

AUSTRALIA PROCEDURAL RIGHTS

MAY 15, 2018 3:30-4:30

DR. AMANDA KENNEDY: Hi, my name is Amanda Kennedy and I'm an associate professor at the University of New England in New South Wales, Australia.

Since 2012 I've been working on research concerned with the regulation of coal seam gas development predominantly in Australia but also looking at the state of Queensland in Australia and Pennsylvania in the USA.

Coal seam gas, or CSG as it's commonly abbreviated here, is a type of unconventional natural gas and may also be referred to as coal bed methane.

As you would already be aware it is extracted by drilling through to the coal seam and pumping out the water or dewatering until the gas flows to the surface.

In some cases other techniques may be required to increase the permeability of the seam, including hydraulic fracturing.

I have been particularly interested in exploring from the perspective of environmental justice how decisions are made to approve or reject coal seam gas developments. And together with my colleagues Revel

Pointon and Evan Hamman we have put forward an Amicus
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1 Brief to the Permanent Peoples' Tribunal session on
2 Human Rights Impacts Of Fracking.

3 And I'm here today to speak to that submission
4 which draws, in part, on some of the work that I've been
5 involved with in recent years.

6 So the focus of our submissions is on
7 procedural rights. And the pursuit of procedural
8 justice is a fundamental stage in the attainment of
9 environmental justice, that is, the fair and equitable
10 distributions of environmental risks and benefits
11 throughout society.

12 As lawyers and legal scholars my colleagues
13 and I are first and foremost concerned about proper
14 process as well as just decision-making and adequate
15 avenues of appeal. Indeed these are all fundamental
16 elements of a functioning democratic society.

17 In the human rights literature which focuses
18 on which human rights legally exist and how they are
19 implemented procedural rights are commonly recognized as
20 a pre-condition for the attainment of more substantive
21 human rights that are enshrined under international law.

22 On most occasions these procedures may need to
23 be read into international treaties or upheld by
24 protocols or implementation bodies. On other occasions
25 they are explicitly referred to within human rights
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1 instruments themselves.

2 In recent years arguments have been made for
3 the emergence of a possible right to a healthy
4 environment. But there is some disagreement as to
5 whether such a substantive right exists.

6 Certainly the Aarhus Convention on Access To
7 Information, Public Participation In Decision Making And
8 Access To Justice In environmental Matters, highlights
9 the right of every person to live in an environment
10 adequate to his or her health and well-being.

11 The three pillars of Aarhus, which include
12 access to information, public participation and access
13 to justice represent the minimum standard by which
14 governments should seek to protect procedural rights in
15 environmental matters.

16 Whether or not a specific right to a healthy
17 environment exists it seems clear that substantive rights
18 rely on the ability of people, both individual and
19 collectively, to access information and to participate
20 and/or legally challenge decisions which affect their
21 lives.

22 In short, the achievement of substantive
23 rights is contingent upon the availability and
24 successful implementation of procedural rights.

25 While Australia is not a signatory to the
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1 Aarhus Convention the treaty is widely acknowledged as
2 the best available international legal framework for the
3 protection of procedural rights in environmental
4 matters.

5 It presents the clearest attempts at creating
6 legal rules for the fulfillment of procedural rights in
7 environmental matters. We have, therefore, adopted it
8 within our submission as a normative framework to
9 evaluate decision-making processes concerning coal seam
10 gas development.

11 The Aarhus Convention clearly links the
12 implementation of procedures to the attainment of
13 substantive human rights, including the right to life,
14 and the right to health.

15 For instance, Article 1 of the convention
16 provides that in order to contribute to the protection
17 of the right of every person of present and future
18 generations to live in an environment adequate to his or
19 her health and well-being each party should guarantee
20 the rights of access to information, public
21 participation in decision-making and access to justice
22 in environmental matters in accordance with the
23 provisions of this convention.

24 While the focus of our submissions is on
25 procedural rights we have assumed that these are
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1 fundamental to the attainment of substantive human
2 rights, in particular, the right to health, the right to
3 life and the right to a healthy environment.

4 We have thus used these three pillars from the
5 Aarhus Convention to assess procedural rights within
6 decision-making concerning coal seam gas development in
7 Australia.

8 So turning first to explore access to
9 information. Access to information is the first pillar
10 of the Aarhus framework. It is the key aspect of
11 achieving substantive human rights. The general premise
12 of this right is that people ought to know about
13 information that is held about them or information held
14 by others which might adversely affect their community
15 or general health.

16 Article 4 of the convention describes the
17 access to information obligation as follows;

18 Each party shall ensure that public authorities, in
19 response to a request for environmental information,
20 make such information available to the public within the
21 framework of national legislation, including copies of
22 the actual documentation containing or comprising such
23 information. And further, that information is to be
24 provided at the least within one month after the request
25 has been submitted.

1 The obligation to provide information is
2 placed upon states but it is arguable that it should
3 also apply to non-state actors who hold vital
4 information about community health, risks and the
5 environment.

6 For example, private corporations which
7 operate and manage extractive industries such as coal
8 seam gas facilities ought to be expected to release,
9 either to the state or directly to the public,
10 information such as possible toxin levels and risk to
11 human health as a result of their operations.

12 The release of such information by state or
13 non-state actors should be timely, comprehensible and,
14 above all, easy to obtain.

15 At first glance the federal and state
16 governments in Australia fare reasonably well under the
17 Access To Information Principle.

18 There are, for example, both national and
19 state laws where any person can make an application, for
20 a fee, to obtain information about government decisions.
21 This includes coal seam gas projects in the assessment
22 phase as well as in the operational phase.

23 However, the practical implementation of those
24 laws appears weak and there four key reasons for this.

25 Firstly, Australia Freedom Of Information laws
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1 apply only to state entities. Often it is non-state
2 entities such as private corporations that hold
3 information that is vital to the health and well-being
4 of communities and the environment.

5 Second, Freedom Of Information laws are
6 subject to exceptions such as commercial sensitivities,
7 military, diplomatic or other states secrets or
8 provisions and the protection of names and personal
9 details.

10 While Aarhus does envision reasonable
11 exceptions, in practice, this can mean that documents
12 which are released have many pages of redacted material,
13 at times rendering them incomprehensible and worthless
14 for independent investigation.

15 Third, there are many practical challenges for
16 community groups in accessing information, even though
17 they may have the right to it. For example,
18 understanding and using the information that they have
19 received effectively.

20 Finally, there is a lack of interest by states
21 in the promotion of the right to information and
22 procedural rights more generally. Article 3.3 of Aarhus
23 requires that states shall promote environmental
24 education and environmental awareness among the public,
25 especially on how to access information.

1 Targeted campaigns on accessing information
2 and rights to information are rare in Australia. The
3 information process seems more reactive in this regard
4 and tends to be exercised most often by media
5 organizations, activists and non-government
6 organizations.

7 Overall the problem in our view seems to lie
8 not in the ability to access information but to decipher
9 it and to make sense of it and to use it effectively to
10 protect substantive human rights, such as the right to
11 health and the right to life.

12 To improve this process, certainly in
13 Australia, further thought needs to be given to,
14 firstly, the timeliness of information that is provided,
15 secondly, the quality of information provided and,
16 finally, the method of transmission of the information.

17 Turning now to public participation, the
18 second pillar from the Aarhus Convention, the convention
19 includes public participation necessary for sound
20 environmental decision-making processes.

21 Article 6, in particular, sets out the crux of
22 the principle. It provides that public concern shall be
23 informed either by public notice or individually as
24 appropriate early in the environmental decision-making
25 procedure and in an adequate, timely and effective
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1 manner and by allowing sufficient time for the public to
2 prepare and participate effectively during the
3 environmental decision-making period.

4 Moreover, Article 6.7 provides procedures for
5 public participation shall allow the public to submit in
6 writing or as appropriate at a public hearing or inquiry
7 with the applicant any comments, information, analyses
8 or opinions that it considers relevant to the proposed
9 activity.

10 Environmental justice requires effective
11 participation in environmental decision-making,
12 recognition of affected stakeholders and fair
13 distribution of benefits and burdens. While there are
14 some opportunities for public participation in
15 decision-making around coal seam gas activities in
16 Australia it is once again the quality of participation
17 and the adequacy of recognition of participants that is
18 of particular concern.

19 In the state of New South Wales, for example,
20 one of the major sources of frustration for those who
21 object to coal seam gas development is the lack of
22 public consultation in the approval processes relevant
23 to the exploration phase as distinct to the approval
24 processes that apply for full scale production.

25 The situation is similar in Queensland where
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1 communities have very little participatory rights with
2 regards to exploration activities. So this means that
3 when a development is first being considered and debated
4 and explored there is very little opportunity for
5 communities to have a say at that point in time.

6 And even where there are rights to consult,
7 which certainly happens further down the track in the
8 stage of development and consent, there is still a great
9 inequity in public participation mechanisms. Because
10 these tend to sit with well-funded corporate entities
11 against underfunded or even non-funded community and
12 interest groups typically comprised of individuals who
13 need to balance their activism and their interests in a
14 particular cause with other responsibilities, which may
15 include employment or career duties alongside that
16 participation in land use decision-making processes.

17 In many cases public participation is often
18 limited to written submissions or one of public hearing
19 staff forums. The capacity for individuals to
20 participate effectively in these sorts of opportunities
21 is quite limited.

22 For example, subject applications against
23 development proposals typically requires objectors to
24 respond to proponent claims regarding such things as the
25 economic benefits of a project or the risk that it will
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1 cause environmental harm.

2 This requires objectors, members of the
3 public, to have access to as well as be able to
4 understand a significant volume of technical data and
5 often they need to do so within a very short time frame.

6 Research has detailed the difficulties that
7 this places on individuals and community groups who, in
8 many cases, do not possess adequate financial or other
9 resources to fully integrate the applicant's claims.

10 Access to expert testimony to challenge
11 proponent evidence tends to be difficult, either proving
12 too costly or not accessible within the short
13 development assessment time frames.

14 Other structural factors can also inhibit
15 access to information or participation in
16 decision-making more generally including things like
17 morality or membership of minority cultural or language
18 groups.

19 In many cases development proponents also
20 enjoy significant political influence in land use
21 decision-making processes. They're able to fund
22 wide-reaching advertising campaigns and typically enjoy
23 exclusive lobbying access to politicians.

24 Development assessment processes often
25 position expert scientific opinion as objective. So for
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1 those seeking to challenge development applications must
2 do so using technical language and by engaging
3 authoritative scientific opinions and methodologies. In
4 turn this tends to marginalize other forms of knowledge
5 such as citizen science, place-based perspectives and
6 also indigenous perspectives.

7 Finally government actions which seek to
8 remove resources and funding for public interest legal
9 services or which otherwise attempt to limit standing
10 and curtail protests or which use derogatory language to
11 characterize individuals and groups opposed to
12 development as self-interested reinforces a lack of
13 recognition of non-dominant interests and concerns and
14 restricts access to environmental justice.

15 Certainly in Australia both federal and state
16 governments in New South Wales and Queensland have
17 actively sought to remove funding and also block
18 philanthropic funding to community legal centers that
19 specialize in public interest environmental law.

20 Overall, by restricting the capacity of
21 individuals and community groups to participate
22 effectively in land use decision-making, can cultivate
23 perceptions of injustice and foster opposition. At the
24 very least they certainly render provisions which allow
25 for public participation as largely ineffective.

1 Finally access to justice, the third pillar of
2 Aarhus. Access to justice is closely linked to the
3 failure to provide adequate measures for the fulfillment
4 of the first two pillars of the Aarhus Convention.

5 Article 9 of the Aarhus Convention describes
6 the access to justice obligation as follows:

7 Each party shall, within the framework of its
8 national legislation, ensure that any person who
9 considers that his or her request for information has
10 been ignored, wrongfully refused, whether in part or in
11 full, inadequately answered, has access to a review
12 procedure before a court of law or another independent
13 and impartial body established bylaw.

14 In addition each party shall ensure that where
15 they make certain criteria, if any, laid down in
16 national law members of the public have access to
17 administrative or judicial procedures to challenge acts
18 and omissions by private persons and public authorities
19 which contravene provisions of its national law relating
20 to the environment.

21 Aarhus also considers that costs and other
22 barriers must be removed for communities to effectively
23 access the courts and tribunals in order to address or
24 challenge adverse environmental impacts.

25 For example, Article 9.4 provides that states
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1 shall provide adequate and effective remedies, including
2 injunctive relief as appropriate and be fare, equitable,
3 timely and not prohibitively expensive.

4 As with the other two pillars of effective
5 decision-making on the face of it the federal and state
6 governments in Australia once again fair reasonably well
7 under these limbs. There are, for example, court
8 actions available to communities where information is
9 not provided as requested and in instances where the
10 individual or community disagrees with the decision of
11 the regulatory body. However, once again, the practical
12 implementation of these laws is weak.

13 It must be noted that there are many
14 challenges for community groups in accessing the courts,
15 even though they may have the right to, most of which
16 revolve around prohibitive costs and reasonable time
17 frames and the inability to effectively access expertise
18 to challenge proponents submissions.

19 In addition the creation of further barriers
20 to accessing particular tribunals, and in New South
21 Wales we see this in particular with the distinction
22 between merits review and judicial review, with the
23 threshold now for merits review becoming increasingly
24 difficult for community groups and individuals to
25 attain.

1 So in the last few minutes that I have I
2 wanted to turn to our responses to the advisory
3 questions for the tribunal.

4 The first of these questions asks under what
5 circumstances do fracking and other unconventional oil
6 and gas extraction techniques breach substantive and
7 procedural human rights protected had by international
8 law as a matter of treaty or custom.

9 On our analysis there are three circumstances
10 where procedural rights may have been breached by the
11 practices of CSG extraction in Australia.

12 Firstly, though information is legally
13 available on CSG projects it is often too complex to
14 decipher, too costly to obtain and too redacted to be of
15 any practical use to communities.

16 Second, though the public is entitled to
17 participate in CSG decision-making these rights are
18 largely limited to phases of extractive development, not
19 necessarily early exploration phases and typically do
20 not involve a meaningful debate over whether there might
21 be a more suitable use for the land.

22 Third, although some court appeal rights are
23 available in legislation these are rarely, if ever, used
24 due to restrictive standing provisions, a lack of
25 technical or scientific expertise and access to expert
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1 witnesses, short time frames available to appeal and the
2 costs and complications of litigation more generally.

3 Defunding of specialist community legal
4 centers such as the environmental Defenders Office, by
5 both state and federal governments, has also hamstrung
6 the ability of Australian communities to legally protest
7 against coal seam gas projects which negatively affect
8 their lives.

9 The second question asks, in what
10 circumstances do fracking and other unconventional oil
11 and gas extraction techniques warrant the issuance of
12 either provisional measures, a judgment enjoining
13 further activity, remediation relief or damages for
14 causing environmental harm?

15 Where environmental damage can be proven,
16 including as a result of the denial of procedural
17 rights, we see no reason why adequate compensation
18 and/or remediation relief should not be available to all
19 those who have suffered through the process, including
20 the environment.

21 We bring the attention of the Permanent
22 Peoples' Tribunal to the principle of environmental law
23 entitled The Polluter Pays Principle.

24 We do note, however, the remediation for
25 environmental damage was not the focus of our
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1 submissions to the Permanent Peoples' Tribunal. For
2 breaches of procedural rights, however, we suggest that
3 reparation must also be considered, for example, in the
4 form of reasonable damages though, of course, that task
5 is far more difficult to quantify.

6 The best remediation that can occur, in our
7 view, is for states to ensure that procedural
8 protections are sufficiently robust in the first place.

9 The third question asks, what is the extent of
10 responsibility and liability of states and non-state
11 actors for violations of human rights and for
12 environmental and climate harm caused by oil and gas
13 extraction techniques?

14 Based on our analysis both states and
15 non-states are responsible for breaching procedural
16 rights. Whilst states, through law and policy,
17 determine the framework for participation in coal seam
18 gas decision-making non-state actors must also be held
19 responsible for adequately providing, in good faith,
20 relevant and timely information and consultation
21 opportunities that relate to the project proposed,
22 otherwise, the risk is that neither states or
23 non-states, including corporations, will accept
24 responsibility for environmental transgressions and the
25 buck will continue to be passed to innocent communities.
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1 We acknowledge that this view creates problems
2 for the traditional view of human rights law, including
3 our host, which places obligations on states as opposed
4 to non-state entities.

5 However, for environmental justice to be truly
6 realized both states and non-state actors must be
7 prepared to relinquish power in decision-making
8 processes through the possibility of the imposition of a
9 need for a social license to extract, to use one
10 example.

11 The fourth question asks, What is the extent
12 of the responsibility and liability of states and
13 non-state actors, both legal and moral, for violations
14 of the rights of nature related to environmental and
15 climate harm caused by these unconventional oil and gas
16 extraction techniques?

17 Our Brief did not cover this question and
18 we're not in a position to comment with any authority.
19 We do note, however, that none of the procedural rights
20 analyzed in this brief recognize nature as conceptually
21 having standing to sue in a court or obtain information
22 or participate in decision-making processes or the
23 possibility of humans acting on nature's behalf in such
24 processes.

25 Giving nature a legal personality is something
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1 which is currently being explored in other countries and
2 we defer to the position of the Australian Earth Law
3 Alliance in this regard who have considerable expertise
4 on these questions.

5 Procedural rights, such as access to
6 information, public participation and access to justice
7 are a fundamental to the attainment of substantive human
8 rights.

9 In the context of coal seam gas the most
10 relevant substantive rights are probably the right to
11 health and the right to life. There is a strong
12 argument that there exists a right to a healthy
13 environment which, if correct, is also highly relevant
14 to the issues surrounding coal seam gas extraction in
15 Australia.

16 Overall, our analysis has found that while
17 Australian state and federal governments do have laws
18 that provide for information, participation and appeals,
19 they lack appropriate implementation at the
20 institutional level, in particular, the support
21 structures necessary for them to work effectively.

22 The systems which are in place fail to
23 recognize the enormous power and balance which exists
24 between the coal seam gas industry and proponents,
25 government and rural communities.

1 This is why laws on paper are often not
2 enough. Urgent attention is needed to address ways in
3 which the existing legal frame works in Australia can be
4 made to work better on the ground and to produce better
5 outcomes for ordinary citizens.

6 That is the completion of my submission and
7 I'm happy to answer any questions.

8 DR. THOMAS KERNS: Well I sure have a
9 question.

10 Your last sentence, what was that last
11 sentence again? We need ways to ensure that these
12 rights are respected by states, something to that
13 effect?

14 DR. AMANDA KENNEDY: More that we need
15 ways in which existing legal frameworks can be made to
16 work better.

17 So it's not enough simply to have legislation
18 that provides for access to information or that sets up
19 processes by which citizens can bring a review in court.
20 There needs to be further support to ensure that these
21 things can actually occur in practice.

22 So a common example that I've seen in my own
23 research is small rural communities that have to pitch
24 together to raise funds simply to access expert
25 witnesses in order to challenge the evidence that is
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1 brought forward by multi-national corporations who are
2 usually behind coal seal gas development.

3 DR. THOMAS KERNS: Right. So do you have
4 suggestions for how to make sure that they get
5 implemented more effectively?

6 DR. AMANDA KENNEDY: It's ultimately a
7 question of resourcing and it's always the 64-million
8 dollar question, I guess. So it is a question of
9 resourcing.

10 I have read suggestions that have been modeled
11 on approaches in some jurisdictions which have things
12 like a sovereign wealth fund or things like a tax that
13 is imposed upon corporations where monies are passed
14 from the proponent to the communities in order to fund
15 whether it might be a merits review or access to
16 information or access to expert witnesses.

17 And we've certainly seen cases where companies
18 have passed money on to community groups or individual
19 citizens in order to assist them in that regard but it's
20 typically a trickle of resources rather than something
21 substantial.

22 DR. THOMAS KERNS: Sure.

23 DR. AMANDA KENNEDY: And I think there is
24 also much to be done in terms of speaking the language
25 of communities as well.

1 So often a lot of the information that is
2 passed from proponents down to communities is very
3 technical. It's quite voluminous.

4 So I had one community member show me a ream
5 of paper that stood taller than them which was the
6 technical information behind one of the coal seam gas
7 developments that they were looking at.

8 The time that it takes to read through those
9 documents and to digest them, particularly when we're
10 talking about people that have not necessarily completed
11 high school, you know, it's very skewed in terms of
12 those capacities.

13 So it's not necessarily just a question of
14 providing more money but it's about helping people to
15 better understand that information and also being open
16 to information that is not necessarily in the language
17 of what typically a development assessment would take
18 place in.

19 So being open to play space perspectives,
20 being open to indigenous perspectives even though it may
21 not be a question of the technical development of a
22 particular coal seam gas development.

23 DR. THOMAS KERNS: Yeah. And I like your
24 emphasis on these procedural rights being respected
25 early in the process rather than later.
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1 DR. AMANDA KENNEDY: So, again, to just
2 point to another example from my own jurisdiction and
3 also the state of Queensland, typically there's very
4 little opportunity at the exploration phase for
5 communities to have a say in a proposed or prospective
6 development. That right will usually come once the
7 exploration phase has ended and the proponent is moving
8 more to full scale development.

9 And so there tends to be a perspective that
10 it's almost a fait accompli by that point. That the
11 development is already here and we've not really had an
12 opportunity to have any input or say at that early
13 phase.

14 And it's a fundamental principle of
15 environmental justice that front-ended community
16 consultations is critical.

17 MR. GILL BOEHRINGER: Gill Boehringer.

18 I agree with what you're both saying but to
19 some extent the things that you're suggesting could also
20 be on paper and then whipped away at the whim of any
21 conservative or even half-assed labor government as
22 we've seen with legal aid funding. All over the world
23 now it's being taken away or reduced drastically.

24 And I was thinking of the idea of, which is
25 not entirely irrelevant, the idea of participatory
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1 budgeting.

2 It seems to me that what needs to be done is
3 to embed the communities somehow in the process and, of
4 course, with resources and with things you're talking
5 about. So that, in a sense, just to build a barrier to
6 bypassing them. And then I guess -- well, yeah, I
7 think that's generally the only suggestion I have.

8 DR. AMANDA KENNEDY: Look, I think that's
9 a fantastic suggestion and certainly something that
10 communities have called out for and in some
11 jurisdictions in Australia we've seen pockets of that
12 happening. We have, in some cases, community consultive
13 committees which are, in practice, are meant to meet
14 with communities from the outset of the development any
15 proposal takes place with representatives in place.

16 But, again, you know, there are a lot
17 criticisms of those processes such that the committees
18 can be stacked with people favorable to development.
19 It's not necessarily representative but, you know, I
20 agree. I think that's certainly another mechanism that
21 can be part of the arsenal to ensure that there is deep
22 and meaningful communication and consideration of issues
23 from the outset.

24 MR. GILL BOEHRINGER: Yeah, I mean I
25 realize that no system is going to be perfect and there
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1 is certainly inequality and power imbalance.

2 I know of a situation in the Philippines, for
3 example, where they have peace and order communities in
4 every village but they're usually stacked with military
5 people on one side and a few citizens on the other side
6 who may or may not be interested in things other than
7 what the military is interested in. But the military has
8 the expertise, you know, they have the power. They're
9 very intimidating and so that doesn't work too well
10 either. But, yeah, anyway we'll see.

11 I think that I like the idea of stressing the
12 procedural rights. I mean every lawyer knows that if
13 the procedure is wanky the results are a going to be
14 wanky. So good on you.

15 DR. AMANDA KENNEDY: Yeah, I think that's
16 essentially the basis of the submission that the
17 strength of the substantive rights really is very much
18 entwined with the strength of the procedural rights.

19 DR. THOMAS KERNS: Beautiful. Thank you.

20 DR. AMANDA KENNEDY: Thanks Tom.

21

22 [youtube.com/watch?v=p38nWy4EUOc]

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