-in. But this is only the beginning. Keep checking the Council of Canadians' website at www.IntegrateThis.ca, where we're posting new information every day.

And contact us at 1-800-387-7177, or inquiries@canadians.org, to find out how you can get involved in the fight against the SPP and help promote a more just vision of the relationship between Canada, the U.S. and Mexico.

"The diversity and number of people participating was wonderful."

- Integrate This! participant

Part II: What We Know

In March 2005, as a result of intense lobbying from North America's richest corporations, the leaders of Canada, Mexico and the United States met in Waco, Texas to shake hands on the **Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America (SPP)**. The SPP was a pledge to speed up the corporate agenda for continental economic integration by linking it to U.S. government demands for a common North American security perimeter. In a post-9/11 world where, for the Bush administration, "security trumps trade," the Canadian and Mexican governments have agreed to fully integrate their security apparatuses with the U.S. in return for vague assurances of market access for their largest corporations.

The first report of the Security and Prosperity Partnership in 2005 described how decisions on Canada-U.S. integration would be made: “meetings” for business, “consultations” for stakeholders and “briefings” for Parliament. A public-private dialogue on the SPP from January 2006 talked about “marrying policy issues with business priorities,” and of building “a genuine constituency for North American integration.” A few months later, the Canadian, American and Mexican governments handed the private sector even more power by creating the **North American Competitiveness Council (NACC)**.

The usual suspects

The NACC is a group made up of 30 CEOs from Canada, the U.S. and Mexico that has been asked to set the agenda for deep integration. “The priorities you identify will set the stage for our work going forward in the SPP,” said U.S. Secretary of Commerce Carlos Gutierrez at the launch of the NACC in May 2006. In a closed-door meeting since then, NACC members agreed to “hold governments’ feet to the fire” in a number of “lagging priority areas.”

All 10 Canadian appointees to the NACC are members of the **Canadian Council of Chief Executives (CCCE)**, a powerful corporate lobby group and Canada’s most vocal proponent of a North American union. Four of the U.S. member corporations – Chevron, Ford, Lockheed Martin and Wal-Mart – were on Global Exchange’s 2005 list of worst corporations. Their involvement begs the question of whose security and prosperity the NACC is looking out for.

Secret discussions

Since March 2005, without public input and little public awareness, all three North American governments have moved quickly toward establishing a continental resource pact, a North American security perimeter, and common agricultural and other health, safety and environmental policies. Working groups comprised of government officials and corporate leaders are quietly putting this “partnership” into action, and to date only industry “stakeholders” have been consulted. The next meeting of SPP leaders is planned to be held somewhere in Canada this August.



Breaking the silence

That’s why the Council of Canadians, the Canadian Labour Congress and the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives joined with dozens of other organizations to put on the Integrate This! teach-in. We wanted to bring together policy experts and academics to take the issue to the public, and to help activists connect the dots between their areas of interest – be it the environment, immigrant rights or economic justice – and the looming threat of the SPP.

“The entire weekend was a real eye-opener. I’ve never been to an event that has got me this pumped up to go out and do what I can to help stop this SPP agenda.”

- Integrate This! participant

Part III: What We Heard

Panel #1: The Big Business of Insecurity

When we brought this panel discussion together, we wanted to hear about how the definition of “security” has changed since September 11, 2001. Why Canada is integrating its security and immigration policies with the United States and what are the risks of such cooperation? Why is corporate Canada intent on trading Canadian sovereignty for greater access to American markets? Why has the SPP not been debated by any government? And why does the corporate sector have a formal role in the SPP where there is none for civil society?

Moderated by Avi Lewis, this discussion featured **Dorval Brunelle** from the Université du Québec à Montréal, **John Foster** from the North-South Institute, **Maureen Webb** from the International Civil Liberties Monitoring Group, and **Hassan Yussuff** from the Canadian Labour Congress.

“I’m here because I believe that it is a pivotal moment for us as North Americans – as Americans, and I use that in the sense of the Americas,” said Lewis, pointing out that there’s been “lots of ink spilled over foreign takeovers of companies,” but very little media coverage of the Security and Prosperity Partnership. He said that what the social justice movement needs is “rigour, not rhetoric,” when it comes to fighting policies of this nature.

“There is a kind of thriller unfolding, as you connect the dots of these bland-sounding policy agendas and papers, and understand what they mean for your lives,” he said.



Dorval Brunelle started off the discussion, by pointing out that the SPP has its roots in the North American Free Trade Agreement, “the template, the granddaddy of all trade agreements.” While activists have spent the last couple of years decrying the secret working groups connected to the Security and Prosperity Partnership, Brunelle reminded us that NAFTA has set up more than 30 similar working groups since the mid-1990s, and that the SPP is merely an offshoot of a harmonization process that has already been underway for almost 15 years.

He also underscored the connection between the push for more Canada-U.S. integration and the U.S. Trade Act of 2002.

“You won’t believe this. Some parts of [the Act] are hilarious, and some are epic,” Brunelle said, explaining that the law assumes that “because the U.S. [thinks it has the best standards], they should force other groups to adopt them.”

Brunelle sees the Security and Prosperity Partnership as the executive branch of the U.S. Congress, acting under the radar, “so parliamentarians in Canada and Mexico don’t know of the origin of the reforms.”

“I think that the main point that we need to look at is trying to break through that democratic deficit and beyond that, the information deficit ... it is absolutely immoral

“This is communication by stealth, and its watch words are oil and war, dressed up as energy strategy and security.”

– John Foster

that this should be done by stealth, that this should be done in an occult manner, and furthermore that this should be done in cahoots between two actors which are government and business,” said Brunelle.

John Foster echoed Brunelle’s concerns about the secrecy of the SPP implementation process, focusing specifically on the North American Competitiveness Council. Foster wondered aloud how “unhealthy and weak our democracies are if we are permitting and tolerating unique and privileged access for a group of powerful and overpaid corporate CEOs ... to advance agendas that will change the face of the continent and how it has governed.”

According to Foster, “they have gained this position not only over our heads, but over the heads of our parliamentary and congressional representatives. And how inadequate are our media if they have not ripped the veil off of this process? Are we in fact sleeping through a corporate coup d’état?”

Foster referred to a meeting of the North American Forum that was held in Banff, Alberta from September 12-14, 2006. Minister of Public Safety Stockwell Day was there, and so was and Defence Minister Gordon O’Connor. They met with U.S. and Mexican government officials and business leaders to discuss North American integration. The event was chaired by former U.S. secretary of state George Schultz, former Alberta premier Peter Lougheed, and former Mexican finance minister Pedro Aspe.

Despite the involvement of senior North American politicians, organizers did not alert the media about the event. The event was organized by the Canadian Council of Chief Executives and the Canada West Foundation, an Alberta think-tank that promotes, among other things, closer economic integration with the United States.

At the Integrate This! teach-in, Foster revealed that a recent Access to Information request uncovered that the Canadian government’s communications strategy for this meeting was to insist that the meeting was “private,” and that “participants were instructed to avoid direct media engagement.”

“This is communication by stealth,” said Foster, “and its watch words are oil and war, dressed up as energy strategy and security.”

Maureen Webb, author of the just-released book *Illusions of Security: Global Surveillance and Democracy in the Post-9/11 World*, drew the connection between the corporate sector’s push for deeper economic integration, and the U.S. government’s obsession with security and surveillance after September 11, 2001.

Webb pointed out that since the border between Canada and the U.S. was briefly closed after 9/11, business leaders have become obsessed with ensuring that this never happens again. As a result, “the Canadian business community and successive Canadian governments have really been falling over themselves to give the U.S. what it wants.”



Maureen Webb

“The business community and the government are working hand in glove. And they’re implementing measures lockstep with the U.S. government. But it’s all being done incrementally – this is the genius of it.”

– Maureen Webb

In March 2005, a tri-national task force chaired by former finance minister John Manley called the Independent Task Force on the Future of North America released a report – just in advance of the first meeting between Prime Minister Paul Martin, George Bush, and former Mexican President Vicente Fox. The Task Force’s report called for a North American security perimeter, harmonized immigration and refugee policies, synchronized terrorist watch lists and a joint passenger-screening program.

At the Integrate This! teach-in, Webb mused about how the report was amazingly prescient, given that all of these recommendations have been lauded (and some adopted) by the Security and Prosperity Partnership. But the close relationship between government and business when it comes to the SPP is no laughing matter.

“You can see how security policy is being made in this country,” said Webb. “There’s a lot of smoke and mirrors. The business community and the government are working hand in glove. And they’re implementing measures lockstep with the U.S. government. But it’s all being done incrementally – this is the genius of it.”

According to Webb, the U.S. government is using the principle of pre-emption to guide its security policies, and this is having a dramatic impact on Canada’s security practices.

“[Pre-emption] is dangerous in areas of security,” she said. “The idea is that risk needs to be eliminated to the greatest degree possible. And that means everyone needs to be evaluated as a potential suspect.”

Webb pointed to the Safe Third Country Agreement as an example. The agreement, which came into force in December 2004, designates the U.S. as a “safe country” for refugee claimants landing in the U.S. enroute to Canada. This means that, with only some exceptions, they are not allowed to claim refugee status in Canada – even if they were only stopping in the U.S. in an effort to make it to Canada.

This agreement had already been agreed to by the Canadian government in 2002, as part of a post-9/11 push to keep the border open for business – long before the implementation of the SPP. But as Webb pointed out, it signalled the beginning of a more cozy relationship in terms of security policy, which has been further cemented since the implementation of Canada-U.S. Smart Border Declaration and the SPP.

According to Webb, “our principles are at stake here – things like due process, presumption of innocence, the right to know the evidence against you and to respond, the right against unreasonable search and seizure, rights under data protection laws, rights of mobility and asylum rights – all of these rights go out the window in a pre-emptive model.”

Hassan Yussuff picked up on many of Webb’s concerns in his discussion of the impact of the SPP on Canadian workers. He spoke about how transportation workers in particular are being adversely affected by harmonized security policies. In some cases, they have been barred from working on particular contracts because of discriminatory U.S. security policies.

“I felt such a sense of solidarity amongst people who truly care about social justice. I left with a sense of hope that we do actually have the power to change and shape our futures.”

- Integrate This! participant

“We have to counter the hypocrisy and the building up of racist stereotypes that blame Muslim and Arab men for the instability in the world,” he said.

Yussuff also pointed to the fact that free trade has led to economic insecurity for Canadian workers, and that further economic integration would only make matters worse. According to Yussuff, despite the current tar sands boom in Alberta, only one out of six industrial jobs that were lost in Canada since 2002 have been replaced.

“The Security and Prosperity Partnership means increasing insecurity for workers all around,” he said. “In the past year alone, we have lost one in seven manufacturing jobs – almost 200,000 jobs gone. Almost half were union jobs,” said Yussuff. “The last time we saw job losses like this, our economy was in a total recession.”

Panel #2: Commandeering the Continent: Military Integration, Big Oil and the Environment

When we convened this panel discussion, we wanted to know how continental integration could impact the environment. Why does the U.S. insist on a North American resource pact within the SPP? How will regulatory harmonization between Canada and the U.S. affect our ability to regulate industry to protect the environment and public health? What do military integration and a common North American foreign policy have to do with prosperity? And why should we be worried about Canada's water?

This discussion brought together military expert **Steven Staples** from the Rideau Institute, **Diana Gibson**, Research Director at the Parkland Institute, **Rosa Kouri** and **Ben Powless** from the Canadian Youth Climate Coalition, and environmental lawyer and Council of Canadians board member **Steven Shrybman**.

Steven Staples spoke about how the reaction to the 9/11 terrorist attacks drew two powerful forces together for the first time – Canada's corporate elite and the military defence lobby. He picked up on Maureen Webb's comments from earlier in the day, discussing how “September 11 created a crisis among the business elites in Canada ... they thought NAFTA was now in jeopardy.”

According to Staples, many in the business community see Canada's participation in the U.S. War on Terror as “defending NAFTA,” and that's why the Canadian Council of Chief Executives advocated so strongly for Canada to join George Bush's Ballistic Missile Defence program and the war in Iraq.

“There is a fight-back going on,” said Staples. “The defence lobby and the corporate lobby don't win every time. And the record is mixed. Through popular movements and people going into the streets, we kept Canada out of the war in Iraq. That drove the defence lobby and the corporate lobby nuts ... Their next target then was to get Paul Martin to join missile defence, and we stopped them on that front as well.”

Staples pointed out that Canada's military spending this year has now surpassed the amount of money we spent when the Berlin Wall was still standing.



Steven Staples

“There is a fight-back going on. The defence lobby and the corporate lobby don't win every time.”

– Steven Staples

“It’s a tug of war – we win some, they win some,” he said.

Making the connection between the war industry and its ever-escalating need for fuel, **Diana Gibson** focused on the way that the SPP will affect Canada’s energy resources.

“Why does the U.S. want our energy?” she asked. “First, as everyone knows, they consume more than they’re producing. They have an energy strategy that does not focus on reducing consumption, but focuses on increasing and securing supply for the future. And Alberta’s tar sands feature quite prominently. The U.S. had also made energy part of their security agreement. Their national security and their energy security are one and the same.”

According to Gibson, since the implementation of the proportional sharing clause in NAFTA – which ensures that Canada can never reduce the proportion of energy that we export to the U.S., even in times of domestic crisis – Canada has become a “resource hinterland for the U.S.”

Gibson sees this as a form of “colonization by stealth,” pointing to the fact that Canada has lost its 25-year supply of oil and gas, and that foreign ownership has skyrocketed in Alberta’s oil patch. “Canada is now exporting more than half of our oil and gas, which we weren’t doing prior to NAFTA and the FTA,” she said.

What’s worse, according to Gibson, is that production has increased dramatically in recent years and is set to go even higher, since the Bush administration expressed a desire for a “fivefold expansion” in the tar sands – a predicted increase from 1 million barrels of oil per day to over 5 million. And Canada has the lowest taxes in the world on oil at only 23 cents per barrel.

Still, Gibson believes that there is sufficient cause for optimism, given that most of Canada’s energy is secure and publicly owned.

“I think we need to look to Northern European countries like Norway ... which has solid majority public ownership of their energy. They save all of their energy revenues to invest in their future. They have strong policies around foreign access. And they get 96 per cent royalties off of their energy and the industry is still lined up at the door to get in there. There hasn’t been some sort of capital strike against Norway ... Canada is completely out of step with the rest of the world in energy sovereignty.”

Rosa Kouri and **Ben Powless** stressed the need for Canada to take serious action on climate change, and expressed concern over the disastrous environmental implications associated with increased production in the tar sands.

“We’ve already seen the first impact of climate change on people in Canada,” said Powless. “The Inuit people of the north are victim to thinning ice. The Arctic is already warming at twice the rate of the rest of the planet ... many species are at risk, including the polar bear. More shockingly, it threatens the lives of the region’s more than 155,000 Inuit, who rely on the ice and all it supports for their traditional way of life.”



Ben Powless and Rosa Kouri

“We need to become a carbon neutral society – we don’t claim to know how to get there—but need to start.”

– Ben Powless

According to Powless, Canada needs “Kyoto or bust.”

“Our government needs to seriously restrict greenhouse gas emissions under the Kyoto Protocol, which calls for an 80 per cent reduction in greenhouse gas emissions [from 1990 levels] by 2050,” he said. “We need to become a carbon neutral society – we don’t claim to know how to get there—but need to start.”

For Kouri, the harmonization of environmental regulations and health safety standards under the Security and Prosperity Partnership raises an alarm.

“While hemispheric standardization would be a good idea if we were all to raise ourselves up to a common standard, generally what happens is that we end up gravitating to somewhere below average, and I would even say to the bottom.”

Both Powless and Kouri discussed the concept of a “just transition” to a more environmentally sustainable future, ensuring that the needs of vulnerable communities and of low-income people are taken into consideration.

“We want to make local communities the owners of this transition,” said Kouri. “Under NAFTA and the SPP, Canada can’t give incentives to local organizations to build a wind farm. This reminds us that if the same big companies are profiting from the transition to a clean air economy, we only continue to perpetuate economic and social injustice.”

Steven Shrybman picked up on Kouri’s theme of social and environmental justice, slamming the Canadian government for its reputation on the world stage:

“We are alone in the world in standing up and voting against the recognition of water as a fundamental human right [at the United Nations]. And when you ask these officials at Foreign Affairs and International Trade why, they say with a perfectly straight face, that it’s because [they’re] worried about Canadian sovereignty ... it’s just confounding that the government can take that position,” he said.



Diana Gibson

The irony, of course, is that while the government is claiming to be protecting Canada’s sovereignty over our water internationally, the North American Free Trade Agreement already strips Canada of the ability to set effective environmental standards.

Shrybman discussed how Chapter 11 of NAFTA, which allows corporations to sue governments for loss of profits, has affected small communities, particularly in Mexico. He mentioned a recent case where a tiny Mexican community was forced to pay \$18 million in reparations to U.S.-based Metalclad, after attempting to ban the company from building a hazardous waste site, even though Metalclad hadn’t bothered to obtain a local permit.

“The U.S. had also made energy part of their security agreement. Their national security and their energy security are one and the same.”

– Diana Gibson

Panel #3: The Democratic Deficit: Parliament and the SPP

While the Council of Canadians is a non-partisan organization, we spend a lot of time talking to politicians. Sometimes we communicate by delivering thousands of petitions to their offices, as we did with Environment Minister John Baird on March 22, 2007. We often we get our message to them by flooding their offices with emails and faxes. When strategic, we make presentations to Parliamentary committees and lobby government leaders. But we rarely get the chance to hear politicians respond to our concerns in an open forum. That's why we invited representatives from the four major political parties to the Integrate This! teach-in. We wanted to hear what they had to say about the Security and Prosperity Partnership, and Canada-U.S. relations in general.

The Conservative Party refused our invitation, the Liberals ignored it, and the Bloc Québécois agreed to send a representative, but cancelled the day before the teach-in.

Peter Julian, the NDP Member of Parliament for Burnaby-New Westminster and critic for international trade, and **Elizabeth May**, leader of the Green Party of Canada, addressed our questions alongside **José Antonio Almazán**, a Deputy with the Partido de la Revolución Democrática (PRD) in Mexico.

Peter Julian began the discussion by announcing that NAFTA has failed. He said that the notion that NAFTA has brought more prosperity, employment and exports to Canada is actually a myth.



Peter Julian and Elizabeth May

“Since the signing in 1989 of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement that later morphed into NAFTA ... what we have seen is not unprecedented prosperity for all Canadians, but unprecedented prosperity for corporate lawyers and CEOs.”

Julian pointed out that since 1989, the poorest of Canadian families have lost over one month of income per year, their income having declined by an average of 9 per cent. According the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, working class and middle income Canadians lost the equivalent of about two weeks of income in the same period. Meanwhile, the wealthiest of Canadians have seen their real income skyrocket by nearly 20 per cent, representing a “complete re-jigging of our economic system.”

Julian debunked the notion that NAFTA has led to full employment, pointing to the shift that has occurred in Canada, away from full-time unionized jobs and toward part-time temporary jobs.

He suggested that the reason why the Canadian government has kept the Security and Prosperity Partnership negotiations under wraps, is because “they know when it is a head-to-head debate with the Canadian public (we saw that with the Canada-U.S. free trade debate, we’ve seen this with NAFTA) increasingly they lose the public debate.”

Elizabeth May referred to the SPP as an “attack on our core identity and on our sovereignty by stealth.”

“What we have seen is not unprecedented prosperity for all Canadians, but unprecedented prosperity for corporate lawyers and CEOs.”

– Peter Julian

For May, the SPP represents a “fork in the road for Canadian society – whether we are going to pursue traditional Canadian values internationally, or whether we are going to become part of Fortress North America, a large gated community where U.S. security forces will guard the perimeter and all Canadians will be allowed to move about freely, provided we’re willing to have our irises scanned ...”

May added that the Green Party is determined to make the Security and Prosperity Partnership an election issue.

José Antonio Almazán spoke about how his party, the PRD, views the impact of the Security and Prosperity Partnership in Mexico:

“The SPP is not an alliance, it’s a relationship of subordination. In the context of the constitutional and legal framework of Mexico, we consider it to be a semi-colonial arrangement, insofar as it implies even more of a loss of our sovereignty as a nation.”

Almazán said that the agreement represents “security and prosperity for the imperial intentions of the United States,” and is leading to a greater push within Mexico to privatize the country’s publicly owned oil and gas companies.

Still, Almazán believes that there is cause for optimism. He recently participated in a meeting with Peter Julian and other “progressive parliamentarians” to strategize about how to defeat the SPP. He said that opposition to the SPP has been growing within parliamentary and congressional spheres within Mexico, and it has also taken hold among civil society activists.

Almazán expressed gratitude for the “conscious and dignified grassroots participation” at the Integrate This! teach-in, which he said “is really where we build strong movements to defend what is ours – this planet, our lands, our water, our forests, our natural resources, life.”



Antonia Juhasz and Maude Barlow

Panel #4: The North America We Want

After spending an entire day discussing the kind of North America that we don’t want to see, we figured it was time to present some positive, progressive alternatives to the Security and Prosperity Partnership. We convened a discussion moderated by veteran activist and broadcaster **Judy Rebick**, featuring **Bertha Lujan**, Minister of Labour for the Legitimate Government of Mexico, **Antonia Juhasz**, author of *The Bu\$h Agenda: Invading the World One Economy at a Time*, and **Maude Barlow**, the Council of Canadians’ national chairperson.

“Without a vision of what we want – the kind of world we’re fighting for, we’re not going to be able to mobilize to defeat what they’re bringing down on us. Being against is not enough – we have to know what we’re for,” said **Judy Rebick**.

Rebick’s comments served as an apt introduction to **Bertha Lujan**, as both women are experienced activists who, along with Maude Barlow, were involved in the fight against the FTA and NAFTA in the 1980s and 90s.

“The economy should serve communities and people, and we will not rest until we have this vision in our day-to-day lives in all of our countries.”

– Maude Barlow

Lujan began by comparing the Integrate This! teach-in to similar forums that she attended in the years leading up to the signing of NAFTA.

“Now, as was the case then, we find ourselves facing a process that is very secretive and that we need to shed light on,” she said. “From the point of view of Mexicans, the participation of Canadians [in the struggle against NAFTA] was key ... we learned from Canadians about what it meant to organize around this kind of agreement.”

Picking up on Peter Julian’s comments from earlier in the afternoon, Lujan addressed some common myths about the impact of free trade in Mexico. While NAFTA’s fans are quick to suggest that the agreement has brought prosperity to Mexicans, Lujan maintains that it’s only the “multi-millionaire business leaders of large corporations” that have profited. Meanwhile, “real salaries for people in all three countries continue to slide, and so does employment.”

She argued that one of the aims of the Security and Prosperity Partnership is to convince Mexico to abandon the exemption that it has from the proportional sharing clause in NAFTA. Canada is not exempt from this provision, and as a result, we can never reduce the proportion of oil and gas that we ship to the United States. For Lujan, there is a clear connection between the U.S security agenda and the government’s “bottomless, endless greed” for more energy resources.

“I would like to remind you all of what we said [when NAFTA was being negotiated],” she said. “We wanted sovereignty in terms of our foreign policy ... the profound conviction of all nation states to not recognize any other power as greater than their own. It’s a desire for equality and for freedom. It’s a demand of countries and of nations in a context of liberty and respect ... [What] we said back then was that we wanted justice – both social and economic – between countries and within them.”



Bertha Lujan (right)

Lujan’s vision for a more just relationship between Canada, the U.S. and Mexico includes a focus on workers’ rights and the recognition of autonomous legal systems for First Nations’ peoples. It focuses on sustainable economic growth “that is respectful and mindful of future generations,” promoting fair trade, rather than unfettered free trade.

“If we are not reminded of our history, we are bound to repeat our mistakes,” said Lujan. “The possibilities for change are within our hands. For those who have doubts about the possibility of our victory, we need to say the following: we need to do now what we can do now, with what we have, and go as far as we can with that.”

According to **Antonia Juhasz**, we shouldn’t be spending too much of our energy trying to construct an alternative vision for North America. Because she’s convinced that “we actually know very, very clearly what we want. We want worker rights and protections, we want human rights and protections, we want indigenous rights and consumer rights, we want economic justice, environmental justice, economic equality, we want sovereignty, and we want democracy. We want unity. We know all of these things, and we have articulated them very well.”

*“The possibilities
for change are within
our hands.”*

– Bertha Lujan

While the United States government may be spending trillions of dollars on the war in Iraq, Juhasz is optimistic about ability of social justice activists to challenge the SPP.

“We have been very successful in challenging their other modes of pushing their agenda,” she said. “They established the North American Free Trade Agreement, and sought to expand it through the Free Trade Area of the Americas. What happened to that agenda? They failed! Is there a Free Trade Area of the Americas? Is it being negotiated anymore? No, absolutely not. It’s a failure. And it’s a failure because of our organizing and resistance ... The IMF and the World Bank have never been weaker than they are right now. Countries are refusing to contribute money. Countries are refusing to pay back loans.”

According to Juhasz, the Bush administration “is still operating under the idea that it can use 9/11 to justify anything and everything.” But she is confident that the tide is turning amongst U.S. voters. She pointed to the fact that in the 2006 mid-term elections, many Democrats ran and won on a platform of fair trade versus free trade. This is no small achievement, given that former President Clinton was the “father of NAFTA and the WTO.”

“This is a fundamental change,” Juhasz said. “And this is because of a social movement push in the United States.”

Maude Barlow ended the day by underscoring the Council of Canadians’ demand that the Security and Prosperity Partnership be brought to the public for a full debate.

“These people do not have the mandate to be moving ahead with an agenda by stealth, to fundamentally and radically change the face of North America in the image of the big business community, to confiscate the working people, the resources, the social security, the civil rights, the human rights of people in the Americas for their agenda,” she said. “They have not taken it to Parliament, and we would not give it to them if they did.”



Judy Rebick

For Barlow, the corporate sector’s vision of North America stands in marked contrast to the alternatives being brought forward by civil society.

“We live our alternatives,” she said. “We know what the alternative is to their kind of greed, and we know that in their system, the economy confiscates people and communities to work on behalf of the global economy. We think it should be just the opposite. The economy should serve communities and people, and we will not rest until we have this vision in our day-to-day lives in all of our countries.”

“Being against is not enough – we have to know what we’re for.”

– Judy Rebick

“We are calling for a full moratorium on the Security and Prosperity Partnership,” she continued. “We are saying disband the unholy alliance called the North American Competitiveness Council, which has companies like Lockheed Martin and Wal-Mart dictating the future of the peoples of the Americas. We are saying that we need to have a full debate with all sectors of society to determine what kind of future we want for our shared continent, because of course we want something together.”

Barlow encouraged the participants at the Integrate This! teach-in to work with partners in all three North American countries to defeat the SPP:

“The environment crosses all of our borders. Rivers, animals and air and cultural diversity and our ideas and our people travel. And we want to share something very, very fundamentally different. And we want our voices part of this process,” she said.

Part IV: What We Learned

At the Integrate This! teach-in, participants had over 20 workshops to choose from, with subjects ranging from media and culture to immigration to bulk water exports. Here is a sample of what people discussed:

- Participants in the “Defending Canadian Culture and Media in an Era of Canada-U.S. Integration” workshop talked about how media concentration is reducing editorial diversity, and how in some cultural sectors, loss of large Canadian-owned firms is key, while in others, consolidation is more of a threat. They stressed the need to support local arts and culture.
- At a workshop on “Canada’s Oil,” participants discussed ways to cut energy and water consumption in the tar sands. They agreed that Canada should demand a “Mexican exemption” from the proportional sharing clause in NAFTA, or abrogate the agreement completely.
- The “Challenging the Empire and its SPP” workshop featured representatives from Canada, the U.S. and Mexico. Participants discussed how the Security and Prosperity Partnership represents the continuation of NAFTA’s undermining of rural livelihoods in Mexico. They also noted that the “security agenda” is a useful tool for the repression of social movements opposing the effects of neo-liberalism on their economies.
- Participants in a workshop titled “Get Your Message Out” discussed ways to use the alternative media to spread the word about the dangers of continental integration. They talked about “framing” of key issues, and how to use imagery to make a powerful impact.
- In a workshop titled “What Safe Country?” participants agreed to advocate for the Canadian government to review and withdraw the designation of the U.S. as a “Safe Third Country.”
- Participants in a workshop about the North American Competitiveness Council discussed the need for enforceable continental labour standards.
- A workshop on Canada’s foreign worker program stressed the fact that people deserve the right to a livelihood in their home community, as well as freedom of movement within North America. Participants emphasized the need to prioritize outreach to migrant workers in the fight against the SPP.



“Knowing that one is not alone on the path of justice and that it will not happen all by itself gave me motivation to carry on with integrity and knowledge. Keep feeding us!”

- Integrate This! participant

- Participants in a workshop about the harmonization of Canada's health and safety regulations discussed the benefits of the precautionary principle, versus a risk management approach. They talk about how a "better safe than sorry" campaign could be a way to get this issue on the agenda during the federal election.

For a full description of the workshops from the Integrate This! teach-in, visit www.IntegrateThis.ca. To obtain a complete set of notes from the workshops, contact us at inquiries@canadians.org.

Part V: What We Can Do Together

On Sunday April 1, participants in the Integrate This! teach-in were ready for action. After spending all day on Saturday absorbing information, it was time to think about how to mobilize against the SPP in our communities. Participants broke into small groups, and discussed ways to make our opposition to deep integration a key issue during the upcoming SPP leaders' summit, the impending federal election campaign, and beyond. Some of the ideas that were generated included:

- Reaching political candidates through letter-writing campaigns.
- Engaging community media.
- Promoting electoral reform, as a way to ensure that more progressive candidates stand a chance of getting elected.
- Using clear language and avoiding jargon when talking about the SPP.
- Building a network of researchers to expose the workings of the SPP, centralizing the information on one website.
- Focusing on key messages, including promoting peace, saving our water, preserving energy and natural resources.
- Forming local, regional and national coalitions against the SPP.



Visit us online

Now you can experience a taste of Integrate This! online. Visit www.IntegrateThis.ca to see a slideshow of photographs from the teach-in and to watch footage of the four panel discussions that took place on March 31.

Don't forget to keep visiting www.IntegrateThis.ca, as we're always posting new information about how you can make a difference in the fight against the Security and Prosperity Partnership in your community.

"The energy was amazing ... left with a real sense of hope."

- Integrate This! participant

Biographies

José Antonio Almazán, a Deputy with the Partido de la Revolucion Democratica (PRD), is a member of the Mexican legislature's Labour and Energy Commissions. He is a long-time leader of the Mexican Union of Electrical Workers. He is currently a key organizer of the next tri-national meeting of legislators and popular sectors in North America.



Maude Barlow is National Chairperson of the Council of Canadians, the co-founder of the Blue Planet Project and a director with the International Forum on Globalization. She is also a fellow with the Washington-based Institute for Policy Studies, a board member of Food and Water Watch and a founding member of the European-based World Future Council. She is the recipient of the 2005/2006 Lannan Cultural Freedom Fellowship and in 2005 received the prestigious Right Livelihood Award, or "Alternative Nobel," from the Swedish Parliament. She is author or co-author of 15 books, most recently *Too Close For Comfort: Canada's Future Within Fortress North America* and *Blue Gold: The Fight to Stop Corporate Theft of the World's Water* (with Tony Clarke).



Dorval Brunelle is professor in the department of sociology at the Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM) and, since 2004, director of the Observatory of the Americas, which is attached to the Centre for International Studies and Globalization at UQAM. Over the past three decades, he has published extensively on Quebec and the Canadian political economy, law and social exclusion, NAFTA and globalization. His latest publication is a collective work entitled *The World Social Forums and the Challenges of Global Democracy*, to be published by Paradigm Publishers this year.



John Foster is Principal Researcher (Civil Society and Governance) at the North-South Institute in Ottawa. He was previously Ariel F. Sallows Professor of International Human Rights at the Law College of the University of Saskatchewan. He has participated and led organizations in civil society in Canada for 45 years, including head of OXFAM-Canada (1989-1997) and almost two decades in social justice with the United Church of Canada and the ecumenical justice coalitions. He was a co-founder of Common Frontiers, the Latin American Working Group and the Inter-Agency Coalition on HIV/AIDS.



Diana Gibson is Research Director for the University of Alberta's Parkland Institute. Prior to joining the Parkland, she conducted research as a consultant to various community organizations, unions and governments. She has extensive experience as a social policy researcher and educator and has engaged nationally and internationally on topics varying from health care and education to energy and trade policy.



Peter Julian is NDP Member of Parliament for Burnaby-New Westminster and Critic for International Trade and Gateways, Transport, Persons with Disabilities and the 2010 Vancouver Olympics. He previously served as executive director of the Council of Canadians, of which he was a founding member in 1985. He hosted the second Tri-National Forum to formulate people-centred alternatives to the deep-integration agenda, which included legislators and civil society representatives from Canada, the U.S. and Mexico.

Antonia Juhasz is a policy-analyst, author and activist living in San Francisco. She is the Tarbell Fellow at Oil Change International and Visiting Scholar at the Institute for Policy Studies. She is a teacher at the New College of California in the Activism and Social Change Masters Program. She is also a guest lecturer on U.S. foreign policy at the McMaster University Labour Studies Program, a unique educational program with the Canadian Automobile Workers Union. Her most recent book is *The Bu\$h Agenda: Invading the World, One Economy at a Time* (HarperCollins, April, 2006), and has begun work on a new book with HarperCollins tentatively titled, *The Break-Up: The Case for Taking Apart Big Oil*.



Rosa Kouri is National Director of the Sierra Youth Coalition, one of Canada's leading youth environmental organizations and the youth arm of the Sierra Club of Canada. She founded the Sustainable McGill Project at McGill University, bicycled the west coast of California to raise awareness about industrial agriculture and poor working conditions for migrant farmers, sat on the board of the national Sierra Club of Canada, and organized youth delegates at the 11th United Nations global climate summit. In September 2006, she was a founding member of the Canadian Youth Climate Coalition and was recently recognized by the World Conservation Union for outstanding work on climate change issues.



Avi Lewis is one of Canada's most controversial and eloquent media personalities. In the late '90s, he hosted and produced counterSpin on CBC Newsworld. Before that, he hosted City TV's landmark music journalism show, The New Music, and was a Gemini award-winning political specialist on MuchMusic. More recently, his documentary about Argentina's new movement of worker-run businesses, The Take, was nominated for four Gemini Awards and won the International Jury prize at the American Film Institute festival in Los Angeles. His new television series, The Big Picture with Avi Lewis, which debuted on CBC Newsworld in September 2006, combines hard-hitting documentaries and town hall debates.



Bertha Lujan (Bertha Elena Lujan Uranga) is Minister of Labour for the Legitimate Government of Mexico. She participated in the founding of the Peoples' Solidarity Front and the Peoples' Defence Committee, has been an active member of the Authentic Work Front (FAT) since 1970, and sits on the boards of directors of the Vamos Foundation, AUNA-Mexico, CELAG, Foundation for Democracy, Citizen Power and Citizen Movement for Democracy. She is a co-founder and national coordinator of the Mexican Action Network on Free Trade (RMALC), and acted as Controller General for Mexico City from 2000 to 2006.



Elizabeth May is an environmentalist, writer, activist, lawyer, and leader of the Green Party of Canada. She is a graduate of Dalhousie Law School and was admitted to the Bar in both Nova Scotia and Ontario. She held the position of Associate General Council for the Public Interest Advocacy Centre prior to becoming Senior Policy Advisor to the federal minister of the Environment from 1986 until 1988. She became Executive Director of the Sierra Club of Canada in 1989, a position she held until March 2006, when she stepped down to run for leadership of the Green Party of Canada.





Ben Powless is a 20-year-old Mohawk from Six Nations in Ontario who is currently studying political science and human rights at Carleton University in Ottawa. He has been involved with the Canadian Youth Climate Coalition since its inception, working at both the national level and with the Ottawa Chapter. He also sits on the board of directors of the Youth Environmental Network and is very involved in the local Aboriginal community.



Judy Rebick is a social justice activist, writer, broadcaster, speaker and founder of rabble.ca, an independent online news and discussion site. She currently holds the Sam Gindin Chair in Social Justice and Democracy at Ryerson University and is the author of several books and articles, including *Ten Thousand Roses: The Making of a Feminist Revolution* (Penguin 2005), *Imagine Democracy* (Stoddard 2000) and *Politically Speaking* (Douglas & McIntyre 1996). She is a former president of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, Canada's largest women's group. She is also on the national advisory boards of Fair Vote Canada and the December 6 Coalition.



Steven Shrybman is a partner in the law firm of Sack, Goldblatt and Mitchell and practices international trade and public interest law in Ottawa, Canada. He has been actively involved in efforts to prevent the privatization of public services, including successful fights to defeat some of the largest privatization projects in Canada, including water treatment facilities for the Greater Vancouver Region and the proposed sale of Hydro One in Ontario.



Steven Staples is Director of the Rideau Institute in Ottawa and author of *Missile Defence: Round 1*. A frequent contributor to journals, magazines, and conferences, he is often called upon to comment on defence and public policy-related issues by the national and international news media including the *Globe and Mail*, the *National Post*, *Time*, CTV National News and CBC Television's *The National* and the BBC. His years of work with popular organizations, including the Council of Canadians, has made him well-known amongst civil society organizations, and he speaks regularly to audiences in Canada, the United States, and around the world.



Maureen Webb is a Canadian human rights and labour lawyer, and author of *Illusions of Security: Global Surveillance and Democracy in the Post 9-11 World* (City Lights, San Francisco). She works for the Canadian Association of University Teachers, is a co-chair of the International Civil Liberties Monitoring Group, a founder of the International Campaign Against Mass Surveillance, and coordinator for security and human rights issues for Lawyers' Rights Watch Canada. She was also a Fellow at the Human Rights Institute at Columbia University in 2001.



Hassan Yussuff was elected Canadian Labour Congress Secretary-Treasurer in 2002 and is now serving his second three-year term in this position. His CLC portfolio includes political action, human rights and anti-racism, free trade and immigration and refugees issues. He is also responsible for labour councils and sits on the Labour Commission for revision of the employment standards rules and of the health and safety provisions of the Canada Labour Code. He has served as director of the CAW Human Rights Department and was also a vice-president of ORIT, the American hemispheric organization of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Acknowledgements and Sponsors

Planning committee



Council of Canadians

Founded in 1985, the Council of Canadians is Canada's largest citizens' organization, with over 70 volunteer chapters and members across the country. Through reports and activism from its local chapters, the Council works to protect Canadian independence by promoting progressive policies on fair trade, clean water, energy security, public health care, and other issues of social and economic concern to Canadians. The Council does not accept money from corporations or governments, and is sustained entirely by the volunteer energy and financial assistance of its members. www.canadians.org



Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives

Founded in 1980, the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives is an independent, non-partisan research institute concerned with issues of social and economic justice. The CCPA offers analysis and policy ideas to the media, general public, social justice and labour organizations, academia and government through research studies, policy briefs, books, editorials and commentary, and other publications, including *The Monitor*, a monthly magazine. The CCPA is a registered non-profit charity that depends on the support of more than 10,000 members across Canada. www.policyalternatives.ca



Canadian Labour Congress

The Canadian Labour Congress is the largest democratic and popular organization in Canada with over 3 million members, including national and international unions, the provincial and territorial federations of labour, and 137 district labour councils. The goal of the CLC is to bring together the majority of unions in Canada in a unified, national voice. On Parliament Hill, in boardrooms, at international conferences, in media events, in demonstrations or on picket lines, the CLC supports and educates unionists in the fight for strong workplaces, pressures governments for change, builds coalitions with like-minded groups, and strengthens solidarity between workers in Canada and other countries. www.clc.ctc.ca



Common Frontiers

Common Frontiers is a multi-sectoral working group which confronts and proposes an alternative to the social, environmental and economic effects of economic integration in the Americas. It works towards this goal through a combination of research, analysis and action in cooperation with labour, human rights, environmental, church, development and economic and social justice organizations. www.commonfrontiers.ca

"Thank you to all the organizers. I looked forward to that event for a month and I think you did a great job at pulling it off."

*- Integrate This!
participant*

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Special thanks

Venue coordination: Margit Baird, OCDSB Community Use of Schools; Norman McEvoy and Louise Smith, the Vendange Institute; Roch Beland, Ottawa Technical High School; Geoff Graham, AVW-TELAV; Mat Ashton, Wall Sound; Jacqueline Rivas, InterpretCan.

Strategy session planning and facilitation: Bev Burke, Joel Harden, Michael Stephens, Sara Kemp, Erin Simpson, Phillip Smith, George Irish, Robert Hatfield, Cathy Remus, Ian Boyko.

Power in Numbers concert: Nomadic Massive, Soul Jazz Orchestra, DJ Rise Ashen, Andrew Vincent and the Pirates, John Akpata, Ritallin, Doretta Charles, Kenji Toyooka, Matt Cameron, Sean Scallon and Capital Music Hall.

All round helpfulness and great work: Scott Sigurdson; Christina Riley; Rehana Tejpar; Lorna Parent, WE Travel; Denis Laurin, Plantagenet Printers; Sheila Muxlow, teach-in outreach coordinator; and the staff of the Council of Canadians.

*“Awesome event,
educational and
thorough. We need
more of these to
happen.”*

*- Integrate This!
participant*

For more information regarding the Council of Canadians or the Integrate This! teach-in, please visit our website at www.canadians.org or call us at 1-800-387-7177.



