Suggested Donation:
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Clayoquot Summer 1994

Rainforest Action Handbook

List of Ingredients:

Friends of Clayoquot Sound Mission Statement:

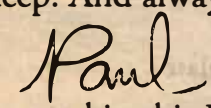
To be a peaceful, courageous and consistent advocate for the protection and restoration of the ecosystems of Clayoquot Sound with respect for the Ha-houlthee of the Ha-wii (the traditional rights and responsibilities of the Hereditary Chiefs.

Welcome!

You hold in your hands a labour of love. The time it has taken to bring this Sourcebook from conception to publication has been a scant three weeks and testifies to the level of passion we feel for this magic place, Clayoquot Sound. My hope is that this Handbook will not only raise consciousness, but also spark a deeper revolutionary impulse. At first glance, it may appear to contain merely a potpourri of pieces, an Utne Reader for the Clayoquot Campaign. But as indigenous peoples have always known (and feminists and bioregionalists are reminding us today), everything is truly connected to everything else. We dream of a new (or perhaps very old) society, where humans return to their rightful place *in* nature, where work is again fulfilling and collectively managed, where multinational corporations and the state apparatus have long since been dismantled and human communities - organized by watershed and bioregion - plan their own destinies. This Handbook is a valiant attempt to both define the problems and some of the solutions.

Of course, it's also full of facts, statistics, and cutting-edge science; critiques of current Clayoquot planning processes; and reflections on past and present social movements (of which we are simply the latest tributary to enter the vast never-ending river of social movements).

Breathe it deep. And always remember the "Three "R's": Resist / Revolt / Reuse.

Paul Cienfuegos 

P.S. The views expressed in this Handbook do not necessarily match those of every member of our staff or board. They are printed here to provoke and spur on further thought, action, and reflection.

Thank You!!!

This publication would never have happened without the extraordinary support of many many people. May I personally thank Kent and Bob Lyons, Julie Draper, Dauphin St Amand, Al Decker, Pablo Pastor, Ute Frank, Liora Freedman, Peter Ronald, Matthew Pollock, Yvonne Beaudry, Rob Thompson, Stania Juriga, Jennifer Fonseca, Chris Gustafson, Rob Skelly, Bill Joyce, Joe James, Silvia Langer, and Mike Klug. In addition, I'd like to thank Annie George, a Nuu-Chah-Nulth artist who graciously lent a number of her new paintings to the Handbook. But especially, I wish to thank Annie Decker who literally walked into our office out of nowhere, sat down, and two days later became my co-conspirator. Without her, I probably would have missed my printing deadline, or worse! Thank you all!

"I tell you, it's not an easy job suppressing the forces of truth and justice."

Scott Alexander - Media Relations for MacMillan-Bloedel
(in a letter to the editor of Vancouver's Georgia Strait newspaper)


OLD GROWTH
600
250
Arrestee
Convention on Climate Change
Governmen
made with love

The Imposition of European Law on the Native Nations of (what is now called) British Columbia

by Lavina White (Tthow Legwelth) of the Haida Nation
and
Eva Jacobs (tlakwakse) of the Kwakiutl Nation

Coercion versus Consensus

The coming of Europeans to North America was characterized by a clash between the European culture and Aboriginal culture. The cultural chauvinism of the Europeans resulted in tragic consequences for our people. History since that time has been one of colonization, oppression and genocide.

At the time of contact, Europe was well into its transition into modern states, complete with political institutions and systems of state power. The development of these structures and the cultural values underlying them had been developed in the writings of early social theorists, such as Thomas Hobbes and John Locke. Their theories laid the justification for a system of power and authority. Both Hobbes and Locke justified the need for a state system of power over its citizens by constructing a hypothetical description of human existence without such a structure. This condition they described as a State of Nature.

In this "State of Nature" they described human nature as being characterized by greed and aggression. Therefore, they theorized that only a strong sovereign state, with the instruments necessary to exercise its political will, could keep these negative aspects of human nature in check. This view of human nature was supported by the European Christian formulation of the concept of the universality of original sin. The Hobbesian European view divided people into two classifications that were mutually exclusive: those people who had been brought under the civil control of the state and its structure of power and authority (the civilized); and those people who lived in a State of Nature, subjecting themselves and each other to their unrestrained human characteristics of greed and aggression (the uncivilized). Because Europeans knew no other system and their social theorists suggested no other condition under which human society could exist, they failed to recognize the extensive social relations that existed within our Nations, which allowed us to live in peace, prosperity and stability. Instead, they saw a void. They felt obliged to save our people from ourselves by imposing a European structure of power and authority over our lives and a European Christian structure over our souls.

Along with other cultural assumptions, Europeans brought their own view of family life. This was a view in which valid marriage was only confirmed through Christian traditions and ceremony. Children were the property of parents. Nuclear families, made up of parents and their children, constituted the basic family relationship. Children were the property of parents under the authority of the husband and father. The English word "family" is derived from its Latin root "familia" meaning a household of slaves. This attitude ignored the whole complexity of roles and relationships that existed within extended Aboriginal families and clans, and the process of consensus upon which they were based.

Title to the Land

Europeans did not only bring cultural chauvinism to North America. They also brought concepts of land use and ownership that thinly veiled the most systematic theft of land in the history of human existence. Because Europeans had a view of Nature as a thing to be brought under human control, lands that were not so dominated were considered unused. Coupled with that view was the concept of private land ownership. Consequently, "undeveloped" land was unused land and unused land was unowned land. Based on this cultural justification, Europeans were to engage in, and condone, a violation of their own international laws regarding the relations between nations. They confiscated virtually all the territories of the Aboriginal Nations of North America. As they were later to change our names and the names of our children, they also changed the names of all our places: our rivers, our lakes, our mountains, our lands and our seas.

On arriving in North America, Europeans found a bountiful land inhabited by our people. Our philosophy is based on sharing and therefore we were prepared to share the wealth of our bounty with these newcomers. Because our philosophy demands us to respect each others' Nations, we automatically extended that respect to European Nations and their people. We incorrectly assumed that this same respect would be extended to our Nations and our territories. We never assumed that sharing our resources would be interpreted as surrendering our territory.

The contemplated relationship between First Nations and Europeans establishing themselves in North America is well depicted in the designs of the Two Row Wampum Belt. Rows of purple beads border the belt, divided by rows of white beads. The purple beads represent First Nations on one side and Europeans on the other. The white beads divide the two distinct peoples and prevent one from enforcing its customs, beliefs and systems upon the other.

Europeans' violations of this formal commitment, despite the many treaties and promises, are well documented. These violations eventually forced violent confrontations between First Nations and European settlers, confrontations that eventually resulted in a resistance in which the Ottawa, Potawatomi, Ojibway and Huron Nations united and drove the British garrisons out of all their forts west of Fort Pitt, culminating in the capture of the townsite of Detroit itself.

The English government realized its precarious position in North America, being vastly outnumbered by Aboriginal people. In response to this threat, it enacted a

formalization of the relationships depicted by the Two Row Wampum Belt. In 1763, the English Crown issued a Proclamation that spelt out the relationship between Europeans and our Nations. In that document the English king recognized the First Nations of North America, and our right to be unmolested in our territories. It provided that the only way England, and her subjects, could come to claim title to lands in North America was through a process by which our Nations voluntarily consented. It also placed a trust relationship upon the English government to remove all European trespassers on unsurrendered land of First Nations.

This same Proclamation also constituted all English colonial authority in North America acquired through the surrender of France, including Florida, Grenada and Canada. It was, therefore, the first piece of English constitutional law in Canada. As a constitutional document, it not only laid out rights and privileges, but it also put limitations on the extent of the authority of English colonial government. As it applies to unsurrendered Aboriginal land, it limited colonial governments to operating in the manner prescribed in the Proclamation. The Proclamation has never been repealed or superseded by other constitutional law. It exists today, and calls into question the jurisdiction of federal and provincial laws, and the authorities of their courts to enforce those laws in all unsurrendered land of First Nations.

In 1867, the British Parliament passed the *British North America Act* confederating the four English colonies into the Dominion of Canada, and providing a mechanism for Canada to extend its dominion over all the territory west to the Pacific Ocean. Our Nations were not part of this process, and without our consent Canada could not legally extend its dominion. As a result, the Canadian government entered into a treaty process with First Nations in an attempt to at least appear to comply with the Royal Proclamation regarding the sovereignty of Aboriginal land.

This treaty-signing process did not extend to most of British Columbia. In the early days of the Hudson's Bay Company's involvement on southern Vancouver Island, the governor at that time, Sir James Douglas, entered into a number of treaties with Aboriginal communities. In those treaties, small tracts of land were made available by Aboriginal people for use by the Hudson's Bay Company and later some settlement by Europeans. The treaty-signing process undertaken by the Canadian Government only extended into the land now known as British Columbia as far as to include the north-eastern corner up to the summit of the Rocky Mountains.

The remainder of the land now known as British Columbia is not covered by treaty. As a result, all non-Aboriginal occupancy and claims to ownership violate the Royal Proclamation of 1763.

Despite the failure to comply with the provisions of the Royal Proclamation of 1763, the colonial administration of the Crown colony of British Columbia passed numerous laws and ordinances pertaining to land usage, ownership and occupancy in the unsurrendered portions of British Columbia. Since Confederation, subsequent governments have continually adopted the position that the passing of those laws and ordinances has somehow legalized a transfer of title in the land to non-Aboriginal people, and have extended the jurisdiction of non-Aboriginal governments and courts onto those lands. This proposition is being challenged by First Nations.

The End of Living and the Beginning of Surviving

Europeans also brought with them diseases to which we had never been exposed and had not developed immunities. These diseases, especially smallpox, decimated the Aboriginal population of North America. Disease wiped out 98% of the Aboriginal population of what is now known as British Columbia. Vast gaps were left in the social fabric of Aboriginal life. Disease indiscriminately took leaders, healers, teachers, philosophers, parents, grandparents and children alike.

The confiscation of land left many Nations in the interior of British Columbia without the means of sustaining their existence. At the beginning of the 20th century, many of those Nations, denied access to the resources necessary for sustenance, were ravaged by starvation.

Government policy since Confederation continued to be characterized by cultural chauvinism, resulting in a multi-faceted campaign of cultural genocide aimed at the total assimilation of Aboriginal people into Canadian society. Federal laws were enacted, outlawing the traditional ceremonies that reinforced the structure of First Nations government. Aboriginal people were prohibited by law from attempting to seek redress through the Canadian court system. It was even against the law for our people to gather to discuss these injustices or to hire lawyers to protect our lands against the illegal claims of trespassers.

The theft of our lands and resources had the obvious effect of totally undermining traditional Aboriginal economies. This was coupled with a policy of ensuring that our people could not compete with the emerging European economy. There are numerous examples of government policy that had the effect of handicapping individual Aboriginal people from competing, or even surviving, in the contemporary economy of British Columbia.

When the colonial government of British Columbia introduced its system of laws and ordinances, which allowed for the non-Aboriginal use of unsurrendered Aboriginal land, they used a process of preemption of land. This allowed any individual to stake a claim on land he intended to use for the purpose of economic development or settlement. Our people were denied, by law, the right to participate in the process of preemption. While small parcels of land were set aside and reserved for our peoples, in many cases the accompanying water rights were not reserved for our usage. Often the water was diverted from our lands, thus making it impossible for us to harvest food. Laws were introduced to prohibit our people from using motorized vessels in the fishing industry. The *Indian Act*, while purporting to protect our land, disqualified our people from obtaining commercial financing and mortgages. Mineral leases and forest leases were systematically denied to our peoples. Even our traditional traplines were systematically destroyed by the onslaught of non-Aboriginal industry. As a result, the doors to entrepreneurial involvement of our peoples in the economy of British Columbia were closed.

It has been well documented that the residential school system failed to provide our people with adequate or relevant preparation for employment. For example, Haida people from Haida Gwaii (Queen Charlotte Islands) were sent to residential schools as far away as Edmonton to learn agricultural pursuits. The geography of Haida Gwaii, however, is not conducive to agricultural activity.

The policy of the federal Department of Indian Affairs, limiting Aboriginal education to grade 8, prevented our people from competing in the managerial or professional categories of the economy. Furthermore, arbitrary qualifying education levels prohibited our people from competing in trades. For example, for entry into most building trades, apprenticeships required a grade 10 education.

The effect of these policies was to relegate our people to the fringes of economic existence in British Columbia. These discriminatory policies have resulted in an impoverishment of our people and extensive dependency on a system of welfare for our existence.

As a result of this impoverishment, our people have not been in a position to exercise even the most basic personal decisions enjoyed by the majority of Canadians. Without control of financial resources, we are denied control over our housing, our social and recreational services, our health care and other basic family needs. While many of these restrictions and prohibitions against our participation in the economy have now been removed, they have had the effect of creating several generations of welfare dependency, thereby entrenching role models of welfare dependency for the present generation of our people.

Cultural Genocide

The *British North America Act*, which constituted Canada as a country, divided existing colonial government responsibilities and authorities between the federal and provincial levels of government. Section 91.24 of the *British North America Act* gave the federal government exclusive jurisdiction to pass laws with respect to Indians and lands belonging to Indians. This section has been interpreted by British jurors as giving the federal government the exclusive jurisdiction to enforce the provisions of the Royal Proclamation of 1763. It transfers to the federal government the Crown's trust obligation to ensure that our people are not molested in our unsurrendered lands and that trespassers are removed from our lands.

Instead of protecting the guaranteed rights of Aboriginal people, Section 91.24 of the *British North America Act* was used by the federal government to pass an extensive piece of legislation called the Indian Act. This act, and its enforcement, has subsequently come to govern and control every aspect of the life of Aboriginal people.

Under the authority of the *Indian Act*, the federal government established a system of residential schools for our people and enforced attendance and residency in those schools. The government's goal in creating them was to separate our people from our culture and to instill European cultural values in us. This was to be accomplished by creating the greatest possible separation between our children and their extended families; minimizing the opportunities of our cultural values being passed on to our children. For many victims of the residential school system, not only were cultural values lost, but the experience of normal family relationships and the natural process of parenting were lost as well. In their place was substituted an example of child care characterized by authoritarianism, often to the point of physical abuse, a lack of compassion, and, in many cases, sexual abuse. For those victims, the residential school system blurred natural limits on what normally would develop as mature love and sexual relationships.

The residential school process of assimilation also included the glorification of European cultural values and a demeaning of Aboriginal culture, history and existence. Children were encouraged to despise in themselves all those things which were essential to their identity. This process was extremely damaging to the self-image of the victims of the system. The residential school system spanned several generations, starting just before the beginning of the 20th century and extending until the late 1960s, when it was phased out.

In 1951, the federal government made a major revision to the *Indian Act*. Part of that revision was the inclusion of Section 88 of the *Indian Act*, which provides that, in the absence of federal law, provincial laws of a general application will apply to Indians. The federal government has never passed an Aboriginal family or child welfare act. As a result, provincial family and child protection legislation is deemed to apply to Indians. British Columbia child protection legislation enabled the Superintendent of Family and Child Service to apprehend children considered to be in need of protection, and allowed the courts to place those children in homes that were considered to be in "the best interests of the child". Prevalent social views in the 1950s and 1960s were that our children, facing the conditions of poverty forced upon our communities, needed protection. The lack of running water in an Aboriginal household was often sufficient excuse for the apprehension of a child. The attitudes of cultural chauvinism and assimilation continued to prevail. The "best interests of the child" was, and still is, interpreted as rescuing the children from their Aboriginal condition and placing them in a non-Aboriginal environment where they can learn the dominant cultural values. Huge sums of money are paid to non-Aboriginal people to foster our children. Our children are now the commodity basis for a new industry: the fostering of Aboriginal children.

The homes in which our children are placed range from those of caring, well-intentioned individuals, to places of slave labour and physical, emotional and sexual abuse.

The violent effects of the most negative of these homes are tragic for its victims. Even the best of these homes are not healthy places for our children. Anglo-Canadian foster parents are not culturally equipped to create an environment in which a positive Aboriginal self-image can develop. In most cases, our children are taught to demean those things about themselves that are Aboriginal. Meanwhile, they are expected to emulate normal child development by imitating the role model behaviour of their Anglo-Canadian foster or adoptive parents. The impossibility of emulating the genetic characteristics of their Caucasian caretakers results in an identity crisis unresolvable in this environment. In many cases this leads to behavioural problems, causing the alternative foster or adoption relationship to break down. The Aboriginal child simply cannot live up to the assimilationist expectations of the non-Aboriginal care-taker. As a result, many of these children are transferred from one home to another as each relationship breaks down. With each breakdown and subsequent transfer, the children experience a further feeling of rejection and a further damaging blow to their self-image. Each of these subsequent blows generally increases the frequency of acting-out or self-destructive behaviour.

The scope of the apprehension and foster placement of our children in the 1950s and 1960s was so extensive it is now known as the "60s Scoop". In 1955, 1% of the children in care

of the Superintendent in British Columbia were Aboriginal children. By 1960, 40% of the children were Aboriginal. In some of our communities, every child was, at one point in his or her life, apprehended.

The *Indian Act* had many major devastating effects on the family life of our people. It defines who is entitled to be registered as an Indian and reside on an Indian reserve. When the process of registering Indians was undertaken, many people were left off the list and subsequently they, and their descendants, never became registered as Indians. Many Aboriginal babies did not have their births registered and so they also failed to become registered as Indians. Many First Nations straddle the Canadian-American border, both at the 49th parallel and the Alaska panhandle. Aboriginal children born outside Canada are not registered, even though many members of their family might be registered on the Canadian side. Aboriginal people, by moving to Canada from parts of the United States, are not eligible to be registered as Indians.

There were also provisions in the *Indian Act* by which our people could lose their rights as Indians. Prior to 1951, Aboriginal people registered under the provisions of the *Indian Act* were subject to numerous prohibitions and were denied many of their civil rights, including the right to vote. Many people were encouraged to give up their rights as Indians in order to exercise their civil rights.

The Department of Indian Affairs only provided an education up to a maximum of grade 8 for Aboriginal children. The public schools denied access to Aboriginal children registered under the *Indian Act* and therefore children wishing to proceed with their education were forced to surrender their rights as Indians. Aboriginal people who left the reserve for a long period were arbitrarily removed from the list of registered Indians by the Indian Agent. As a result, most of the Aboriginal people who served in World War I or World War II lost their rights as Indians. The eligibility requirement to be registered as an Indian was dependent upon one's parents being registered, and therefore if parents lost or surrendered their rights, then their children were also ineligible to become registered as Indians.

The most devastating section of this legislation provided that an Aboriginal woman marrying a man who was not a registered Indian would lose her rights, and her children would be ineligible to be registered as Indians. That section was repealed in 1985 in provisions of Bill C-31; however, much of its effects are still being felt even by those people who qualified for re-instatement. Bill C-31 does not extend to all the descendants of people who lost their rights through marriage. Re-instatement of Aboriginal people under Bill C-31 does not automatically result in those people being reinstated on Band lists and therefore requalified to live on lands reserved for Indians.

Being registered as an Indian encompasses many things. It arbitrarily defines membership in a Nation, and it determines eligibility for education, health care, and some other social programs extended by the federal government only to registered Indians. More importantly, however, registration defines access to residency on land reserved for Indians. The effects of laws that denied Aboriginal people their rights as Indians created numerous divisions within extended families. Grandparents, for example, might be registered and eligible to live on a reserve, while their children have lost their rights and are not eligible to reside on a reserve. Consequently, the grandchildren are not eligible to reside on a reserve, the grandparents are denied their traditional role in the care of the children, and the children are denied the opportunity of learning the teaching of their grandparents. The *Act* even divided siblings into status and non-status Indians. As a result, aunts and uncles are not in a position to exercise their responsibility with respect to their brothers' and sisters' children. The *Indian Act* undermines the whole fabric of social responsibilities that had enabled First Nations to live in peace, stability and prosperity since time immemorial. The act itself is the result of a culturally chauvinistic government, bent on a policy of the assimilation of our people.

The attempt at assimilation of Aboriginal people was unsuccessful. We continue to exist as a separate and distinct people. Our Nations, complete with our cultures and traditions, also continue to thrive despite the massive onslaught against us. However, while the effect of the government policy of assimilation has not resulted in assimilation, it has created a state of economic dependency.

The arbitrary effects of disease, starvation and impoverishment dealt a serious blow to the extended family traditions of some of our Nations. The gaps left by these catastrophes resulted in large holes in the network of supports and responsibilities previously available to the Aboriginal child and practiced by family members.

The system of residential schools, followed by the years of apprehension and placement of our children in non-Aboriginal homes, resulted in large numbers of our children not being raised in situations where the traditional responsibilities could be passed down to them. In many cases we were also denied the opportunity to learn the basic parenting practices used by our people since the beginning of time. Since there was no nurturing in these schools it was very difficult for the children to develop the natural process of providing nurturing to their children. Our cooperative and supportive child care practices were replaced by authoritarian practices based on punishment and coercion taught and reinforced in the Anglo-Canadian residential schools and foster caretaking homes. Alcohol, drug, physical and sexual abuse are all effects and symptoms of the degree to which our extended family practices were undermined and damaged.

In response to the obvious social needs resulting from these experiences, government policy has used the dependency of our people to formulate European cultural approaches to dealing with these problems, based on treating the individual. Our traditional community-based approaches to resolving problems have been replaced by European medical models of treating individuals in isolation from their social environment. In most cases, this type of treatment has been unsuccessful in solving problems for us. The individual has been treated and returned to the dysfunctional social environment. The failures of this approach have been used to justify the continued apprehension of our children, thereby perpetuating a cycle of cultural confusion.

One of the most devastating measures of the effects of cultural genocide lies in the rate of suicide in a community. While Aboriginal suicide levels are much higher than average Canadian levels, a recent study demonstrated that Aboriginal suicide rates are not the same across all our Nations. There is a very high correlation between Aboriginal suicide and the extent to which traditional Aboriginal decision-making practices have been dismantled.

The Eagle Has Landed

Many of our Nations have prophecies that foretold the coming of our oppression at the hands of Europeans. They have also foretold our eventual liberation. Best known of these is the Hopi prophecy relating how our Nations will live under the oppression of Europeans for seven generations. The end of this oppression and the re-emergence of strong, liberated Aboriginal Nations will be signaled by "an eagle landing on the moon". The meaning of this prophecy went unknown for many years until 1969 when the American astronaut, Neil Armstrong, reported back to earth that "the Eagle has landed".

The 1951 revision of the *Indian Act* removed many of the most repressive elements of that Act. It transformed the document from an instrument of repression to an instrument of paternalism. During the 1950s and 1960s it was no longer illegal for Aboriginal people to gather to discuss our grievances with Canada and pursue solutions to those grievances.

In 1970, the Nisga'a Tribal Council initiated legal action seeking a court declaration of their Aboriginal title to their traditional lands. The Supreme Court of Canada ruled unanimously that, based on the laws of Nature and on international law, the Nisga'a Nation had Aboriginal title to all of their traditional territory. Three of the seven Judges declared that title continued to exist. Another three ruled that title had been extinguished by the colonial government of the colony of British Columbia. The seventh Judge found a technicality for not ruling on the case.

By arriving at a split decision, the Court sent a message to government that Aboriginal title and jurisdiction had not been extinguished under Canadian law, while at the same time it found a political escape from providing the Nisga'as with a legal decision on which to enforce their title and jurisdiction. The Supreme Court avoided ruling on the applicability to contemporary British Columbia of the Royal Proclamation of 1763, finding other issues on which to base its judgments.

Since then, a Supreme Court decision initiated by the Musqueam Nation determined that Aboriginal title to Musqueam land did exist today and was not dependent on colonial, Canadian or provincial legislation for its existence.

More recently, in 1991, in a decision initiated by Ron Sparrow of the Musqueam Nation, the Supreme Court of Canada found that the specific rights of Aboriginal Nations continue to exist in Canadian law. In his particular case, the right to fish predates all legislation that purported to restrict that right, and the right is protected in the constitutional recognition of existing Aboriginal rights in the *Canada Act 1982*. The Court ruled that, even before the rights of Aboriginal people were affirmed in the *Canada Act 1982*, government could not arbitrarily and unilaterally extinguish rights of Aboriginal people. All of the laws that recognize the rights of our people to fish apply directly to the rights of Aboriginal Nations to protect and care for their children and families.

Nowhere in Canadian law is there an indication, or expression, extinguishing the rights of our Nations to exercise jurisdiction over the lives of our children and families.

(a short excerpt from Liberating Our Children • Liberating Our Nations, published in 1992 by the B.C. Government - see Bibliography)

Cedar woman and non-native lady being cradled by the eagle. Their hands are joined in unity.

The Thriving of Wild Salmon

remarks by Simon Lucas

Following is a transcript of the remarks made by Simon Lucas who at the time of this speech was co-chair of the B.C. Aboriginal Fisheries Commission and the Nuu-Chah-Nulth Tribal Council. He was speaking to the participants of the Suzuki Foundation's Wild Salmon conference held November 18th, 1988. Savor his words.

I have a vision of a future for the west coast of Vancouver Island. And it is a vision, too, in my grandfather's eyes and my grandchildren's eyes. In my vision I am sitting in my boat, Karmar 1, drifting in Shelter Inlet on a cold, drizzly fall day. Suddenly, there is a sound like a gunshot, and I look out and thousands of dog salmon are breaking the surface at the same time. That special sound and that special sight have not been heard since my grandfather's time. In my vision, thousands of chinook salmon from 50-pound smilies to small jacks again fight their way up the Tahsis, Gold and other rivers on the west coast of the island as they once did. In my vision, the steep mountains around Kennedy Lake are beautifully green, not as they are today - almost bare and wasting away to the rivers. Yes, there is logging in my vision, but logging in small patches, spaced among growing and mature timber. And in my vision, hundreds of thousands of sockeye swarm again in Tofino River and the Kennedy River. They spawn in Kennedy Lake and its tributaries. And in my vision, seiners and gillnetters, spaced out along Browning Passage and Tofino Inlet, respectfully sharing in the bounty of the sockeye returning to Kennedy Lake as they once did. Native and non-native fishermen sharing this abundance freely as they once did.

Let me tell you about our communities in our vision. We have communities like Kyuquot, at the entrance to Kyuquot Sound, and the Mowachaht community at the mouth of the Gold River. The community of Ahousaht guards the door to northern Clayoquot Sound and the community of Opitsaht, across from Tofino, is home to the Clayoquot people who care for Kennedy Lake and its salmon. In my vision, our communities thrive and prosper through the careful management, sharing and use of fisheries and other resources like they once did. You see, my vision is not based on the survival of salmon, but on the thriving of wild salmon. My vision is not based upon the survival of our people and our communities, but on their thriving. Most importantly, my vision is based on the complete interdependence between our people and wild salmon. Our communities are spread along the coast and we cannot thrive unless wild salmon thrive. Equally, I do not believe that wild salmon will again flourish, unless and until our communities flourish again. This is why we can share a common cause and struggle together - for our communities and for wild salmon to survive and thrive.

I want to speak to you briefly about our history, because I think we learn something about the total interdependence between our community and wild salmon from our history before contact. It's important for you to understand why it's important to us, that we were economically sound before contact. There was no such thing as unemployment. You have to undestand that. You can't just keep telling us that it happened 120 years ago. We still look back. Our communities were strong and obviously self-reliant. And I believe that salmon and other fisheries thrived under careful management. Many non-Indian people think that salmon and other resources were not as heavily utilized as they are today and therefore that little management was needed. It is a mistake to think that we did not use the resources to the fullest extent possible. You need to recognize that our populations were probably at least ten times larger 200 years ago. And you should understand that in my tribe alone, the Hesquiat tribe, the biggest clan that existed was well over 1000. So it's easy for us to estimate there was 3000 of us Hesquiats. And you think about that and the way we live today and you go back some 200 years, all the meals we had - we had snacks between our meals - but all of those were fish. We never had to eat anything else. There was no Kraft Dinner or bologna. We were totally surrounded by fish prepared in many different ways. For example, archaeological evidence indicates that 15,000 to 20,000 Nuu-Chah-Nulth people lived in Barkley Sound alone and similar numbers in Kyuquot Sound. There are 300 in Kyuquot today.

If you think about the quantities of fish and shellfish required to feed populations of this size, largely dependent on seafoods, you will soon see that our ancestors were harvesting more of the salmon resource and other resources than are being harvested today. If you went to our site, it would probably go twenty feet deep. You would be digging up nothing but whalebones, clamshells, fishbones. Obviously we had an effective management system to ensure that harvests of this size could be sustained. It's ludicrous to think that we had no plan. . .

History shows us the interdependance between our communities and salmon stocks, as the decline of salmon stocks is exactly parallel to the decline and impoverishment of our communities. For thousands of years until the last short 100 years we did not know of unemployment in our communities. . .

The coming of fishing industries and other industries meant increasing unemployment in our communities. As the resource suffered, so have we. We can talk about many examples: Canadian Fish in Nootka Sound, a flourishing cannery. Nelson Bros. in Ceepeecee. Flourishing. A lot of our people were working. But somebody decided centralization was the answer to the economy. The vision which I have described to you must be based on clean rivers, estuaries and ocean waters, and on the careful protection and management of wild salmon and salmon stocks. Here we must be careful on the words we use - "wild" salmon used to mean wild spawning, wild parents, non-hatchery stocks. Since salmon farming has come to our coast, wild salmon has come to mean non-farm salmon, whether they were spawned in a hatchery or a river.

If we are going to rebuild our wild stocks, we have to think about all the things that we have inherited. You and I could stand here for days about the inheritance. Lakes, rivers and creeks, and salmon stocks large and small, no matter how many hatcheries we have, they can never begin to match the

abilities of our rivers and creeks and wild stocks to produce fish. If we protect them we have to say "no" to industrial pollution and to the idea of safe levels of poison chemicals. How long are we going to continue to self-destruct? If we befoul the rivers, streams, creeks and lakes, we are befouling ourselves. We have to say NO! We keep seeing government after government allowing pulp mills to be built before safeguards. They are in place, finally, and we say, "what about the pollution?" "Oh, but that's going to cost $40 million to see that we're pollution-free." Right now we have "safe levels" for our people in this country. We've got to say "No, no more." Otherwise, all of us are just paying lip-service to wild stock. My vision of the rebuilding of the Kennedy Lake sockeye stocks is an impossible dream if we add the insult of spraying toxic chemicals alongside the stream, as they are doing today, in addition to the painful injury of steep, clearcut slopes. Our inlets will not provide the environment needed by our young salmon to grow and survive if we allow the salmon farming to grow unchecked. We have many examples: pulp mills, lumber mills, the Fraser River is an example.

If we had the power to transform ourselves into a fish, how long do you think you and I would be under there? We must manage fisheries and habitat to rebuild our wild stocks. We must use enhancement as one tool of management with a goal of rebuilding stocks. The vision I have described for you must also be based on more and better knowledge and information about our rivers, streams and estuaries. For example, the rebuilding of chinook salmon stocks is one of the goals of the Pacific Salmon Treaty. The rebuilding program must be based on reliable information about the status of chinook stocks and about the capabiltity of our rivers in the inlets to produce chinook. Yet on the west coast of Vancouver Island, there is only one chinook indicator stock to tell us if the rebuilding program is working for that area. Compare this to the eight indicator stocks on the Western Olympic Peninsula in Washington State. The reason they have so many indicator stocks in Washington State is because individual tribes have cared enough about their rivers to develop and maintain a sound information base. We need to care enough about all of our stocks on the west caost of Vancouver Island to recognize that what is happening to the Robertson Creek hatchery stock is not the same as what is happening to wild stocks elsewhere. Our tribes are in the best position to provide the information required for better management, as the tribes have done in Washington State.

I will give you a few examples of how we can provide the information to support the rebuilding of our wild stocks. The Kyuquot tribal communities are next to the northern entrance to Kyuquot Sound. Many important chinook, chum and coho producers flow into Kyuquot Sound and for the last three years young Kyuquot people have been working hard to estimate spawner numbers in these streams and rivers.

This is not an easy job. The northwest coast of Vancouver Island has some of the worst weather on the coast during spawning season. But it is far easier for Kyuquot people to do this work than for people from elsewhere simply because they live there and they can take advantage of every break in the weather, however brief. These young people are committed to this work and want to keep doing it. It is important work for their forefathers, the keepers of the rivers.

In Ahousat, north of Tofino, another group of young people have built a counting fence on a small local chum and coho producer. They want to use the spawner count they get from this one stream as an indicator of chum and coho returns from other streams in the area. Young people in every Nuu-Chah-Nulth community want to become involved in protecting, managing and enhancing their rivers and streams. This work needs to be done elsewhere and the department does not have the money or they would do what needs to be done. We fully support our young people in their efforts, but we cannot do this in the long run unless we can share in the benefits.

This point about sharing and the benefits of efforts to better manage and enhance our wild salmon resource is an extremely important one which I want to explain carefully. At the very heart of fish conservation is not catching fish today so there will be more fish to catch in the future. We have demonstrated time and time again our respect for the salmon. When the time has come for conservation, however, departmental policies prevent native so-called food fishermen from sharing in the benefits of conservation efforts.

Unless I have a license, I am not allowed to benefit. The department restricts native fishermen to quotas based on their food needs. It cuts back from these quotas in times of shortage but then does not allow us to share in the benefits of conservation efforts.

So I think I'm getting close to the heart of the issue which divides you and I. We are willing to share the fisheries resources with you as we've demonstrated. You know that. We've demonstrated that since your forefathers came. But now the share we have left is not enough to sustain our communities. You are concerned about maintaining your work and your way of life and you're worried that restoring our rightful share will mean less for you, but it does not have to be this way. We can create a win-win-win situation, a situation where native and non-native people and the salmon all win. But to do this we have to work together to rebuild and expand the wild salmon resource. I am not saying that we don't have some serious differences. And we have shown those differences through the media. Let us recognize those differences and work together to ensure that wild salmon flourish once again or else there will be no wild salmon and our differences will be irrelevant.

I believe that wild salmon can once again thrive and that our communities can once again flourish. We are committed in each of our communities up and down the coast and along the rivers to work with the salmon in their struggle to survive and thrive. We will continue the efforts we have already begun and we want to double and redouble our efforts for the wild salmon stock. These efforts will benefit the salmon and all of us, native and non-native alike. We would like to share fairly in the benefits, as this is our heritage.

In closing, I want to say to the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union, thank you very much for not joining with the Pacific Fishermen's Defence Alliance in their efforts. They are saying that in our efforts to help our communities thrive once again we are a threat to the fisheries resource. They are saying that they want justice and equality for all Canadians. I say to them, what about the fish? I say to you that our communities must flourish for the wild salmon to flourish. We can and we must work together in harmony so that wild salmon will again flourish. If we can work out a way to work together, my grandchildren will live to see and hear the vision of my grandfather.

(reprinted from "The Fisherman" newspaper, 13 December 1988)

The Developing Reality

reflections by Valerie Langer

Although the Friends of Clayoquot Sound do their grassroots environmental work in the same area they seek to protect, the Clayoquot Sound experience has begun to symbolize fears worldwide about wild and natural areas, and hopes for its continuation.

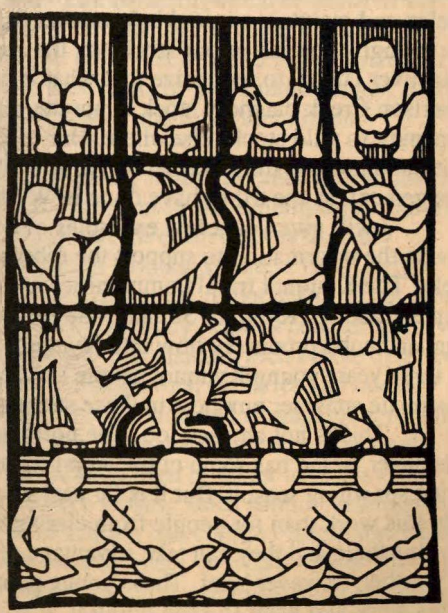
The Friends of Clayoquot Sound have been working for the past 15 years to protect the largest remaining coastal lowland temperate rainforest in the world. This tract of forest is 260,000 hectares (624,000 acres) of deep valleys and fjords, islands and mountains located on the west coast of Vancouver Island, B.C., Canada. It is home to marbled murrelets and has healthy populations of black bear, cougar, wolves, bald eagles and myriad small mammals, birds and amphibians. It is an area full of salmon spawning streams on which the First Nations of the region have been dependent for thousands of years. 21% of Clayoquot Sound has already been clearcut-logged by multinational corporations.

We have succeeded in protecting 33% of the land base, much of it the economically unviable coastal fringe forest and some interior forest. We have achieved protection for the 20,000 hectare Megin River watershed. It is a welcome honour to have the largest protected temperate rainforest watershed in North America but a chilling reality when you consider there used to be 91 watersheds over 5000 hectares (12,000 acres) on Vancouver Island and only six remain intact - and only two of those are protected. In the rest of the temperate rainforest from Southeastern Alaska to Northern California the situation is even worse. The forest is in danger of becoming fragmented into small clumps and the biodiversity sustained by the critical mass of forest cover is threatened. Fifteen years ago we didn't know any of this. We knew that big chunks of forest were coming down very quickly but we didn't know the scale of the destruction. It was a combination of local experience and a profound mistrust of corporate intentions which kept the Friends insisting that all was not well in the woods.

We face incredible odds. The NDP government invested $50 million in MacMillan Bloedel. The timber lobby has millions more dollars to advertise their position than we have. The federal and provincial governments have also put $9 million into PR for the companies. The movement for Clayoquot Sound has grown through the grassroots work across Canada and into the U.S. and is looming large in Europe. We have mounted five blockades over the last fifteen years, the last being at the Kennedy River Bridge from July through October of 1993. The Kennedy Bridge blockade was the largest blockade in Canadian history. Over 12,000 people attended the blockade and over 800 were arrested. Trials of the Clayoquot arrestees continued through June of 1994. Sentences have generally been 21 days imprisonment and a fine, with variations of some stiffer and some more lenient sentences. More than 200 people were arrested after the stiffest penalties were handed down. What happens in Clayoquot will empower people across Canada in their struggles to maintain the integrity of their local ecosystems, be they boreal forests, the prairie grasses, or the Great Lakes.

Our landscape is one which exists only as fairy tales in most of the world. It is now our good fortune and our responsibility to ensure that the beasts and flora, large and small, and the indigenous cultures do not become mythological creatures and people for the children of the future. The incarceration of peaceful and conscientious citizens has only spurred a successful international campaign. Jail is not a deterrent to civil disobedience: social and political change is. With Clayoquot as the symbol and the impetus we will have justice, wilderness and a much gentler forestry in British Columbia. This is not just idealism, it is the developing reality.

(Valerie Langer is a long-time international campaigner for and director of the Friends of Clayoquot Sound)



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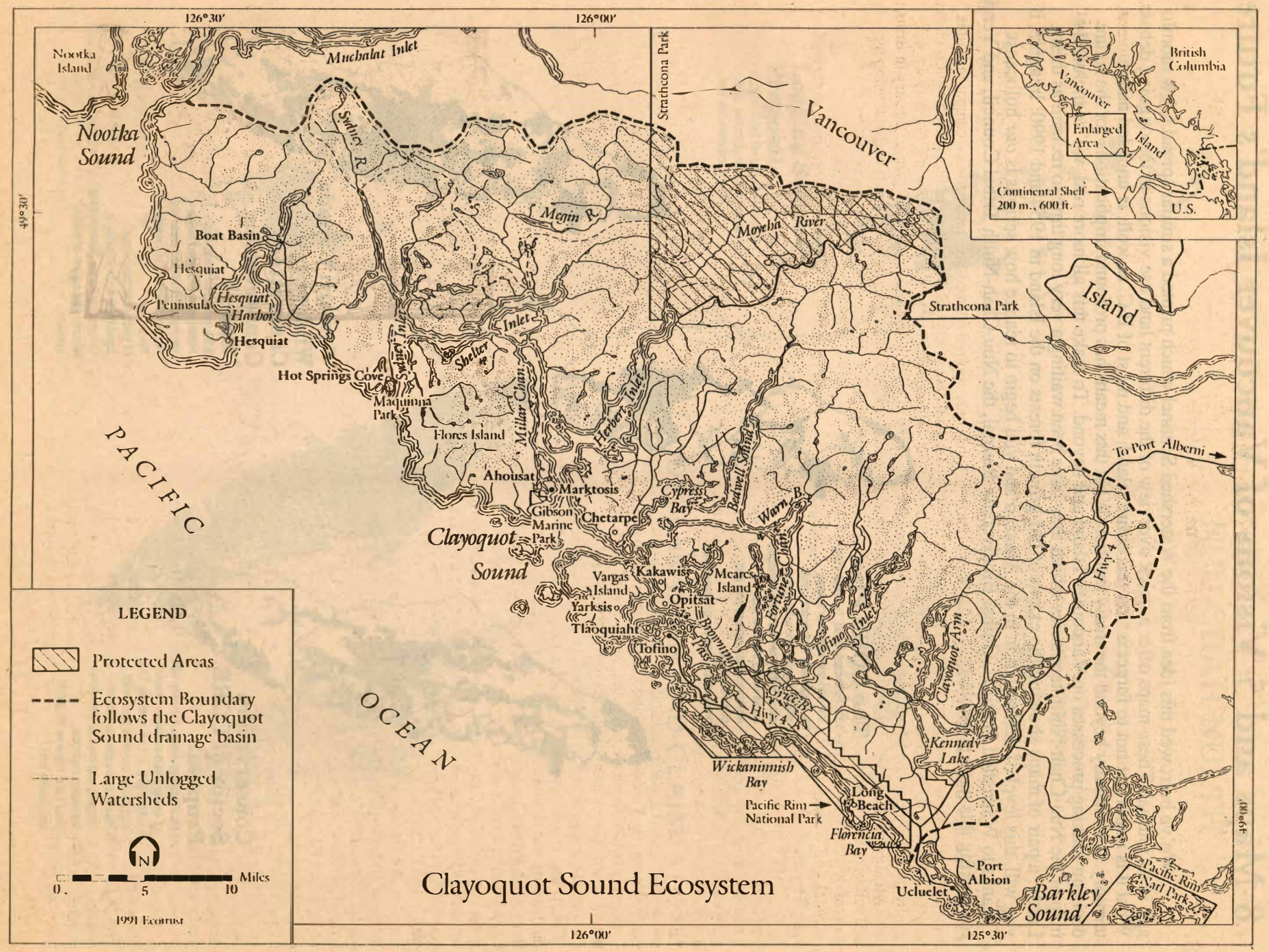

126°30'
126°00'
125°30'
49°30'
49°00'
Nootka Island
Muchalat Inlet
Nootka Sound
Sydney R.
Megin R.
Strathcona Park
Vancouver
Island
Moyeha River
Strathcona Park
British Columbia
Vancouver Island
Enlarged Area
Continental Shelf
200 m., 600 ft.
U.S.
Boat Basin
Hesquiat Peninsula
Hesquiat Harbor
Hesquiat
Matlahaw Inlet
Shelter Inlet
Hot Springs Cove
Maquinna Park
Flores Island
Millar Chan.
Herbert Inlet
To Port Alberni
PACIFIC
OCEAN
Ahousat
Marktosis
Gibson Marine Park
Chetarpe
Cypress Bay
Bedwell Sound
Warn B.
Clayoquot Sound
Vargas Island
Kakawis
Mcarcs Island
Opitsat
Yarksis
Tlaoquiaht
Tofino
Browning Pass
Fortune Chan.
Tofino Inlet
Clayoquot Arm
Hwy 4
Grice B.
Kennedy Lake
Wickanimmish Bay
Pacific Rim National Park
Long Beach
Florencia Bay
Ucluelet
Port Albion
Barkley Sound
Pacific Rim Natl Park
LEGEND
Protected Areas
Ecosystem Boundary follows the Clayoquot Sound drainage basin
Large Unlogged Watersheds
N
0
5
10
Miles
1991 Ecotrust
Clayoquot Sound Ecosystem

8 Maps and 5 Visions of Vancouver Island's Future

We've borrowed this idea from the Watershed Sentinel which printed a similar spread a few months ago in its journal. These maps offer a quick overview of the different land use visions in the ongoing debate. What it is important not to forget is that this entire island, and most of B.C. as well, is unceded native territory. It is literally beyond the treaty frontier. What this means has profound implications for the future decision-making processes on Vancouver Island and beyond. To make this all more real, we've included a map of the Nuu-Chah-Nulth territories which they have been waiting a very long time to reclaim as theirs. Lastly, a pair of maps showing the extent of old-growth forests on the Island in 1954 and 1990. Imagine, if you will, this level of deforestation in the Amazon and you begin to realize how serious is *our* holocaust. (Thanks to Watershed Sentinel, Global Biodiversity Journal, the Nuu-Chah-Nulth Tribal Council, and Yendor for making this page possible.)

The CORE Plan

- 13% Protected Areas, but only 7.8% low and mid elevation forests
- 8% Regionally Significant Lands where logging and mining may occur if they are carefully managed so as not to interfere with environmental, recreational and cultural values.
- Forest Land Reserve recommended

Conservation Sector of CORE Proposal

- 18% Protected Areas, but only 12% of low and mid-elevation forests
- A further 15% in Low Intensity Use connecting corridors and intact visual landscapes for tourism. Logging restricted to alternative harvesting methods.
- Forest Land Reserve on public and private land.

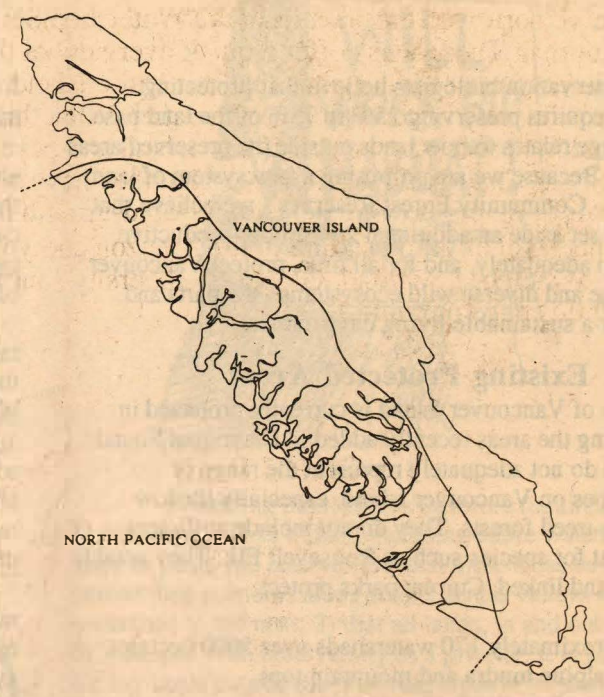
Western Canada Wilderness Committee Conservation Vision

- 32.5% protected areas and Restoration Protected Areas
- Over half of protected areas are Ancient Coastal Temperate Rainforest
- All land, other than urban agricultural and industrial, is Community Forest Reserve Area
- Requires total reform of tenure system

Logging Sector Proposal

- 12.03% Total Proposed Protected Area, including 5% of operable low and mid elevation forests

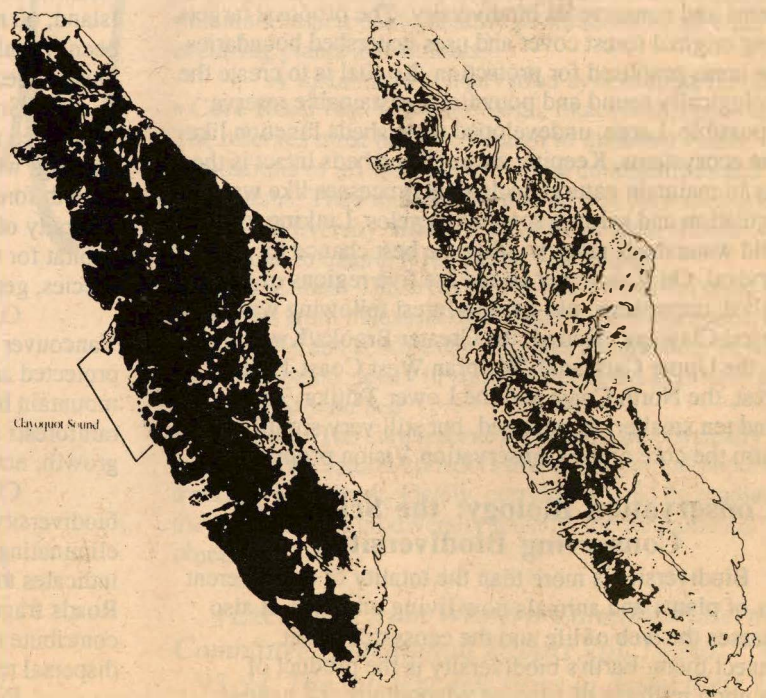
NUU-CHAH-NULTH



DECLARATION AND CLAIM

Current Situation

- 10.3% of land base in Protected Areas, but only 4.4% of operable low to mid elevation forests



A Conservation Biology Vision For Vancouver Island

Conservation biologists believe that protecting biodiversity requires preserving 25% to 75% of the land base. This wide range relates to how lands outside the preserved areas are managed. Because we are proposing a new system of land management - Community Forest Reserves - we believe that we need only set aside an additional 29% of our productive forest lands to adequately, and for all time, protect Vancouver Island's unique and diverse wild ecosystems - the parts and blueprints for a sustainable living environment.

Existing Protected Areas

10% of Vancouver Island is currently protected in parks, including the areas recently added in Clayoquot Sound. But our parks do not adequately represent the range of ecosystem types on Vancouver Island, especially the low elevation, big-treed forests. They do not include sufficient critical habitat for species such as Roosevelt Elk. They need to be expanded and linked. Current parks protect:

- 2 of the approximately 170 watersheds over 5000 hectares
- 90% of the alpine tundra and mountain tops
- 20% of the bog/non-productive forests
- 5.5% of the productive forest lands
- 4.5% of the ancient temperate rainforest
- 0.3% of the coastal Douglas fir ecosystem

Proposed Protected Areas

A major expansion of Vancouver Island's protected area system is needed to represent the Island's full range of ecosystems and conserve its biodiversity. The proposal targets remaining original forest cover and uses watershed boundaries to define areas proposed for protection. Its goal is to create the most ecologically sound and potentially sustainable reserve system possible. Large, undeveloped watersheds function like complete ecosystems. Keeping entire watersheds intact is the best way to maintain natural ecological processes like water flow regulation and salmon spawning cycles. Linking together large wild watersheds gives wildlife the best chance for long-term survival. On Vancouver Island are five regions of largely undisturbed, unprotected old-growth forest following watershed boundaries: Clayoquot Sound, the Greater Brooks/Kyuquot Region, the Upper Carmanah/Walbran West Coast Trail Rainforest, the North Coast and the Lower Tsitika. These five areas, and ten smaller, fragmented, but still very significant areas form the core of the Conservation Vision proposal.

Conservation Biology: the Science of Conserving Biodiversity

Biodiversity is more than the totality of the different varieties of plants and animals now living on Earth. It also encompasses the web of life and the ecosystems that interconnect them. Earth's biodiversity is the product of millions upon millions of years of adaptations and natural selection - species evolving to fit into, and take advantage of, unique niches in different environments. This is why ancient forests sustain so much biodiversity, and why species cannot survive in tree plantations clearcut every eighty years or so.

Now, due to human activities, this complex web is altered, niches eliminated and the species which depend upon them driven to extinction. The slow process of evolution cannot keep up with the losses. It took millions of years to evolve the same number of species lost in the catastrophic era of dinosaur extinctions.

Only a few species thrive when their habitats are radically altered. Most decline, and those that go extinct, like the dinosaurs, don't come back. The current loss of species globally is accelerating and now is estimated to be between 1,000 and 150,000 each year - a biodiversity crisis that has scientists scared world-wide. The wide range in the estimates testifies to the lack of scientific knowledge about what is really happening. Scientists can only guess how many species die with an ecosystem that disappears.

There is not even an agreed-upon estimate of the total number of species on Earth. Guesses range from 5 to 50 million. Less than 1.5 million of the world's species have even been described by scientists, and only a tiny number have been thoroughly examined. With such scant knowledge, caution should prevail. Let's remember, "the first rule of intelligent tinkering is to save all the parts."

Much of the accelerating rate of species extinction is linked to tropical deforestation. However, recent research indicates that the temperate rainforests in B.C. are much more biodiverse than previously thought. At WCWC's canopy research station in the Upper Carmanah Valley on Vancouver Island, 60 new species of invertebrates - mostly insects - have been recently identified, yet less than 3% of the 750,000 of those collected there have been analyzed by scientists.

Some ecosystem types - especially ancient forests - are indeed more "species-rich" than others. Prior to industrial logging, which began a little more than a century ago, old growth forests in the Pacific Northwest supported the greatest diversity of forest wildlife on the continent. The quality of habitat for most wildlife, and thus the number and diversity of species, generally declines with increasing elevation.

Currently 90% of high alpine and mountain tops on Vancouver Island are protected in parks. 58% of the Island's protected area system is alpine, tundra, bog forest and mountain hemlock forest. Only 5.6% of the Island's temperate rainforests are protected and more than 20% of this is second growth, not ancient forests.

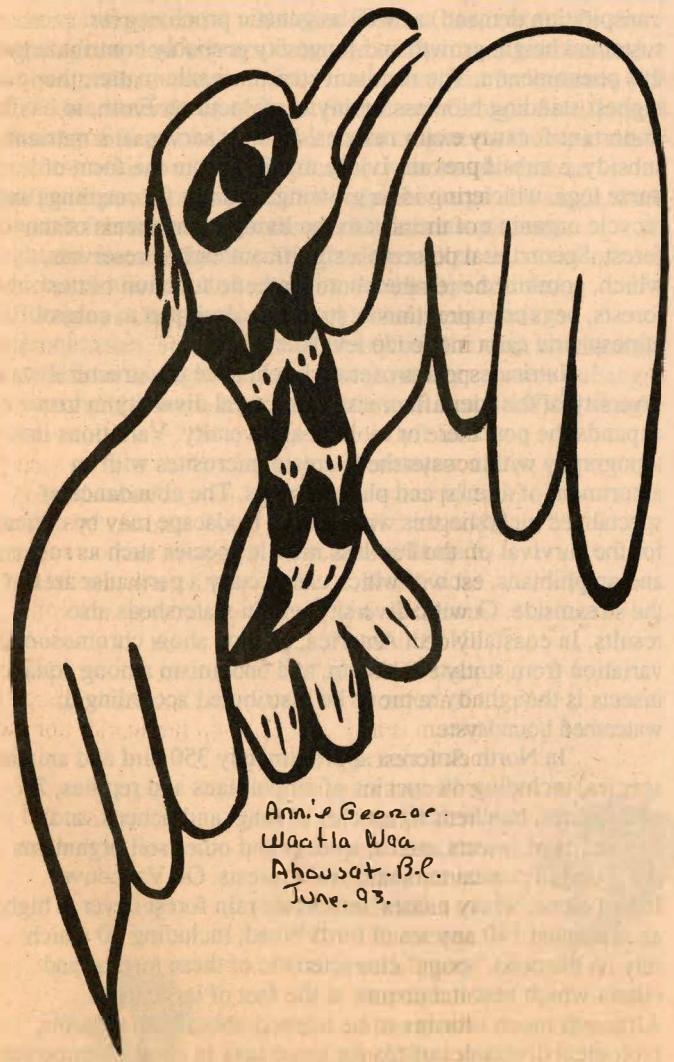
Clearcuts and roads are among the greatest threats to biodiversity. Clearcuts radically alter the ecosystem eliminating many niches and whole habitats. Research indicates that many small animals rarely, if ever, cross roads. Roads fragment populations, provide access to hunters, contribute to habitat disturbances like landslides, and offer dispersal routes for invasions of exotic or "weed" species.

Principles of Conservation Biology reveal that the amount of biodiversity maintained in an area is related to land size. An island 1/10th the size of another similar island, e.g.,

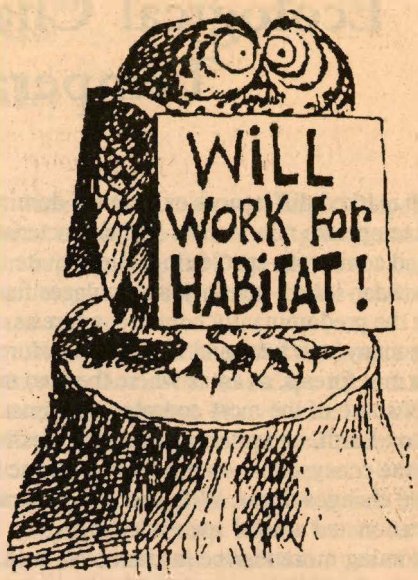
will have about 1/2 of species. Reserves surrounded by clearcuts essentially function as islands. They cannot maintain the large animals that once lived in the larger region.

Experience has also shown that a patchwork of small reserves doesn't work. It now appears that very few of those in the United States, despite 36 million hectares of protected wilderness, are large enough to maintain their existing diversity. They are too small to enable natural processes to succeed. Inbreeding has occurred amongst the wild animals, and normal extremes of climate variation have locally wiped out some species. 42 species of mammals have disappeared from North American parks over the last several decades. Over 600 species in the US are now federally listed or threatened.

Biologists warn that the evolution of large mammals in North America will be coming to an end unless very large reserves are established. They estimate that small reserves of 10,000 to 100,000 hectares might be able to maintain viable populations of smaller mammals including small ungulates, but large predators and ungulates require much larger reserves, generally over 200,000 hectares. (The entire Clayoquot Sound land area is only 262,000 hectares.)



The hummingbird is the meaning of life.



Protecting biodiversity therefore requires two things: 1) that large chunks of land including entire watersheds be set aside as parks and reserves and that these areas be linked with undisturbed corridors along rivers, across valleys and from one watershed to the next; 2) that all lands, in and out of reserves, be managed with biodiversity as a priority. It is unacceptable for any lands outside the protected areas to be abused and degraded by industrial forestry practices.

Designing a System That Works

If a protected areas system is to protect biodiversity in perpetuity, the lands protected must be of sufficient size and located so that they: represent all major ecosystem types, are large enough to be viable, and are able to adapt to short or long-term changes in the local or global environment, and •maintain in perpetuity healthy populations of all naturally occurring plants and animals.

A sustainable conservation system must include:

• **Core Reserves:** These are large, intact roadless wild areas. The reserves must be large enough to maintain viable populations of all species, biological communities and ecosystems. They must be located so that they shelter all the natural biodiversity. Boundaries of these areas should correspond to natural features and watersheds.

• **Buffer Zones:** The areas surrounding reserves must insulate core areas from industrial disturbances. In these zones, low road density and ecoforestry activities are allowed. Restoration work will be necessary in some buffer zones that have already been highly disturbed.

• **Corridors:** The core reserve areas must be physically connected by natural corridors that allow animal populations to travel between them. Ideally, corridors should be roadless and the protection of biodiversity must be the fundamental objective.

(Excerpted from Western Canada Wilderness Committee Educational Report Vol. 12 No. 7, Winter '93-94. The full text describes in detail their vision, valley by valley, and is accompanied by an extraordinary full-colour map.)

Ecological Characteristics of Coastal Temperate Rain Forests

Although marked differences exist in the dominant species of coastal temperate rain forests - the characteristic mix of broad-leaved and coniferous species in Chile is quite different from the cedar-spruce-hemlock assemblages found in North America or the predominantly coniferous forests of Japan - they share many structural and functional features. Coastal temperate rain forests, as areas where the land meets the sea, are part of some of the most complex and most dynamic systems on Earth, comprising terrestrial, freshwater, estuarine and marine ecosystems. As the rivers of these forests near the sea, subtle changes occur. With each slight increase in salinity, the vegetation and animal species change, progressively becoming more marine in character, until, at the mouths of the rivers, the shift is complete: the forest ends and the sea begins.

The two systems are inextricably linked: the forest reaches out to influence the diversity and productivity of life in the sea, which in turn furnishes the wind and rain necessary for maintenance of the forest character. This exchange of nutrients and energy creates the base for a complex food chain, rich enough to support numerous migratory as well as resident species. Many bird, and particularly in North America, anadromous fish species make efficient use of both the ocean and the forest's resources.

Ocean currents, such as the moderating Gulf Stream off the coast of Europe or the Humboldt Current which affects Chile, and seasonal shifts in air circulation create weather patterns conducive to the formation and maintenance of coastal temperate rain forests. The northern California Current off the western coast of North America illustrates this process. The ocean currents of the North Pacific Gyre reach North America and divide into north- and south-moving streams. In different seasons the flow of the currents, and the changes in the position of the North Pacific high and Aleutian low pressure cells, produce characteristic weather patterns. In the winter, storms move out of the south and west, sweep over the coast, and are forced up into the cooler air of coastal mountain ranges. Water condenses, deluges the forest, and over time returns to the sea through an extensive riparian network. In the summer, warm ocean air blown in by summer winds meets the cold, coastal waters of the California current, and creates dense fog banks. This fog provides crucial moisture for the forests during what is for other forest types, the dry summer.

The seasonal winds buffeting the coastline play a key role in maintaining the character of these forests. The trees in these areas are shallow rooted (the result of an abundance of nutrients at the surface of the cool, perpetually wet soils) and therefore highly susceptible to windthrow. Yet catastrophic wind events, such as hurricanes are uncommon. Pervasive moisture inhibits large-scale fires, making community and landscape level disturbances (with the notable exception of clearcuts) rare. Windstorm and rain-initiated landslide disturbances occur frequently, however, promoting a high level of structural diversity and creating a patchy "mosaic" landscape.

Frequent stochastic windthrow results in a complex matrix of fallen trunks and branches on the ground and in the streams. Organic debris accumulated over centuries, and covered with mosses, ferns, and fungi blankets the forest floor and obscures the shapes of the fallen trees. Some of the oldest and largest trees in the world tower over this mosaic, in a patchy, multi-story canopy of mixed age and species in varying stages of senescence. Epiphytic mosses, laced throughout the canopy, are the "ecological equivalent" of the epiphytic bromeliads abundant in tropical rain forests. Coastal temperate rain forests accumulate up to 500-2,000 metric tons of organic material per hectare, two to five times that found in tropical rain forests.

Throughout much of their range, trees of the coastal temperate rain forests grow to enormous size and unusual age. Climatic factors (moderate temperatures and abundant moisture permit year-round photosynthesis and reduce respiration and transpiration demand) as well as genetic proclivity for sustained height growth and longevity probably contribute to this phenomenon. The resultant stored organic matter, the highest standing biomass of any ecosystem on Earth, is important for two major reasons. First, it serves as a nutrient subsidy, a subsidy most vividly manifested in the form of nurse logs, which provide a growing medium for seedlings and recycle organic matter back to the living components of the forest. Second, it represents a significant carbon reservoir, which, combined with the photosynthetic function of the forests, begs consideration in strategies designed to control atmospheric carbon dioxide levels.

Intricate riparian networks enhance the structural diversity of the forest. Increased structural diversity in turn expands the potential for biological diversity. Variations in topography within watersheds create microsites with an assortment of animal and plant habitats. The abundance of specialized niches in this water-based landscape may be critical for the survival of smaller, less mobile species such as rodents and amphibians, each of which can occupy a particular area of the streamside. Genetic diversity within watersheds also results. In coastal North America, salmon show chromosomal variation from stream to stream, and endemism among aquatic insects is thought by some to be distributed according to watershed boundaries.

In North America approximately 350 bird and animal species, including 48 species of amphibians and reptiles, 25 tree species, hundreds of species of fungi and lichens, and thousands of insects, mites, spiders and other soil organisms are found in coastal temperate rain forests. On Vancouver Island alone, where coastal temperate rain forest cover is high, an estimated 140 species of birds breed, including 30 which rely on the dead "snags" characteristic of these forests, and others which nest in burrows at the feet of large trees. Although much remains to be learned about both systems, biological diversity indices for some taxa in coastal temperate

(continued on page 69)

"Watersheds"

by David McCloskey

Spring, seep, or glacier, creek, stream, river or "kicking horse" blasting to the sea, deep pools underground, marsh, estuary, confluence, delta or tide-flat, lake, sound, inland sea and the ocean deeps - these are only some of the many faces of the waters.

One's watershed address is crucial because the waters give life to the land. Reacquaint yourself with your local stream or river - often it's like going back in time, to the forgotten part of town. Fish or run your river, find the headwaters, hike the divide, follow its lifecourse through the valley, sail the bay....

In orienting each other toward your common watershed address, the basic question is: which way do the waters flow? For watershed both joins and divides the rainfall, snow, and runoff, establishes directions, apportions the waters, and reveals the basic lay of the land.

Watershed provides a significant frame of reference because it represents a whole and distinct life-context. From high edges to low centers, there are many linked habitats and evolving communities. In Ish River bioregion for instance [the inland sea watersheds of Puget Sound and Georgia Strait], there are many different habitats: salt water (surface and deep), salt-fresh estuaries, beaches of different types (sand, mud, or cobble, exposed or protected) floodplains large and small, thick lowland forests unique in the world, prairies, plateaus, highland forests, alpine communities, and so on, many of which are differentiated one from another by localized differences in topography, aspect (sunlight or shade), microclimates, soil types, and, above all, the way in which the waters flow through. Feel the river systems as veins pulsing in your hands, arms, legs, the land circulating its life through you.

Human habitation, too, largely depends on rivers, floodplains, deltas and estuaries. Agriculture on precious alluvium or loess (like the Palouse); ports are trans-shipment points; cities and core regions at major confluences of regional rivers, and so on.

Watercourses also sculpt the land, inscribe a special history into the face of the landscape itself. Landforms and water courses go together. If rivers are knives, then glaciers are plows. River means "to rive" as well as to run, to cut down into, incise the landscape's own memory into its living face. Water in all its forms carves out the curved face of the land, gives it character. Character is how we are carved out by the world, how we come to a consistent form of action.

Imagine rivers as the current between mountains, sea, and sky. Watersheds thus represent not only a unity of landscapes from high edges to low centers, but also a temporal wholeness as well - the hydrological cycle. Rivers serve as that part of the continuous air-ocean-sky-earth-air recycling of the waters above and below - the great hydrological cycle which medievals saw as emblematic of "the wisdom of God" - most apparent to us. The waters in all their forms and phases represent the gift of life as a series of transformations or "give-aways." Water cycles are the very symbol of the intricate crossings of this earth and that sky.

(Reprinted from Home! A Bioregional Reader - see Bibliography. Originally appeared in "Coming Home: On Naming and Claiming Your Bioregion")

fisher tracks in snow - alternating walk

"What Is Bioregionalism?"

by Peter Berg

Introduction

The places we live in are alive. They are bioregions, unique life-places with their own soils and landforms, watersheds and climates, native plants and animals and many other distinct natural characteristics. Each characteristic affects the others and is affected by them as in any other living system or body.

People are also an integral part of life-places. What we do affects them and we are in turn affected by them. The lives of bioregions ultimately support our own lives, and the way we live is becoming crucial to their ability to continue to do so.

Bioregions are geographic areas having common characteristics of soil, watershed, climate, native plants and animals that exist within the whole planetary biosphere, and unique and intrinsic contributive parts. A bioregion refers both to geographical terrain and a terrain of consciousness - to a place and the ideas that have developed about how to live in that place. Within a bioregion the conditions that influence life are similar and these in turn have influenced human occupancy.

A bioregion can be determined initially by use of climatology, physiography, animal and plant geography, natural history and other descriptive natural sciences. The final boundaries of a bioregion are best described by the people who have lived within it, through human recognition of the realities of living-in-places. All life on this planet is interconnected in a few obvious ways and in many more that remain barely explored. But there is a distinct resonance among living things and the factors that influence them which occurs specifically within each separate place on the planet. Discovering and describing that resonance is a way to describe a bioregion.

There are countries that can't be found in a world atlas, although they can be seen in a glance out the window. Countries whose soft borders remain invisible to governments, even though travelers easily sense crossing them. There are natural countries founded on specific soils and land forms, exposed to particular climate and weather and populated by native plants and animals which have endured since the last Ice Age. Each is a separate living part of the unified planetary biosphere; tissues and organs in the current manifestation of Earth's anatomy. They exist as a live geography more distinct than the nations and states whose borders shift to arbitrarily include or divide them.

Re-inhabitation

Re-inhabitation means learning to live-in-place in an area that has been disrupted and injured through past exploitation. It involves becoming native to a place through becoming aware of the particular ecological relationships that operate within and around it. It means understanding activities and evolving social behaviour that will enrich the life of that place, restore its life-supporting systems, and establish an ecologically and socially sustainable pattern of existence within it. Simply stated, it involves becoming fully alive in and with a place. It involves applying for membership in a biotic community and ceasing to become its exploiter.

Re-inhabitants are as different from invaders as those were from the original inhabitants. They want to fit into the place, which requires preserving the place to fit into. Their most basic goals are to restore and maintain watersheds, topsoil, and native species - elements of obvious necessity for in-place existence, because they determine the essential conditions of water, food and stable diversity. Their aims might include developing contemporary bioregional cultures that celebrate the continuity of life where they live and new region-to-region forms of participation with other cultures based on mutuality as a species in the planetary biosphere. Shifting to a re-inhabitory society, however, requires basic changes in present day social directions, economics, and politics.

Re-inhibitory economics would seek sufficiency rather than profit. They might more aptly be termed ecologics, since their object is to successfully maintain natural life-system continuities, while enjoying them and using them to live. Most current forms of economic activity that rely on the bioregion's natural conditions would continue in a inhibitory society, but they would be altered to account for the short and long-term variations in their cycles.

Re-inhabitants of the continent are off the hard-top, and the paths lead to essential food and water, a sense of life-in-place, an understanding of native peoples' names for things and local spirits.

Useful information for re-inhabitants can come from a wide range of sources. Studies of local native inhabitants, in particular, the experience of those who have lived there before. Re-inhabitants can apply this information toward shaping their own life patterns and establishing relationships with the land and life around them. This will help determine the nature of the bioregion within which they are learning to live in place.

Living-in-place

Living-in-place means following the necessities and pleasures of life as they are uniquely presented by a particular site, and evolving ways to ensure long-term occupancy of that site. A society which practices living-in-place keeps a balance with its region of support through links between human lives, other living things, and the processes of the planet - seasons, weather, water cycles - as revealed by the place itself. It is the opposite of a society which makes a living through short-term destructive exploitation of land and life. Living in place is an age old way of existence, disrupted in some parts of the world a few millennia ago by the rise of exploitative civilization, and more generally during the past two centuries by the spread of industrial civilization.

Everything that pertains to the feeling of belonging to a place has almost nothing to do with county, state, province and national boundaries surrounding them in the region they will defend. City and country people - even suburbanites - are all on the same planet. They all live in distinct life-regions, absolutely unique creases of the planet's

skin. Their interdependence in a regional life circle isn't an esoteric proposition reserved for globalist bio-engineers and corporate environmental planners. It is their life, their spirit, their species heritage.

Native people already know this. The struggle to regain and hold traditionally native lands is an inspiration for North American re-inhabitants.

A place pronounces itself in each consciousness as an ultimately personal realization, an individual vision that is everyone's birthright and the realm of human species/planet integrity.

Growing the politics for a life-place has to be based on the reality of living there, and it's necessary to remind ourselves that no facts are established without evidence.

A bioregional politics originates with individuals who identify with real places and find ways to interact positively with the life-web around them. Involving close-by watershed neighbours creates a "socialshed." This seed group is and will remain the most important unit of bioregional political interaction.

Several socialsheds of neighbors working on a wide variety of different projects (co-ops, community gardens, renewable energy, bioregional education, recycling and many others) can easily join together to form an organization for the broader local community. In effect, it would be a watershed council, rightfully claiming representation for the closely shared place itself. A watershed council is the appropriate forum for directly addressing present inhibitory issues and also for stating new objectives that are based on the principles of restoring natural systems, meeting human needs and supporting individuals. It can effectively contend with the closest institutions of government (town, city and county) to secure positions. These established governments may be arbitrary units in bioregional terms, with unnatural straight-lined borders or control over a patchwork of different natural geographies, but their policies hold for parts of real life-places and must be dealt with while the council presses for eventual self-determination in the watershed.

Bioregionalism, Green Politics and Environmentalism

There has been some confusion about the relationship of life-place concerns and "green politics" ever since the first North American Bioregional Congress. A few participants at that event have even stated that there is no difference between the two. The distinctions are very clear, however, and should be understood so that genuine bioregional goals can be realized.

First of all, green politics attempts to cover a more extensive range of areas, but where there are similarities, bioregional directions are much more definite and specific. This is obvious in a statement of definition from the initial Green Organizing Planning Meeting:

"Green" politics interweaves ecological wisdom, decentralization of economic and political power whenever practical, personal and social responsibility, global security and community self-determination within the context of respect for diversity of heritage and religion. It advocates non-violent action, cooperative world-order, and self-reliance.

Some of the words are the same, but the sense of them is very different. Bioregionalists have a specific direction for "ecological wisdom": they want to restore and maintain watersheds and bioregions. These are the places to which they want to decentralize and where they wish to practice self-determination. Their "personal and social responsibility" is to meet basic human needs and create ways to support individuals in life-places. As for extending their goals to "global security" and "cooperative world order," bioregionalists may well choose to ally with groups and movements which develop effective ways to apply that sentiment, but their own primary effort is to solve problems where they live.

The most critical difference between the movements may lie with their actual ecological orientation. How much "ecological wisdom" are they really prepared to accept? Bioregionalists answer, "All we can get!" They see their lives as intertwined with ongoing natural processes as part of the life of a place. From their biocentric viewpoint, human society is ultimately based on interdependence with other forms of life. They follow that conviction to make choices about which kinds of work to undertake to oppose Late Industrial depredations.

It is not established that green politics followers are similarly committed, and questionable as to whether they will become so. Theirs is a multiplicity of concerns (ecological wisdom is only one of ten values listed) and among many greens, ecological awareness is limited to an older environmentalist perspective - attempting to reform industrialism instead of aiming to replace it. Some bioregionalists who are also active in green politics feel that they can reach members of that movement and change its direction. No doubt some will be persuaded, but wishful evangelism isn't a good foundation for building coalitions. Truly relevant life place politics will originate from watershed councils and events such as the North American Bioregional Congress. When support for the positions of these naturally-scaled groups is sought, greens may yet prove to be very strong allies regardless of their different emphasis and direction.

Classic environmentalism has bred a peculiar negative political malaise among its adherents. Alerted to fresh horrors almost daily, they research the extent of each new life-threatening situation, rush to protest it, and campaign exhaustively to prevent a future occurrence. It's a valuable service, of course, but imagine a hospital that consists only of an emergency room. No maternity care, no pediatric clinic, no promising therapy, just mangled trauma cases. Rescuing the environment has become like running a battlefield aid station in a war against a killing machine that operates just beyond reach and that shifts its ground after each seeming defeat. No one can doubt the moral basis of environmentalism, but the essentially defensive terms of its endless struggle militate against ever stopping the slaughter. Environmentalists have found themselves in the position of knowing how bad things are but are only capable of making a deal.

Environmentalism, at best, reaches its zenith in a standoff. It's time to shift from saving what's left and begin to assert bioregional programs for re-inhabitation.

Bioregional Politics

The West is a state of mind that arose through displacement of people from their regional identities: Europeans transferred to America; indigenous people exterminated or removed from their land in the Americas, Australia and the Pacific Islands; Africans snatched from their

continent and enslaved in America; home-based Europeans losing their regional cultures to global monoculture. Globalism, monoculture and displacement (human beings bereft of their own and other species) are fatal.

Our species history stretches back millions of years, long enough to have exerted an active force in the development of the whole biosphere - certainly the most active recent force since the Ice Age. All species share the planet interdependently. We ultimately depend on all the others for our existence. Both for food and for illumination. Spirit and survival species-to-species are essentially connected. Our species is still learning from the others: silent conversations of plants, controlled conception among wolves and deer, the sensitive social order without coercion that turns a flock of birds or a school of fish. This is our circle of the possible.

It's time to develop the political means for directing society toward restoring or maintaining the natural systems that ultimately support all life. On a farm in the country or in a city apartment, we're all completely enmeshed in the web of life. We can't know all the details of all the connections. Bioregional politics doesn't try to overcome the mystery, it is aimed toward making a social transition so that we can live with the mystery. Can we stop tearing the web apart and consciously build a role as partners in all life? We better, and we can by beginning where we live.

(Peter Berg is the founder of Planet Drum, which first coined the term 'bioregionalism' - see Organizations list. Reprinted from Trumpeter magazine, Winter '91 - see Bibliography.)

When the animals come to us,
asking for our help,
will we know what they are saying?
When the plants speak to us
in their delicate, beautiful language,
will we be able to answer them?
When the planet herself
sings to us in our dreams,
will we be able to wake ourselves, and act?

— Gary Lawless

Where You At?
(A Bioregional Quiz!!)

What follows is a self-scoring test on basic environmental perception of place. Scoring is done on the honor system, so if you fudge, cheat, or elude, you also get an idea of where you're at. The quiz is culture bound, favoring those people who live in the country over city dwellers, and scores can be adjusted accordingly. Most of the questions, however, are of such a basic nature that undue allowances are not necessary.

1. Trace the water you drink from precipitation to tap.
2. How many days till the moon is full? (Slack of 2 days allowed.)
3. What soil series are you standing on?
4. What was the total rainfall in your area last year (July-June)? (Slack 1 inch for every 20 inches.)
5. When was the last time a fire burned your area?
6. What were the primary subsistence techniques of the culture that lived in your area before you?
7. Name 5 native edible plants in your region and their season(s) of availability.
8. From what direction do winter storms generally come in your region?
9. Where does your garbage go?
10. How long is the growing season where you live?
11. On what day of the year are the shadows the shortest where you live?
12. When do the deer rut in your region, and when are the young born?
13. Name 5 grasses in your area. Are any of them native?
14. Name 5 resident and 5 migratory birds in your area.
15. What is the land use history of where you live?
16. What primary ecological event/process influenced the land form where you live? (Bonus special: what's the evidence?)
17. What species have become extinct in your area?
18. What are the major plant associations in your region?
19. From where you're reading this, point north.
20. What spring wildflower is consistently among the first to bloom where you live?

Scoring:

0-3	You have your head up your ass.
4-7	It's hard to be in 2 places at once when you're not anywhere at all.
8-12	A fairly firm grasp of the obvious.
13-16	You're paying attention.
17-19	You know where you're at.
20	You not only know where you're at, you know where it's at.

(List compiled by Leonard Charles, Jim Dodge, Lynn Milliman, and Victoria Stockley. Reprinted from Home! A Bioregional Reader - see Bibliography)

On Extinction

by Edward O. Wilson

From prehistory to the present time, the mindless horsemen of the environmental apocalypse have been overkill, habitat destruction, introduction of animals such as rats and goats, and diseases carried by these exotic animals. In prehistory the paramount agents were overkill and exotic animals. In recent centuries, and to an accelerating degree during our generation, habitat destruction is foremost among the lethal forces, followed by an invasion of exotic animals. Each agent strengthens the others in a tightening net of destruction. In the United States, Canada, and Mexico, 1,033 species of fishes are known to have lived entirely in fresh water within recent historical times. Of these, 27 or 3 percent have become extinct within the past hundred years, and another 265 or 25 percent are liable to extinction. They fall into one or the other of the categories utilized by the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN), which publishes the *Red Data Books:* Extinct, Endangered, Vulnerable, and Rare. The changes that forced them into decline are:

Destruction of physical habitat	**73% of species**
Displacement by introduced species	**68% of species**
Alteration of habitat by chemical pollutants	**38% of species**
Hybridization with other species and subspecies	**38% of species**
Overharvesting	**15% of species**

(These figures add up to more than 100 percent because more than one agent impinges on many of the fish populations.) When habitat destruction is defined as both the physical reduction in suitable places to live and the closing of habitats by chemical pollution, then it is found to be an important factor in over 90 percent of the cases. Through a combination of all these factors, the rate of extinction has risen steadily during the past forty years.

In fishes and in all other groups of which we have sufficient knowledge, the depredations were started in prehistory and early historical times and are being pressed with a vengeance by modern generations. Early peoples exterminated most of the big animals on the spot. They also decimated less conspicuous plants and animals on islands and in isolated valleys, lakes, and river systems, where species live in small populations with their backs to the wall. Now it is our turn. Armed with chainsaws and dynamite, we are assaulting the final strongholds of biodiversity - the continents, and, to a lesser but growing extent, the seas.

Will it ever be possible to assess the ongoing loss of biological diversity? I cannot imagine a scientific problem of greater immediate importance for humanity. Biologists find it difficult to come up with even an approximate estimate of the hemorrhaging because we know so little about diversity in the first place. Extinction is the most obscure and local of all biological processes. We don't see the last butterfly of its species snatched from the air by a bird or the last orchid of a certain kind killed by the collapse of its supporting tree in some distant mountain forest. We hear that a certain animal or plant is on the edge, perhaps already gone. We return to the last known locality to search, and when no individuals are encountered there year after year we pronounce the species extinct. But hope lingers on. Someone flying a light plane over Louisiana swamps thinks he sees a few ivory-billed woodpeckers start up and glide back down into the foliage. "I'm pretty sure they were ivorybills, not pileated woodpeckers. Saw the white double stripes on the back and the wing bands plain as day." A Bachman's warbler is heard singing somewhere, maybe. A hunter swears he has seen Tasmanian wolves in the scrub forest of Western Australia, but it is probably all fantasy.

In order to know that a given species is truly extinct, you have to know it well, including its exact distribution and favored habitats. You have to look long and hard without result. But we do not know the vast majority of species of organisms well; we have yet to anoint so many as 90 percent of them with scientific names. So biologists agree that it is not possible to give the exact number of species going extinct; we usually turn palms up and say the number is very large. But we can do better than that. Let me start with a generalization: *in the small minority of groups of plants and animals that are well known, extinction is proceeding at a rapid rate, far above prehuman levels. In many cases the level is calamitous: the entire group is threatened.*

To illustrate this principle, I will present a few anecdotes, out of many available: whenever we can focus clearly, we usually see extinction in progress. Then I will take a more theoretical approach, using models of island biogeography, to arrive at an estimate of extinction rates in tropical rain forests, which contain half or more of the world's species of plants and animals. Here are the examples:

- One fifth of the species of birds worldwide have been eliminated in the past two millennia, principally following human occupation of islands. Thus instead of 9,040 species alive today, there probably would have been about 11,000 species if left alone. According to a recent study by the International Council for Bird Preservation, 11 percent or 1,029 of the surviving species are endangered.
- A total of 164 bird species have been recorded from the Solomon Islands in the southwest Pacific. The *Red Data Book* lists only one as recently extinct. But in fact there have been no records for twelve others since 1953. Most of these are ground nesters especially vulnerable to predators. Solomon Islanders who know the birds best have stated that at least some of the species were exterminated by imported cats.
- From the 1940s to the 1980s, population densities of migratory songbirds in the mid-Atlantic United States dropped 50 percent, and many species became locally extinct. One cause appears to be the accelerating destruction of the forests of the West Indies, Mexico, and Central and South America, the principal wintering grounds of many of the migrants. The fate

of Bachman's warbler will probably befall other North American summer residents if the deforestation continues.

• About 20 percent of the world's freshwater fish species are either extinct or in a state of dangerous decline. The situation is approaching the critical stage in some tropical countries. A recent search for the 266 species of exclusively freshwater fishes of lowland peninsular Malaysia turned up only 122. Lake Lanao on the Philippine Island of Mindanao is famous among evolutionary biologists for the adaptive radiation of cyprinid fishes that occurred exclusively within the confines of the lake. As many as 18 endemic species in three genera were previously known; a recent search found only three species, representing one of the genera. The loss has been attributed to over-fishing and competition from newly introduced fish species.

• The most catastrophic extinction episode of recent history may be the destruction of the cichlid fishes of Lake Victoria, (see Wilson's description of this episode as a paradigm of adaptive radiation - ed.). From a single ancestral species 300 or more species emanated, filling almost all the major ecological niches of freshwater fishes. In 1959 British colonists introduced the Nile perch as a sport fish. This huge predator, which grows to nearly 2 meters in length, has drastically reduced the native fish population and extinguished some of the species. It is projected eventually to eliminate more than half of the endemics. The perch affects not only the fishes but the lake ecosystem as a whole. As the alga-feeding cichlids disappear, plant life blooms and decomposes, depleting oxygen in the deeper water and accelerating the decline of cichlids, crustaceans, and other forms of life. A task force of fish biologists observed in 1985, "Never before has man in a single ill advised step placed so many vertebrate species simultaneously at risk of extinction and also, in doing so, threatened a food resource and traditional way of life of riparian dwellers."

• The United States has the largest freshwater mollusk fauna in the world, especially rich in mussels and gill-breathing snails. These species have long been in a steep decline from the damming of rivers, pollution, and the introduction of alien mollusks and other aquatic animals. At least 12 mussel species are now extinct throughout their ranges, and 20 percent of the remainder are endangered. Even where extinction has not yet occurred, the extirpation of local populations is rampant. Lake Erie and the Ohio River system originally held dense populations of 78 different forms; now 19 are extinct and 29 are rare. Muscle [sic] Shoals, a stretch of the Tennessee River in Alabama, once held a fauna of 68 mussel species. Their shells were specialized for life in riffles or shoals, shallow streams with sandy gravel bottoms and rapid currents. When Wilson Dam was constructed in the early 1920s, impounding and deepening the water, 44 of the species were extinguished. In a parallel development, impoundment and pollution have combined to extinguish two genera and 30 species of gill-breathing snails in the Tennessee and nearby Coosa rivers.

• Freshwater and land mollusks are generally vulnerable to extinction because so many are specialized for life in narrow habitats and unable to move quickly from one place to another. The fate of the tree snails of Tahiti and Moorea illustrates the principle in chilling fashion. Comprising 11 species in the genera *Partula* and *Samoana*, a miniature adaptive radiation in one small place, the snails were recently exterminated by a single species of exotic carnivorous snail. It was folly in the grand manner, a pair of desperate mistakes by people in authority, which unfolded as follows. First, the giant African snail *Achatina fulica* was introduced to the islands as a food animal. Then, when it multiplied enough to become a pest, the carnivorous snail *Euglandina rosea* was introduced to control the *Achatina*. *Euglandina* itself multiplied prodigiously, advancing along a front at 1.2 kilometers a year. It consumed not only the giant African snail but every native tree snail along the way. The last of the wild tree snails became extinct on Moorea in 1987. On nearby Tahiti the same sequence is now unfolding. And in Hawaii the entire endemic tree-snail genus *Achatinella* is endangered by *Euglandina* and habitat destruction. Twenty-two species are extinct and the remaining 19 are endangered.

• A recent survey by the Center for Plant Conservation revealed that between 213 and 228 plant species, out of a total of about 20,000, are known to have become extinct in the United States. Another 680 species and subspecies are in danger of extinction by the year 2000. About three fourths of these forms occur in only five places: California, Florida, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and Texas. The predicament of the most endangered species is epitomized by *Banara vanderbiltii*. By 1986 this small tree of the moist limestone forests of Puerto Rico was down to two plants growing on a farm near Bayamon. At the eleventh hour, cuttings were obtained and are now successfully growing in the Fairchild Tropical Garden in Miami.

• In western Germany, the former Federal Republic, 34 percent of 10,290 insect and other invertebrate species were classified as threatened or endangered in 1987. In Austria, the figure was 22 percent of 9,694 invertebrate species, and in England 17 percent of 13,741 insect species.

• The fungi of western Europe appear to be in the midst of a mass extinction on at least a local scale. Intensive collecting in selected sites in Germany, Austria, and the Netherlands have revealed a 40 to 50 percent loss in species during the past sixty years. The main cause of the decline appears to be air pollution. Many of the vanished species are mycorrhizal fungi, symbiotic forms that enhance the absorption of nutrients by the root systems of plants. Ecologists have long wondered what would happen to land ecosystems if these fungi were removed, and we will soon find out.

For species on the brink, from birds to fungi, the end can come in two ways. Many, like the Moorean tree snails, are taken out by the metaphorical equivalent of a rifle shot - they are erased but the ecosystem from which they are removed is left intact. Others are destroyed by a holocaust, in which the entire ecosystem perishes.

(a brief excerpt from his new and highly-acclaimed book The Diversity of Life - see Bibliography)

"Welcome to Venus!"

Or, the Earth's Future after Ozone Depletion

By Bruce Torrie

As a lawyer and policy analyst studying global systems and government policy, I believe it is now time to face the prospect of a full systems collapse of Earth's environment. There is now a clear possibility of a runaway greenhouse effect caused by deforestation and the collapse of the Earth's protective ozone layer.

The normal context for policy and planning is to frame out best and worse case scenarios and evaluate where the future will lie between these possibilities. Unfortunately, the global warming models are still in their infancy, only now adding the role of oceans and clouds to their calculations. A more serious criticism of the existing models is that they only evaluate the effect of additional CO2 and other greenhouse gases being added to the Earth's atmosphere. . . .

Accordingly, the current models and timetables are seriously flawed. We are, in fact, in a profound crisis with enhanced ultra-violet radiation - caused by a depleted ozone shield - threatening the viability of plankton and forests - the world's carbon sinks. . . .

Ultraviolet radiation (UVR) is very damaging to life forms on Earth. Before the ozone layer developed, life existed only deep in the ocean where it was protected from UVR by the water column. Bacteria deep in the ocean gave off oxygen as a waste product. Over millennia, the oxygen accumulated in the atmosphere and when it had sufficiently concentrated in the stratosphere, the ozone layer began to form. With the ozone layer blocking the damaging UVR, life was able to develop in the shallow seas and from there it moved onto land. Our world is dependent on a stable stratospheric ozone shield.

Ozone Layer Dynamics

The world community, in what has been described as the most rapid response to an international threat ever, approved the Montreal Protocol for the phasing out of ozone depleting substances in 1987. In that year scientists predicted the northern hemisphere could face ozone depletion of 5-10% by year 2000-2005. In March of 1988 the Ozone Trends Panel announced it could confirm ozone losses of 1.7-3% over the northern hemisphere. . . . By spring of 1992, when the world was congratulating itself on having moved so quickly to eliminate the threat of ozone depletion, NASA announced that, because of polar ice cloud dynamics, the northern hemisphere could face spring ozone depletion of 25-40% in years in which the north polar region remained cold in the spring when the sun first hits the northern polar stratospheric clouds. . . . Stratospheric ice clouds require moisture to form. The two major sources of moisture reaching the stratosphere are water vapor trails emitted by high flying jets and the gas methane (natural gas) which degrades and produces H20 when it is bombarded by UVR in the stratosphere.

. . . The emissions of natural gas will dramatically increase in response to global warming. In particular, vast deposits of fossil methane lie frozen in the arctic tundra. With dramatic warming of northern regions, vast quantities of fossil methane will be released into the atmosphere. When the gas reaches the stratosphere, it will release H20 which will serve as feedstock for future stratospheric ice clouds. These will, under proper conditions, massively deplete the northern hemisphere's ozone shield.

Global Warming's Impact on Stratospheric Temperatures

The prospect for disaster was intensified when John Austin *et al* published a cover story in "Nature" on 19 November 1992 (vol. 360, p.221) which predicted that, as the global surface warmed with global warming, the stratosphere would cool, enhancing the prospect of polar stratospheric clouds forming. The abstract reads: "Increased atmospheric C02 concentrations are expected to cause cooling of the lower stratosphere. This could enhance the formation of polar stratospheric clouds which convert potential ozone depleting species to their active forms... Doubling the CO2 leads to the formation of an arctic ozone hole comparable to that observed over Antarctica with nearly 100% local depletion of lower stratospheric ozone."

The lower stratospheric ozone is about 35% of the ozone column, so as the surface warms the stratosphere cools. When circumstances are right, the stage is set for massive depletion of ozone, producing a northern hemispheric arctic ozone hole. Stratospheric temperature is also affected by the destruction of ozone, as it is the ozone blocking UVR that transfers heat to the stratosphere. As more ozone is destroyed, the stratosphere cools. This sets the stage for more ozone depletion and more cooling which destroys more ozone: this is called a "positive feedback".

Ozone Depletion, Ultraviolet Radiation and Climate Change

Prior to 1992, most of the scientists writing about climate change and global warming were uninformed about the effect of elevated ultraviolet radiation on forests and oceanic plankton. This led to their models not incorporating ozone depletion as a driver of global warming because of UVR impacts on carbon sinks. As new research is released, concern is mounting about potential catastrophic acceleration of the global warming process because of damage to carbon sinks.

The world's plankton is the primary carbon sink, feeding on CO2, releasing O2 and sinking carbon deep into the ocean when the plankton dies. This is the "oceanic carbon sink". Most of the world's plankton lies in the subpolar oceans. It is 1,000 to 10,000 times as abundant in the subpolar ocean as it is in the tropics or temperate oceans. The bulk of the plankton is in the south because the north is mostly continents and ice. Therefore most of the world's plankton lies exposed to an ever expanding southern ozone

hole. The last three years have seen a dramatic expansion of the southern ozone hole. In 1991 the hole was as big as the continental USA and was 50% depleted of ozone. In 1992 the hole was 60% depleted over an area as large as North America. In 1993 the hole was 75% depleted of ozone over an area quite a bit larger than North America.

This puts the world's major carbon sink in jeopardy as research shows that many of the varieties of plankton are negatively affected by UVR, which can penetrate as deep as 60 metres (180 feet) into the water column.

Forests Forever?

Research is showing that the world's forests are in jeopardy because of multiple environmental stresses. Massive clearcuts are decimating the world's forests. As the forests are cut, erosion causes soil loss and desertification. As the forests disappear, runoff increases, increasing the drying. It also becomes clear that tree plantations may not be viable because of heat and drying stress, frost, and ultraviolet radiation.

Little seedlings naturally regenerate in the shade and protection of the forest canopy where the climate is moderated by shade and moisture, and nutrients are provided by the forest and decomposer species. Modern clear-cut forestry completely destroys the natural regenerative processes of reforestation. Plantations are often monocultures, vulnerable to disease, pests and fire, and lack the biodiversity of native forests.

As a further stress, the tender seedlings now face enhanced UV radiation and global warming. Evidence is accumulating that plantations are failing, especially on low and high elevation south facing slopes where radiation is the most intense. Yet we continue to cut our resilient mature forests and rest our future on the dubious prospect of vigorous re-growth. Many of the plantations around the world are displaying distorted growth, disease and pest infestations which are an indication that these new forests are not resilient or healthy. Over the last 2,000 years humans have destroyed 1/3 to 1/2 of the world's forests. The destruction is now proceeding much faster than ever before. Research sponsored by the Government of Canada indicates the boreal forest in Canada will largely by destroyed by dieoff and out of control wildfires as climate change proceeds. As the forest burns, more CO2 is added to the atmosphere and fewer trees are available to remove it, setting in motion another positive feedback system.

We are now realizing that there may be many wildcards yet unplayed in the game. A tiny marine plankton, coccolythophore, which is abundant in the temperate latitudes, is a very effective carbon sink because its body is composed of calcium carbonate scales. When the plankton dies the scales fall to the ocean floor, substantially contributing to the oceanic carbon sink. These cells also produce an organic sulphur compound dimethyl sulphoxide (DMS) and when the plankton dies, or is eaten, the DMS rises into the atmosphere where the tiny particles of DMS act as "seeds" for clouds. Unfortunately, this organism is vulnerable as it is unable to tolerate enhanced UVR. A possible scenario of enhanced UVR would see dieoff of the coccolythophore and a dramatic reduction in cloud formation.

The absence of clouds, which reflect radiation back into space, would further contribute to both accelerated global warming and enhanced UVR: further damaging the plankton, and so on. The reduction in clouds will also reduce rainfall to the forests, further accelerating global warming and stratospheric cooling and resulting in more ozone loss and elevated UVR, and so on. . . .

In late June, Environment Canada announced that cod stocks are now greatly depleted from 1989 levels, even though fishing has largely stopped. I predict that scientists will soon announce that the cod fisheries' collapse is due in large part to the effect of increased UVR on cod eggs and the eggs of species upon which the cod feeds. Perhaps the biggest wildcard is the emerging Abrupt Climate Change Theory postulated by Dr. Wally Broeker of Columbia University. Based on Greenland ice core samples and Atlantic Ocean Sediment cores, he postulates that climate can jump between two states. We are currently in a warm period. As global warming intensifies it may cause the Antarctic Ross Ice Shelf to slough off into the ocean, raising global sea levels 6-10 metres, inundating coastal areas and causing an immediate shift to a glacial period.

What is a Person to Do?

In these times it is important to consider how our lifestyles affect our planet. Where do products come from? At what cost are they created or extracted from the earth? What is the long term effect on our atmosphere, drinking water and soil? Our current ozone depletion problem was caused by the short sightedness of companies who produced products without examining what their long term effects might be. . . .

Protective clothing and avoidance of the sun are ways we can protect ourselves, but protecting crops, forests, oceans and animal species is an overwhelming dilemma. We need our old growth forests not for commercial value, but as shading to protect new seedlings and other creatures of the forest from UVR, and as carbon sinks to trap CO2 from the atmosphere. We should plant trees which will survive and thrive in a rapidly changing climate and find alternatives to timber products, such as hemp and recycled products.

We should work on co-operative local food production without damaging pesticides and fertilizers. We must improve global topsoil and humus or we will surely perish.

We must eliminate the production and release of ozone depleting substances and eliminate or reduce emissions of CO2 and methane. Jets should be re-routed to lower flight. Walk, bike or use public transport to work. If you must drive, own a fuel efficient car. Do you really need air conditioning?

Be responsible when buying new fridges, air conditioners and cars. Don't buy products from companies like Du Pont, the world's largest CFC producer, or Seagrams, its largest shareholder. Whirlpool and other companies in North America have refused to produce the new Greenfridge which is CFC-free. These companies have misled the public and wasted valuable time instead of looking for alternatives.

See that old CFCs are recycled safely. Plant trees and tend a vegetable garden. Keep a stock of non-perishable foods on hand. Eat more locally grown food, organic when possible. Take steps to boost your immune system. Think magic thoughts for the health and safety of your community and design mechanisms to bring about the changes that are needed if we and our planet are to survive.

(Bruce Torrie is a lawyer and environmental policy analyst based in Victoria, B.C. He has produced over 20 hours of television documentaries on ozone depletion, global warming and deforestation.)

A Short History of B.C. Forest Policy

by Joan E. Vance

Legislation governing the use and allocation of Crown lands was already in place when British Columbia joined Canada.

Initially, legislation provided for timber leases but only for personal use. Persons who cut timber for sale forfeited their interest. In 1884, the Legislature passed "An Act relating to the Cutting of Timber upon the Provincial Lands, and for the purpose of deriving a revenue therefrom" which provided for persons to obtain a timber licence on crown land and to pay a stumpage fee for each tree cut of fifteen cents.

By 1900, the British Columbia government was granting timber leases and licences with twenty-one year terms which could be renewed. The licencee was given ownership of the timber while title to the land remained with the Crown.

Cedar woman is angry. She's saying stop. No more.

Before 1912, the B.C. government's earliest efforts to develop the forest resource consisted of outright land grants to railway and logging companies to attract capital and labour to the Province. These grants still exist as privately owned and managed timber lands. This land amounts to about 5% of the total regarded as harvestable forest land, and about 15% of the annual timber production because the unlogged portion is still exceptionally accessible and high quality coastal timber.

Following B.C.'s first Royal Commission on forest resources in 1910, the first Forest Act was passed in 1912 and established a system of "forest reserves" officially earmarked for timber cutting. These lands are now called "Provincial Forests". The Act also created a Forest Service headed by a Chief Forester and provided for a type of tenure consisting of a one-time right to log a specific timber stand. Little attention was paid to management or renewal of forest resources.

During the first half of the twentieth century, widely-differing views developed about how the forest resource should be treated. The forest industry saw an inexhaustible supply of natural forest where a "cut and run" philosophy was perfectly acceptable. The conservationists wanted forests saved from what they saw as appalling waste. The professional foresters promoted the classical sustained yield forestry theory developed in 18th and 19th century Germany. They believed that the natural forest ought to be harvested and replaced with a scientifically managed forest system. The logged areas were to be reforested at a rate that would provide second growth to harvest decades later. When the annual cut equaled annual growth, a continuous supply of timber production could be obtained, to sustain productivity, employment and a constant flow of forest products in perpetuity.

This sustained yield policy became part of provincial law after it was studied in a Royal Commission headed by Chief Justice Gordon Sloan during 1944-45. Following the recommendations of the Sloan Commission, the Forest Act was amended in 1947 to organize forest lands into "sustained yield management units."

Two kinds of management units were created to administer Crown land. One was the Forest Management Licence - later renamed Tree Farm Licence - which granted one licencee an exclusive right to log the timber in a large area of land. This type of licence was intended to give security of timber supply to large private forest companies and provide them with an incentive for good forest management in order to sustain their supply from their own unit of forest.

The other management unit was the Public Sustained Yield Unit (PSYU), covering a large area of land which was managed by the provincial Forest Service. In the PSYU different types of rights, called licences, to harvest timber could be distributed to different licencees. Persons holding these rights would then share in the timber resource within the area. It is from the Public Sustained Yield Units that Timber Supply Areas later developed.

The first Tree Farm Licences were issued in the late 1940's after the 1947 Forest Act amendments. Tree Farm

Licences were granted with a 23 year term which could be rolled over into a new licence after 10 years. Most Tree Farm Licences were allocated in productive coastal regions where the government expected that the industry's rate of cut and the forests' rate of regeneration would balance.

Most existing Tree Farm Licences were issued during the 1930's. The new legislation gave the Minister of Forests, not the Ministry staff, the ultimate authority in awarding Tree Farm Licences. Not surprisingly, most were awarded to those who could make large political contributions instead of independent mill owners and loggers with more modest resources. Mr. Justice Sloan conducted a second Royal Commission into forestry in 1933, but notwithstanding evidence of irregularities - including bribes - associated with the awarding of the Tree Farm Licences, Sloan's 1956 Report generally whitewashed the Socred government's handling of Tree Farm Licence approvals.

In 1937, evidence of a bribery conspiracy to obtain Tree Farm Licences, particularly Tree Farm Licence 22 near Tofino on the West Coast of Vancouver Island (Tree Farm Licence 22 and Tree Farm Licence 27 now make up Tree Farm Licence 46) led to criminal charges against Minister of Forests, R.E. Sommers, Mr. C.D. Schultz and Mr. H Wilson Gray, who together owned a forest consulting company, and B.C. Forest Products. Schultz and B.C.F.P. were acquitted; Sommers and Gray were convicted and did time in prison.

Also in 1937, Mr. Sloan, who had by then become employed as an advisor to the Minister of Forests, recommended a five-year moratorium on the granting of Tree Farm Licences. However, by 1962 forty-three had been issued. Some were later amalgamated so that in the 1970's there were thirty-four. Only a few were issued in the early 1980's.

As part of the Forest Act's sustained yield policy, the rate of annual cut for each management unit had to be calculated to determine the maximum possible volume that could be cut each year. This maximum volume was called the Allowable Annual Cut (AAC). The cut control formula was intended to regulate the harvest of mature forests so as to create future forests with an even distribution of age classes which would yield a constant volume of timber in perpetuity.

Until the 1980's, the Hanzlick cut control formula was used to calculate the Allowable Annual Cut of managed forest units. This system was developed to liquidate old growth forest - mature timber - over the length of time it took to produce second growth. The AAC volume was calculated by dividing the volume of mature timber in the forest unit by the number of years in the rotation of the second growth, i.e. the new "sustained yield forest", and then adding the average annual growth of the immature trees in the forest unit.

The Hanzlick formula, however, did not integrate factors such as differences in site or volume class, sustained yield policies which look beyond one rotation, silviculture and harvesting practices, or the economics of wood quality; it simply planned for the harvest level to be set at a rate that would liquidate all old growth as expeditiously as possible.

Many people, including both ecologists and forests economists, disagreed with the sustained yield policy that promoted only intensively-managed forest plantations and maximum yield rotation. Ecologists advocated the regeneration of natural forest via rotations which maintained timber-producing capability by using naturally occurring, interdependent life forms and selective harvesting techniques.

The economists disputed the belief that a sustained yield providing an even flow of timber resulted in short- or long-term stability. They wanted harvest levels to respond to market forces and to implement economic rotation, that period yielding the highest average annual return on investment.

In 1975, the New Democrat government appointed Dr. Peter Pearse, a forest economist and strong advocate of the economic viewpoint, to conduct another Royal Commission. The purpose was to study problems with the forms of tenure, their disposition to licencees, and problems in the Forest Service in administering confusing and changeable policy. In 1976, the Pearse Commission reported on the state of the forest industry and forest management.

Dr. Pearse concluded that the tenure system had tended to promote the concentration and integration of the forest industry. The issue of corporate concentration and possible negative consequences resulting were a major theme of the Commission Report, which listed a number of recommendations to deal with the problem. This was the only major set of recommendations the government did not pursue.

A new Forest Act, passed in June, 1978, incorporated some Pearse Commission recommendations selected by Premier Bill Bennett's chief policy-maker, Deputy Minister of Forests Mike Apsey (now Chairman of the Council of Forest Industries). They included a number of provisions for altering the policies and procedures for regulating yield. In particular, the way the Allowable Annual Cut was calculated was changed.

The new method gave the regional managers in the Ministry of Forests a choice of factors to weigh, and permitted value judgements and subjectivity in the decision-making process. It was intended to be more concerned with preserving and enhancing the forest land base than with maintaining an even flow of timber products though the creation of the ideal forests of classical theory.

While the Ministry of Forests personnel went about their way developing a "joint stewardship" of the forest resource with its chief clients - multinational corporations, national, local, and independent logging companies, and small woodlot owners - other people started forming coalitions and task forces to voice a common discontent with the status quo.

The impact of unified action based on public discontent has been demonstrated in two recent turnarounds by the Minister of Forests: the termination of the use of Letters of Understanding, and the decision to put on hold the conversion of various tenures to Tree Farm Licences and the automatic renewal of Tree Farm Licences.

(Joan E. Vance is the author of Tree Planning: A Guide to Public Involvement in Forest Stewardship - see Bibliography. The above article is excerpted from this book.)

Multinational Corporations Are Not Your Friends

By Al Decker

Writing about corporations such as MacMillan-Bloedel and Interfor in 1000 words or less is quite difficult. One could write about disinformation campaigns, the export of raw logs and cants to Japan and the U.S., the labyrinth of global trade, industry-caused ecological disasters, the government's complicity in allowing those disasters, the flagrant disrespect for international (and of course federal and provincial) laws, the enormous subsidies given to the industry, job loss due to mechanization - and so on, *ad nauseum*.

It's like William Gibson's description of cyberspace as "unthinkable complexity." And the more one researches the timber industry, the more questions and theories arise. What follows is a brief description of the two companies logging in Clayoquot Sound, meant for the reader unacquainted with their policies and their criminal behavior. (For an excellent analysis of the corporate structure, which goes a long way toward explaining why these corporations act as they do, see Jerry Mander's "Eleven Inherent Rules of Corporate Behaviour" aticle in this Handbook).

Mac-Blo

Macmillan-Bloedel (M-B) is one of the largest public corporations in B.C. Not insignificantly, its largest shareholder is the B.C. government, which bought $50 million worth of shares in 1993. Shortly after that purchase, the government ruled in its landmark Clayoquot Land Use Decision that 74% of Clayoquot's old-growth could be logged. M-B controls approximately 1,044,000 hectares of timberland in B.C., and 483,000 hectares in other Canadian and U.S. operations.

M-B is the largest forest products company in Canada by volume, shipping approximately 3 million tonnes per year of forest products. M-B employs 9,500 people in Canada and 3,400 in the U.S. Though its main office is in Vancouver, M-B has:

- 15 divisions across Canada
- 20 building materials plants in 15 U.S. states
- 15 corrugated cardboard plants in 9 states
- 23 U.S. subsidiary companies in 11 states, and
- foreign subsidiaries in at least 10 countries on 4 continents.

M-B owns its own deep sea fleet, Canadian Transport Co., mainly for shipments to Japan, Eastern U.S., and Europe, and operates a fleet of tugs, barges and log carriers. M-B claims to be the largest producer of telephone directory paper in the world, and the first to distribute directory paper in Japan.

Everyone is familiar with the stereotype of the low-baggin' hippie welfare-bum environmentalists, who sit in cafés and other nefarious hippie havens, drinking cappuccinos on the government's tab while they plot its downfall. Yet a survey of M-B's finances over the last decade shows a strong reliance on handouts and welfare from the government, paid for, as usual, by us. In the last decade, M-B received $28.9 million in research and development grants, $26.5 million in investment tax credits, and $125 million in lifted property taxes. Adding insult to injury, while relegating to deferment $253.4 million in taxes, M-B posted a $1.03 billion net profit. During this period, the Ministry of Forests recorded a net loss of $711.8 million.

Last summer's blockades in Clayoquot Sound drew an enormous amount of attention to the issues surrounding clearcut logging. Letters to the Editor and television interviews showed that some Canadians regarded the blockaders as criminals, which is ironic considering the criminal nature and operations of M-B and Interfor. To date, M-B has been convicted of over 60 offenses, mostly relating to the destruction of fish habitat, and has been investigated for many more. Who are the real criminals?

Interfor

In the recent Tripp report, International Forest Products, Ltd. (Interfor) had the *worst* record of compliance with B.C.'s Coastal Fisheries/Forestry Guidelines (CFFG), receiving only a 50.6% overall compliance rate; 66.7% compliance with site-specific requirements of Pre-Harvest Silviculture Prescriptions and just over 20% compliance in the absence of specific recommendations. In simple terms, Interfor blatantly ignored guidelines designed to protect declining fish stocks. "These results are both extremely disappointing and completely unacceptable" said Chairman of the Board and C.E.O. W.L. Sauder. Indeed.

Instead of a list of statistics, I think a good way to introduce Interfor is through its activities near a town called Mt. Currie. What is happening there reflects the short-sighted destruction of pristine forests which determine the province's ecological and economic future, and also the clash of cultures and values between corporations and communities, conservationists and economists, First Nations and Euro-Canadians.

During the last year, Interfor has been punching a road into the Ure Creek watershed, which feeds into Lillooet Lake. The lake is prime habitat for Canada's diminishing spotted owl population: all of the estimated 50 pairs still existing live in southwestern mainland B.C. Athough Locals have expressed knowledge of the existence of spotted owls in the Ure Creek area, yet logging continues. The road continues to the S&M Creek watershed, the last pristine, undeveloped watershed on Lillooet Lake, designated a Spotted Owl Conservation Area by the Ministry of Environment. Despite its proven ecological significance, road building operations continue into S&M Creek. In March, an active spotted owl site was "accidentally" clearcut by Interfor, who went ahead and logged 60% of a 10 ha. block before the Ministry of Forests happened to notice it on a chance fly-over.

Section 2.5 of the CFFG states that in Streamside Management Zones, a riparian zone of width equal to the channel, and no less than 10 m. wide, shall be left on either side of the stream. The bottom section of Ure Creek is a Class "A" Stream, yet the riparian zone was entirely ripped out in a spot about 5 km from the lake into which it empties. The increased erosion from the destroyed buffer zone may result in an infraction for introducing a deleterious substance into the stream, an offense prosecutable under Section 36(3) of the Fisheries Act. (Interestingly enough, U.S. regulations for fish-bearing streams require a 91.5 m leave strip. So much for Premier Harcourt's claim of "world-class standards.")

After clearcutting a section along this road, Interfor often applies chemical sprays to kill any regrowth of naturally ocurring "pioneer" plant species. These toxics enter the food chain and can poison any animals which consume them.

Road-building and clearcutting cause massive soil erosion by stripping away the forest cover, which leads to extensive damage to fisheries. At the mouth of Lillooet River is the fastest growing delta in B.C.: evidence of increased siltation due to logging upstream. Slides have already occurred on new sections of this road, and there are sections of sandy bank which will almost certainly result in landslides leaving scars on mountainsides and huge deposits in the lake.

The Lil'Wat people, who have never signed a treaty or otherwise compromised their land rights, refuse to engage in land claim negotiations, and do not acknowledge Canada's sovereignty. Government-sponsored logging on this unceded Lil'Wat land violates both native sovereignty and Canadian law, in particular the Royal Proclamation Act (1763), which states that the Crown is forbidden from transferring unceded Indian territory to third parties.

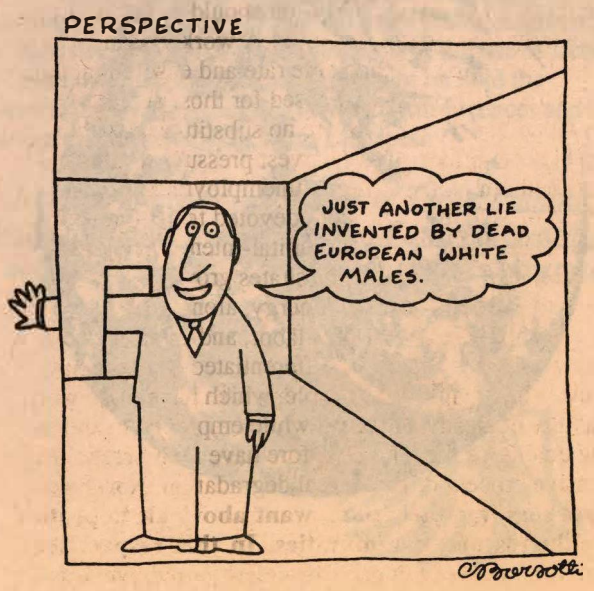
Salmon fishing is the key to the traditional way of life and cultural survival of the Lil'Wat people. Damage to fish habitat through ecologically unsound logging, as well as the spraying of herbicides and pesticides, threaten native fisheries.

"Mkwal'ts," the name of the sacred burial site for thousands of smallpox victims, has been desecrated by road-building and logging. Ancient petroglyphs have been blasted to build this road. Furthermore, Interfor's actions and the government's inaction violate the Heritage Conservation Act, which states that no person shall, except as authorized by a permit under section 5, knowingly:

> destroy, desecrate or alter a burial-place of historic or archaeological significance, or remove skeletal remains, or destroy, deface or alter a North American Indian painting or rock carving of historical or archaeological significance.

Interfor is clearly desecrating sacred land. If Interfor began to blast and strip a Vancouver cemetery, citizens would rise up and shut the machines down. We need to start understanding, or willing to accept others' understanding, that land has value and meaning even if (and especially when) it's not developed by industry. And when we discuss multinational corporations, it's important to think in terms of the third-person singular, "it," as opposed to "they." Because as Mander asserts, these corporations are not a collection of individuals with the ability or mandate to protect our land - that is something we must do.

(Sources: "Taxpayers stunningly generous to forest firms," Joyce Nelson, Times-Columnist, Oct. 19, 1993; "Hidden Subsidies of Forestry," Jim Cooperman, BCEN Report; "Separating the facts: Forest Industry Responds," Mike Apsey, Times-Columnist, Nov. 16, 1993; 1992 Earth First! Rainforest Summer pub.; Greenpeace's "Summary of information from Macmillan-Bloedel Corporate literature.")



"The Limits of Environmentalism Without Class:
Lessons from the Ancient Forest Struggle of the Pacific Northwest"

by John Bellamy Foster

. . . Indeed, what has made the nature of the ancient forest crisis so mysterious from the beginning has been the tendency for most establishment discussions to focus in fetishized fashion on timber, owls, loggers, and environmentalists while ignoring the major historical agent of change: capital itself, including the capital-state partnership ("a partnership between two different separate forces, linked to each other by many threads, yet each having its own separate sphere of concern").

From the beginning, the giant forest products firms deliberately stayed behind the scenes, leaving the defense of their interests to their major political lobbying organizations, the American Forest Resource Alliance and the National Forest Products Association. Meanwhile, few mainstream commentators have thought it worth their while to explore the historical dimensions of this ecological catastrophe brought on by the accumulation of timber capital. **The public is thus left with the distinct impression that the whole problem can be reduced to an irreconcilable conflict between workers and environmentalists, between owls and jobs - a conflict in which the state is presumably neutral and capital is notable mainly by its absence**. It is this great silence with respect to timber capital's historic role, including its partnership with what might be termed the "natural resource state," that must be penetrated if a realistic understanding of the fate of the forest is to emerge. . . .

. . . there are progressive, ecologically concerned voices within the worker's movement. . . . This is illustrated by the position taken by William Street, a progressive policy analyst for the IWA (U.S.). Writing in May 1990 his column in the IWA's paper, *The Woodworker*, Street explains: "We know a worker's forest policy . . . starts by recognizing the need for a sustainable and renewable forestry. It recognizes that each portion of the planet must produce its proportional share of the resources it uses. The proportion should be produced as environmentally sound as possible . . . A worker's forest policy would harvest at a sustainable rate and ensure that those mature trees that are harvested are used for those socially desired products for which there are no substitutes. By thus restricting the use of older trees, harvest pressure would be diminished without contributing to unemployment."

. . .Capitalism as a system devoted to accumulation without end is inseparable from a capital-intensive, energy-intensive economy - and thus necessitates growing throughputs of raw materials and energy, along with the creation of excess capacity, surplus labor, and economic and ecological waste. This should be differentiated from the basic needs of the broad majority of people, which have to do with the availability of steady and worthwhile employment and an improving quality of life, and therefore have no inherent link to an intensive process of ecological degradation. **Northwest timber workers, for their part, want above all to protect their livelihoods and communities. In this respect the export of unprocessed logs, the relentless drive for ever higher levels of automation, the stress on clearcutting as opposed to "new forestry," the use of chemical weed killers, the burning of slash, and so on, make no sense from a worker's standpoint**.

The "job blackmail" that often seems to compel workers to adopt an anti-environmental stance can therefore be seen to be tied to a system that promotes profits by means of the exploitation of both human beings and nature. The direct route to the creation of a mass environmental movement is one that seeks to break the seemingly intractable conflict between jobs and environmental protection (a conflict symbolized nowadays by owls vs. jobs) by placing ecological conversion - the planning of new ways of working with nature while fulfilling social needs - at the very core of each and every ecological struggle. This necessarily means moving away from the attitude that environmentalism can somehow stand above and beyond the class struggle.

A shift toward a broad movement for ecological conversion and the creation of a sustainable society also means that the partnership between the state and the capitalist class, which has always formed the most important linchpin of the capitalist system, must be loosened by degrees, as part of an overall social and environmental revolution. This partnership must be replaced, in the process of a radical transformation of the society, by a new partnership between democratized state power and popular power. Such a shift requires revolutionary change that must be more than simply a rejection of capitalist methods of accumulation and their effects on people and the environment. . . .

From an eco-socialist perspective there is no difficulty in seeing that **the rapid destruction of the old-growth forest is not about owls vs. jobs but ecosystems vs. profits**. Ecology tells us that the destruction of a complex ecosystem rooted in a climax forest that took a millennium or more to develop involves thresholds beyond which ecological restoration is impossible. We must therefore find our way to a more rational economic and social formation, one that is not based on the amassing of wealth at the expense of humanity and nature but on justice and sustainability. Whether the issue is species extinction, death on the job, women's control of their own bodies, the dumping of toxic wastes in minority communities, urban decay, third world poverty, the destruction of the ozone layer, global warming, nuclear contamination, desertification, soil erosion, or the pollution of water resources, the broad questions and answers remain the same. As the authors of Europe's Green Alternative have written, we must choose between two logics: "On the one side, economics divorced from all other considerations, and on the other life and society."

(A very brief excerpt from a provocative 32-page booklet - see Bibliography. Boldface added by editor.)

"Eleven Inherent Rules of Corporate Behaviour"

by Jerry Mander

It is clear that human beings within a corporation are seriously constrained in their ability to influence corporate behavior. And yet, I have mentioned only two of the rules that serve to constrain this influence: the profit imperative and the need for growth. The following list is an attempt to articulate more of the obligatory rules by which corporations operate. Some of the rules overlap, but taken together they help reveal why corporations behave as they do, and how they have come to dominate their environment and the human beings within it.

1. The Profit Imperative

As noted earlier, profit is the ultimate measure of all corporate decisions. It takes precedence over community well-being, worker health, public health, peace, environmental preservation, or national security. Corporations will even find ways of trading with national "enemies" - Libya, Iran, the Soviet Union, Cuba - when public policy abhors it. The profit imperative and the growth imperative are the most fundamental corporate drives; together they represent the corporation's instinct to "live."

2. The Growth Imperative

Corporations live or die by whether they can sustain growth. On this depends relationships to investors, to the stock market, to banks, and to public perception. The growth imperative also fuels the corporate desire to find and develop scarce resources in obscure parts of the world.

This effect is now clearly visible, as the world's few remaining pristine places are sacrificed to corporate production. The peoples who inhabit these resource-rich regions are similarly pressured to give up their traditional ways and climb on the wheel of production - consumption. Corporate planners consciously attempt to bring "less developed societies into the modern world," in order to create infrastructures for development, as well as new workers and new consumers. Corporations claim they do this for altruistic reasons - to raise the living standard - but corporations have no altruism.

Theoretically, privately held corporations - those owned by individuals or families - do not have the imperative to expand. In practice, however, the behavior is the same. There are economies of scale, and usually increased profits from size. Such privately held giants as Bechtel Corporation have shown no propensity to moderate growth; their behavior, in fact, shows quite the opposite.

3. Competition and Aggression

On the one hand, corporations require a high degree of cooperation within management. On the other hand, they place every person in management in fierce competition with each other. Anyone interested in a corporate career must hone his or her abilities to seize the moment. This applies to gaining an edge over another company, or over a colleague within the company. As an employee, you are expected to be part of the "team" - you must aggressively push to win over the other corporations - but you also must be ready to climb over your own colleagues.

The comparison with sports is clear. All members of a professional football team (itself a corporation) compete with each other, yet all players must cooperate to defeat an opposing team.

Corporate (or athletic) ideology holds that competition improves worker incentive and corporate performance, and therefore benefits society. Our society has accepted this premise utterly. Unfortunately, however, it also surfaces in personal relationships. Living by standards of competition and aggression on the job, human beings have few avenues to express softer, more personal feelings. We all know what happens to anyone who cries under stress in business or in politics. (In politics, nonaggressive behavior is interpreted as weakness.) And yet, in the intimacy of the home, such true expressions of real feelings are what tend to matter the most. Such contrary standards on the job and at home can lead to a kind of schizophrenia that often plays itself out in busted relationships.

4. Amorality

Not being human, not having feelings, corporations do not have morals or altruistic goals. So decisions that may be antithetical to community goals or environmental health are made without suffering misgivings. In fact, corporate executives praise "non-emotionality" as a basis for "objective" decisions.

Corporations, however, seek to hide their amorality, and attempt to act as if they were altruistic. Lately there has been a concerted effort by American industry to seem concerned with contemporary social issues, such as environmental cleanups, community arts, or drug programs. The effort to exhibit social responsibility by corporations comes precisely because they are innately not responsible to the public; they have no interest in community goals except the ones that serve their purposes. This false altruism should not be confused with the genuine altruism human beings exhibit for one another when, for example, one goes for help on behalf of a sick neighbor, or takes care of the kids, or loans money. Corporate efforts that seem altruistic are really public relations ploys, or else are directly self-serving projects, such as providing schools with educational materials about nature. In other cases, apparent altruism is only "damage control," to offset public criticism.

For example, there has recently been a spurt of corporate advertising about how corporations work to clean the environment. A company that installs offshore oil rigs will run ads about how fish are thriving under the rigs. Logging companies known for their clear-cutting practices will run millions of dollars' worth of ads about their "tree farms," as if they were interested in renewable resources, when they are not.

Other corporations will show ads of happy employees; usually these are companies with serious labor problems. Or companies will run ads about how they are

assisting in community programs - day care, the arts, drug education, historic preservation - in communities where citizens have been outraged by corporate irresponsibility. In fact, it is a fair rule of thumb that corporations will tend to advertise the very qualities they do not have, in order to allay negative public perception. When corporations say "we care," it is almost always in response to the widespread perception that they do not care. And they don't. How could they? Corporations do not have feelings or morals. All acts are in service to profit. All apparent altruism is measured against possible public relations benefit. If the benefits do not accrue, the altruistic pose is dropped. When Exxon realized that its cleanup of the Alaskan shores was not easing the public rage about the oil spill, it simply dropped all pretence of altruism and ceased working.

5. Hierarchy

Corporate law requires that corporations be structured into classes of superiors and subordinates within a centralized pyramidal structure: chairman, directors, CEO, vice presidents, division managers, and so on. The efficiency of this hierarchical form, which also characterizes the military, the government, and most institutions in our society, is rarely questioned.

The effect on society from all organizations adopting hierarchical form is to make it seem natural that we have all been placed within a national pecking order. Some jobs are better than others, some lifestyles are better than others, some neighborhoods, some races, some kinds of knowledge. Men over women. Westerners over non-Westerners. Humans over nature.

That effective, non-hierarchical modes of organization exist on the planet, and have been successful for millennia, is barely known by most Americans.

6. Quantification, Linearity, and Segmentation

Corporations require that subjective information be translated into objective form, i.e., numbers. This excludes from the decision-making process all values that do not so translate. The subjective or spiritual aspects of forests, for example, cannot be translated, and so do not enter corporate equations. Forests are evaluated only as "board feet." Production elements that pose danger to public health or welfare--pollution, toxic waste, carcinogens - are translated to value-free objective concepts, such as "cost-benefit ratio" or "trade-off." Auto manufacturers evaluating the safety level of certain production standards calculate the number of probable accidents and deaths at each level of the standard. This number is then compared with the cost of insurance payments and lawsuits from dead drivers' families. A number is also assigned to the public relations problem, and a balance is sought.

When corporations are asked to clean up their smokestack emissions, they lobby to relax the new standard, to contain costs. The result is that a predictable number of people are expected to become sick and die.

The operative corporate standard is not "as safe as humanly possible," but rather, "as safe as possible commensurate with maintaining acceptable profit."

The drive toward objectification enters every aspect of corporate activity. For example, on the production end, great effort is made, through time-and-motion studies, to measure each fragment of every process performed by a worker. The eventual goal is to sufficiently segment tasks so that they may be automated, eliminating workers altogether. Where the task is not eliminated, it is reduced to its simplest repetitive form. As a result, workers become subject to intense comparisons with other workers. If they survive on the jobs, doing the repetitive tasks leaves them horribly bored and without a sense of participating in corporate goals. They feel like they are part of a machine, and they are.

7. Dehumanization

If the environment and the community are objectified by corporations, with all decisions measured against public relations or profit standards, so is the employee objectified and dehumanized.

Corporations make a conscious effort to depersonalize. The recent introduction of computer surveillance technology into business operations, especially in measuring and supervising the performance of office workers, has made this dehumanization task simpler and more thorough. Now, every keystroke and every word of every worker can be counted by a central computer that compares each individual's performance against others and against corporate standards. Those people found to be too slow, or inconsistent, or who take too many breaks, are simpler to find and to discipline or dismiss.

In very small businesses, the tendency toward dehumanization is obviously mitigated, since some employer-employee personal contact can scarcely be avoided. But in the great majority of corporations, employees are viewed as ciphers, as cogs in the wheel, replaceable by others or by machines.

As for management employees, not subject to quite the same indignities, they nonetheless must practice a style of decision- making that "does not let feelings get in the way." This applies as much to firing employees as it does to dealing with the consequences of corporate behavior in the environment or the community. But, as has been described, the manager's behavior, objectifying all decisions and all people, also acts to objectify and dehumanize himself or herself.

8. Exploitation

All corporate profit is obtained by a simple formula: Profit equals the difference between the amount paid to an employee and the economic value of the employee's output, and/or the difference between the amount paid for raw materials used in production (including costs of processing) and the ultimate sales price of the processed raw materials. Karl Marx was right: A worker is not compensated for the full value of his or her labor; neither is the raw material supplier. The owners of capital skim off part of the value as profit. Profit is based on underpayment.

Capitalists argue that this is a fair deal, since both workers and the people who mine or farm the resources (usually in Third World environments) get paid. But this arrangement is inherently imbalanced. The owner of the capital - the corporation or the bank - always obtains additional benefit. While the worker makes a wage, the owner of the capital gets the benefit of the worker's labor, plus the surplus profit the worker produces, which is then reinvested to produce yet more surplus. This even applies to the rare cases where

workers are very highly paid, as with professional athletes and entertainers. In those cases, the corporations pay high wages because the workers will produce more income for the corporation than they are paid. So the formula remains intact: Profit is based on paying less than actual value for workers and resources. This is called exploitation.

9. Ephemerality

Corporations exist beyond time and space. As we have seen, they are legal creations that only exist on paper. They do not die a natural death; they outlive their own creators. And they have no commitment to locale, employees, or neighbors. This makes the modern corporation entirely different from the baker or grocer of previous years who survived by cultivating intimacy with the neighbors. Having no morality, no commitment to place, and no physical nature (a factory someplace, while being a physical entity, is not the corporation), a corporation can relocate all of its operations to another place at the first sign of inconvenience: demanding employees, too high taxes, restrictive environmental laws. The traditional ideal of community engagement is antithetical to corporate behavior.

10. Opposition to Nature

Though individuals who work for corporations may personally love nature, corporations themselves, and corporate societies, are intrinsically committed to intervening in, altering, and transforming nature. For corporations engaged in commodity manufacturing, profit comes from transmogrifying raw materials into saleable forms. Metals from the ground are converted into cars. Trees are converted into boards and then into houses, furniture, and paper products. Oil is converted into energy. In all such activity, a piece of nature is taken from where it belongs and processed into a new form. In rare instances, elements of nature can be renewed, or trees can be replanted, but even in such cases they do not return to their original forms. So all manufacturing activity depends upon intervention and reorganization of nature. After natural resources are used up in one part of the globe, the corporation moves on to another part. With the transformation process well under way in Southeast Asia and the Pacific, Antarctica is the new target. Soon it will be the moon.

This transformation of nature occurs in all societies where community manufacturing takes place. But in capitalist, corporate societies, the process is accelerated because capitalist societies and corporations must grow. Extracting resources from nature and reprocessing them at an ever-quickening pace is intrinsic to their existence. Meanwhile, the consumption end of the cycle is also accelerated - corporations have an intrinsic interest in convincing people that commodities bring satisfaction. Modes of fulfilment that are based on self-sufficiency - inner satisfaction, contentment in nature or in relationships, a lack of desire to acquire wealth - are subversive to corporate goals. For production to be hyped, i.e., for natural materials to be transformed into commodities and then into profit, the consumption end of the cycle must similarly be hyped. The net effect is the ravaging of nature.

Corporate entities that do not directly engage in processing raw materials, such as banks or insurance companies, are nevertheless engaged in ravaging nature. Banks finance the conversion of nature; insurance companies help reduce the financial risks involved. The more nature is exploited the greater the profit for all corporations. Of course, on a finite planet, the process cannot continue indefinitely.

11. Homogenization

American rhetoric claims that commodity society delivers greater choice and diversity than other societies. "Choice" in this context means product choice, choice in the marketplace: many brands to choose from, and diverse features on otherwise identical products. Actually, however, corporations have a stake in all of us living our lives in a similar manner, achieving our pleasures from things that we buy. While it is true that different corporations seek different segments of the market - elderly people, let's say, or organic food buyers - all corporations share an identical economic, cultural, and social vision, and seek to accelerate society's (and individual) acceptance of that vision.

Lifestyles and economic systems that emphasize sharing commodities and work, that do not encourage commodity accumulation, or that celebrate non-material values, are not good for business. People living collectively, for example, sharing such hard goods as washing machines, cars, and appliances - or worse, getting along without them - are outrageous to corporate commodity society. The nuclear family is a far better idea for maintaining corporate commodity society: Each family lives alone in a single-family home and has all the same machines as every other family on the block. Recently, the singles phenomenon has proved even more productive than the nuclear family, since each person duplicates the consumption patterns of every other person.

As for native societies, which celebrate an utterly nonmaterial relationship to life, the planet, and the spirit, and which are at opposite poles to corporate ideology, they are regarded as inferior and unenlightened. Backward. We are told they envy the choices we have. To the degree these societies continue to exist, they represent a threat to the homogenization of worldwide markets and culture. Corporate society works hard to retrain such people in attitudes and values appropriate to corporate goals. But in the undeveloped parts of the world, where corporations are just arriving, the ideological retraining process is just getting under way. Satellite communications technology, which brings Western television and advertising, is combined with a technical infrastructure to speed up the pace of development. Most of this activity is funded by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, as well as agencies such as U.S. AID, the Inter-American Bank, and the Asian-American Bank, all of which serve multinational corporate enterprise.

As for the ultimate goal? In Trilateralism, editor Holly Sklar quotes the president of Nabisco Corporation: "One world of homogeneous consumption . . . [I am] looking forward to the day when Arabs and Americans, Latins and Scandinavians will be munching Ritz crackers as enthusiastically as they already drink Coke or brush their teeth with Colgate."

Sklar goes on: "Corporations not only advertise products, they promote lifestyles rooted in consumption, patterned largely after the United States. . . . [They] look forward to a post-national age in which [Western] social, economic, and political values are transformed into universal values . . . a world economy in which all national economies

beat to the rhythm of transnational corporate capitalism.... The Western way is the good way, national culture is inferior."

FORM IS CONTENT

The most important aspect of these eleven rules is the degree to which they are inherent in corporate structure. Corporations are inherently bold, aggressive, and competitive. Though they exist in a society that claims to operate by moral principles, they are structurally amoral. It is inevitable that they will dehumanize people who work for them, and dehumanize the overall society as well. They are disloyal to workers, including their own managers. If community goals conflict with corporate goals, then corporations are similarly disloyal to the communities they may have been part of for many years. It is inherent in corporate activity that they seek to drive all consciousness into one-dimensional channels. They must attempt to dominate alternative cultures and to effectively clone the world population into a form more to their liking. Corporations do not care about nations; they live beyond boundaries. They are intrinsically committed to destroying nature. And they have an inexorable, unabatable, voracious need to grow and to expand. In dominating other cultures, in digging up the earth, corporations blindly follow the codes that have been built into them as if they were genes.

Would our society have been better off if we had been told, from the beginning, that corporations would behave as they do? As with every other new piece of machinery, large or small, we were only presented with the pros, never the cons, of this creature called the corporation. There was never a vote as to whether, on balance, corporations destroy more than they contribute. Nor was there ever any effort to articulate the principles by which they operate and the manner in which they would inevitably behave. Articulating these principles now gives us a picture we should have been given a long time ago.

Now that we see the inherent direction of corporate activity, we must abandon the idea that corporations can reform themselves, or that a new generation of executive managers can be re-educated. We must also abandon the assumption that the form of the structure is "neutral." To ask corporate executives to behave in a morally defensible manner is absurd. Corporations, and the people within them, are not subject to moral behavior. They are following a system of logic that leads inexorably toward dominant behaviors. To ask corporations to behave otherwise is like asking an army to adopt pacifism. Form is content.

(This excerpt reprinted from
In The Absence of the Sacred:
The Failure of Technology and the Survival
of the Indian Nations - see Bibliography.
Jerry Mander's previous book was
Four Arguments for the Elimination of Television.)

The Shameful Seven:
(Pro-NAFTA! Environmental Organizations and Some Corporate Benefactors)

World Wildlife Fund: Eastman Kodak ($2.5 million), Waste Management Inc (WMI), DuPont, Philip Morris, Mexican government ($30 million)
National Wildlife Federation: Dow, DuPont, Monsanto, 3M, Shell, Pennzoil, Waste Management Incorporated
National Audubon Society: General Electric, WMI, Proctor & Gamble
The Nature Conservancy: Coca-Cola ($2 million), DuPont, Cargill, Philip Morris, WMI, Tenneco, Proctor & Gamble
Environmental Defense Fund
Defenders of Wildlife
Natural Resources Defense Council

(reprinted from No Sweat News, Fall '93 - See Bibliography)

The Share Group Phenomenon

To counter the gains made by environmentalists in the media, some industry supporters have responded over the last four years by organizing "Share Groups." Dozens of these "community-based" local citizens groups (e.g. Share the Forest, Share Our Resources, Share the Stein, Share the Carmanah, Share the Clayoquot, which are part of an umbrella organization called Share B.C.) have proliferated in the province and, in some cases, have received increasingly sympathetic treatment in the media. Typically, a Share group presents itself as reasonable, objective, conciliatory, and "middle-of-the-road." Spokespersons go to considerable lengths to emphasize that their community base: the "grassroots organizations" of loggers, their families and other townspeople from resource-based communities. Stated goals include maintaining jobs in the forestry sector and the way of life in rural areas. The Share movement advocates a "shared-use" approach to single-uses, and peaceful coexistence between the forestry industry and environmentalists.

Critics, on the other hand, have accused the industry of cynically creating fronts to appeal to people genuinely concerned about balancing the need for jobs and the need for conservation and preservation. . . . To help earn public trust, the New York PR firm Burson-Marsteller, Ltd. was hired to craft a media campaign: the same firm that managed responses to the Bhopal poison gas disaster in India and the Tylenol deaths in the United States. . . . Although Share groups may be a cross-section of local populations in resource-dependent communities, much of their personnel and funding are traced to resource industry corporations and concerns wanting to maintain the status quo or push for commercial development. Industry-sponsored consultants have also been instrumental in organizing the Share movement.

The Ron Arnold Philosophy

One such expert is Ron Arnold, a self-styled "consumerist," "sage," and chief strategist of the burgeoning "Wise Use Movement" in the U.S. He has spent several years traveling across North America addressing symposia and conferences and setting up anti-environmentalist "community" coalitions, most of which have the words "care" or "share" in their names. Ron Arnold has advised the B.C. forest industry and various Share Groups, and reportedly has a network of other like-minded organizations and individuals. He heads the Center for the Defence of Free Enterprise, is the author of articles on the psychology and sociology of "protest groups" in the environmental movement, which he describes as a threat to industrial civilization. A former board member of the Sierra Club and trustee of the U.S. Alpine Lakes Protection Society, Arnold admitted acquiring knowledge of activist strategy from the Sierra Club book *Ecotactics*, published over 17 years ago.

The B.C. forestry industry has invited Arnold on at least two occasions "to come up and give management seminars on how movements operate," and on "the structure, function and preferred methods of recruitment." His advice to MacMillan Bloedel [MB]was reportedly: "Give [the pro-industry action groups or coalitions] the money. You stop defending yourselves, let them do it, and you get the hell out of my way. Because citizens groups have credibility and industries don't. . . ."

In 1984, Ron Arnold spoke at an "educational seminar" sponsored by a pesticide trade organization. The record of that seminar, a four-page internal memorandum for the New Brunswick Ministry of Natural Resources, reported that Arnold urged the audience "to get to know who the enemy is. . . . [T]he philosophy of environmental movements was provided by Marxist-Leninists who were using environmental concerns as a way of furthering the Marxist struggle. . . . [I]ndustry should encourage the development of citizen activist groups supportive of the need to produce goods and supply basic needs. Arnold argued that private property, free enterprise and the ability to produce food to a hungry world were important causes for such citizen groups to champion, and that there were market solutions to every problem". . . .

Ron Arnold concluded that the industry needed a "general purpose non-profit citizen group" modeled on his Center for the Defence of Free Enterprise but which would be Canadian "in name, form and operation," and which "could worry about nothing but long-term land-use issues and raw material supply." Accordingly, the organization "must be run by a director with good political contacts to work with all Canadian land-use issues as they emerge. Such an institute . . . must create a long-term unfinishable agenda and train interns to carry the multiple use philosophy into every corner of Canadian society. It must initiate tactical programs of legislation, litigation and public pressure designed to change every non-timber land-use designation in Canada to multiple use within 30 years."

Share Groups and the Wise Use Connection

. . . Although resistance to wilderness and environmental regulation in the United States has existed for many years, the Wise Use movement only began organizing earnestly in 1988, at the first conference sponsored by the Center for the Defence of Free Enterprise. Share groups in B.C. at least partly grew out of one such conference, the national Multiple Use Strategy Conference held in Reno, Nevada, in August 1988. Those in attendance included major B.C. forest company representatives, the Council of Forest Industries of B.C., and some Share organizations - an estimated 40 individuals from across the province. . . . [T]he underlying theme was reportedly how to counter the growing influence of environmentalists. . . .

Out of the conference came a 187 page report entitled "The Wise Use Agenda", edited by Alan Gottlieb, prefaced by Ron Arnold, and published by the Free Enterprise Press. The Agenda, which stands as the manifesto or "official printed conscience" of the movement, lists these as B.C. affiliates:

• Cariboo Lumber Manufacturers Association, Williams Lake • Council of Forest Industries, Vancouver • Furney Distributing Ltd., Port McNeill • MacMillan Bloedel Ltd., Vancouver • Mining Association of B.C., Vancouver • Jack Mitchell, Alderman of City of Port Alberni • Share Our Forest

Society, Cobble Hill • Truck Loggers Association, Vancouver • Western Forest Products Ltd., Port McNeill

The Agenda's top 25 goals include:

• Clearcutting old growth on national forest lands (old-growth stands are termed "decaying and oxygen-using forest growth"; young ones are "oxygen-producing, carbon absorbing" which "help ameliorate the rate of global warming and prevent the greenhouse effect") • Removing protection in the Endangered Species Act for "non-adaptive" species like the California condor • Immediate oil drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge.• Opening all public lands, including national parks and wilderness areas, to mineral and energy production under Wise Use technologies in the interest of domestic economies and national security • Developing national parks directed by private firms expert in people-moving, such as Walt Disney • Civil penalties against anyone who legally challenges economic action or development on Federal lands. . . .

Patrick Armstrong, a forestry consultant, is credited with starting the Share movement in B.C. He is a director of the Our Land Society, a Wise Use organization based in Idaho, and is Director of Moresby Consulting Ltd., and publisher of Envisage, a monthly B.C. "Share" publication. . . . (Yet) Ron Arnold and the Wise Use movement have been credited as having done more than counsel and organize Share groups in B.C.; they have evidently influenced the rhetoric and vocabulary used in the resource debate, as seen in the use of words and phrases such as "archetypal symbolism," "unfinishable agenda," "wise use," "multiple use," "sharing," "preservationists," and so on. The following excerpts from a 1988 address by the Assistant Chief Forester of MB to the Vancouver Rotary club illustrate this point:

> "I believe business has been silent for too long in British Columbia where we have been shown to be susceptible to the influence of the powerful, emotional lobby of preservationists. . . . Their agenda is simple and unfinishable: they stand foursquare behind the absolute curtailment of any resource use whatsoever. . . . MB is standing tall to set the record straight on some of the half-truths and plain old untruths the environmentalists have told about our industry. . . . Several thousand jobs are currently threatened, ladies and gentlemen, and still the pressure doesn't let up. Consider the U.S. experience: when environmentalists in that county began lobbying a few decades ago to pass a Wilderness Act, their stated objective was to protect 15 million acres of land. They got their Act: and today they have secured 80 million acres and are still demanding more - remember the unfinishable agenda! And at MB, we understand that not only must we make ourselves heard: we must also deliver on our promises to protect and share our forests."

Ron Arnold's recommendation on the establishment of a "general purpose non-profit citizen group" for the research and information dissemination would also appear to have been heeded in the creation of the B.C. Environmental Information Institute, founded and chaired by Gerry Furney, mayor of the B.C. logging town of Port McNeill. The Institute has billed itself as "a credible and independent source of information, education, and research to counter the emotional arguments that presently colour the environmental-economic debate" to encourage "responsible, multiple use of public land and resources."

Wise Use and the Unification Church

Arnold's Center for the Defence of Free Enterprise in its Bellevue, Washington-based center shares offices and directors with the American Freedom Coalition (AFC). The latter is identified by the *Seattle Times, Newsweek, U.S. News and World Report,* and others as a lead political agency of Rev. Sun Myung Moon's church, the Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity: the controversial cult known as the "Moonies." The Rev. Moon reportedly came to the U.S. from South Korea in 1971 to pursue his vision of a worldwide theocracy with himself at the center. The Church's doctrine holds Rev. Moon as the earthly incarnation of God; aims to set up a world government in which church and state would be united under Rev. Moon's leadership; feels that to win heaven one has to be powerful on earth (a much repeated slogan); and believes the world is divided into two systems - dictatorships of the "Cain-type"(communist states) and "Abel-type" democracies (capitalist countries).

Also alleged is that the AFC is not only a Unification church affiliate, but also a front created by Church support. The Coalition is said to have received money from "Christian Voice," a Fundamentalist television program. According to some accounts, Ron Arnold has not only admitted that "the AFC is a part of the Wise Use movement," but also that he was a registered agent of the Coalition. The AFC's recent U.S. philosophy "vehemently trumpets anti-communism; supports the Strategic Defence Initiative, Contra aid, and a military buildup; and demonizes homosexuality, abortion, taxes, and unregulated art work as the enemies of traditional Christian family values." Not small, the AFC is a licensed lobby with ten former Congressional members on its national advisory board, offices in all 50 states, over 300,000 contributors, and an annual national budget of over $1.3 million Wise Use crops up consistently on its environmental agenda. According to an article in the Oct. 1990 issue of its *American Freedom Journal*, the AFC sponsored Wise Use conferences in four states last summer and plans 15 more for this year.

Ron Arnold has also been identified as a member of the speakers' bureau of the Confederation of Associations for the Unification of the Societies of the Americas (CAUSA), an umbrella organization said to have been established with funding from the Unification Church and which, in 1987, received all its funding from the Church. The AFC and CAUSA are said to have been principal supporters of the contras in Nicaragua, and backers of right-wing regimes in South America. Ron Arnold has denied having any ties to the Church, but is said to have confirmed that the Center for the Defence of Free Enterprise was allied with a Church movement.

(On 10 December, 1991, Claude Emery of the Research Branch of the Library of Parliament - Political and Social Affairs Division - published a 48-page paper, "Share Groups in BC". Seven months later, Forest Planning Canada journal published an extensive excerpt in its July/August '92 issue. The above article is an excerpt from the excerpt!)

The International PR Machine: Environmentalism a la Burson-Marsteller

by Carmelo Ruiz-Marrero

Burson-Marsteller (B-M), a subsidiary of communications giant **Young and Rubicam**, is one of the largest public relations firms on Earth. With offices in 27 countries and a list of customers that includes national governments and transnational corporations, B-M is an extremely powerful institution.

Let's forget for now that B-M has represented the U.S. Army, as well as gross human rights violators, like Nigeria, South Korea, Romania's ex-dictator Ceaucescu, and the UNITA terrorists in Angola. Let's set aside for the moment that B-M's lobbying unit has downplayed the dangers of cigarette smoking for the **American Tobacco Institute**. Let's skip those issues and look at this firm's handling of the world's environment.

Burson-Marsteller promotes an elite form of "environmentalism" that serves the needs of the corporate world. The main purpose of this shallow environmentalism is to make the public believe that 1) the environmental crisis has been exaggerated by sensationalist and irresponsible activists, and 2) that "responsible" environmentalists work with, and not against, the corporate establishment.

B-M's clients have included:

•**Union Carbide**, of Bhopal tragedy fame. This corporation admits keeping files on activists, and alleges (in a leaked U.C. memo in 1991) that grassroots activists are linked to Communists.

•**Exxon**, which hired B-M to counter the negative publicity from the Valdez oil spill.

•**Babcock & Wilcox**, builders of the Three Mile Island nuclear reactor.

•**A.H. Robbins**, makers of the Dalkon Shield I.U.D.

•**British Columbia Forest Alliance**, a "wise use" anti-environmental group.

•The union-busting, clear-cutting, Wise Use movement"-backing **Louisiana-Pacific** (L-P). With B-M's help, logging corporations like L-P convince employees and the public that environmental fanatics cause rural unemployment, not unsustainable logging practices.*

B-M was hired by **Eli Lilly** (a pharmaceutical company that once had George Bush on its board) and **Nutrasweet**, a **Monsanto** subsidiary, to promote the use of BGH hormone, a product which increases cows' milk output, but has been linked to serious udder infections, and calves with birth defects.

B-M is currently promoting **Hydro-Quebec's James Bay 2** project, which, if completed, will be the most destructive hydroelectric project in the history of North America. To promote the project, B-M flacks formed a bogus group of "concerned citizens", and hired a Vermont lobbying firm to neutralize the state's growing opposition.

James Bay 2 is only a small part of a vast water canalization project, which will re-route dozens of Canadian rivers for the exclusive use of transnational corporations. The legal and political barriers to prevent this plan are eliminated by the U.S. Congress' approval of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), and guess who promoted it in Washington, D.C.?

Yes: The Mexican government hired B-M to promote NAFTA in the U.S. B-M subcontracted the job to **William Brock**'s lobbying firm. Brock has been a Senator, Republican party chairman, U.S. trade representative, and Secretary of Labor, co-chaired the MTN Coalition, which "educates" and lobbies for the environmentally-destructive GATT.

B-M's operations in Canada are directed by Alan E. Gotlieb, deputy chairman of the **Trilateral Commission**, a super-elite think tank, founded by Kissinger and the Rockefellers, that promotes free trade as the solution to all the world's problems. Commission members include former EPA chief and current CEO of **Browning Ferris Industries** William Ruckelshaus, as well as top executives of **AT&T, Chase Manhattan, CNN, Coca-Cola, Dow, DuPont, General Electric, ITT, Mitsubishi, Sony, and Xerox**. George Bush, Bill Clinton, Warren Christopher, and UNCED secretary Maurice Strong are among the Commission's veterans.

The Trilateral Commission recently published Beyond Interdependence: Meshing the World's Economy and the Earth's Ecology, now the capitalist manifesto on environmental matters. Only the academic, political and business elites of North America, Western Europe and Japan, it says, are qualified to save the environment. In an incredible Orwellian intellectual maneuver, it uses the environmental crisis to justify a brutally undemocratic world order.

With this environmental record, it comes as no surprise that Burson-Marsteller was hired by the **Business Council for Sustainable Development** (BCSD), the flagship of "green capitalism". The brainchild of the Swiss multibillionaire banker and **Nestle** board member Stephan Schmidheiny, it is little more than a corporate front to package hard-line capitalism as the only force to save the environment. BCSD members include the CEOs of **Chevron, Dow, DuPont, Mitsubishi, Nissan, 3M, Shell, and Browning Ferris Industries** as well as business interests worldwide.

The powers-that-be are using PR agencies like Burson-Marsteller in an all-out effort to contain and co-opt grassroots environmentalism and make it uncontroversial. When one hears cute expressions like "our common future", one should ask: does a Puerto Rican fisherman, a subsistence farmer in Botswana, or a carpenter in Oregon share a common future with an executive of DuPont or Exxon?

* See this journal's article "Share Group Phenomenon"

(Carmelo is a Puerto Rican Green activist. His article, here adapted and updated, originally appeared in No Sweat News, Fall '93 - see Bibliography)

The 12% Solution?

Various government, environmental, and industry front groups have adopted the Brundtland Commission on Sustainable Development's 12% target for preservation. Many groups use the figure as an absolute maximum limit. However, the 12% goal has no scientific validity. It was recently called into question by Jeff McNeeley, the Chief Biodiversity Officer of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature who is credited with originally recommending the 12% goal. He admitted at a lecture at the University of British Columbia in March, 1993, that he had in fact made up the number. He took the current global protection level of 4% and quite arbitrarily multiplied it by three, he said. In a letter to the Western Canada Wilderness Committee, McNeeley stated that 12% was "nothing more than a political guess" in which he had "no particular confidence."

The 12% recommendation of the Brundtland Commission does not compare favourably with recommendations put forward by other ecologists either. Vancouver Island has a great variety of ecosystems, unique landscapes, and large mammals, including carnivores, which require large ranges. Given what we know about genetics and habitat requirements, limiting the amount of protected land to 12%, while allowing status-quo industrial development on the rest, will result in a total failure to protect the natural ecosystems and biodiversity of Vancouver Island. E. O. Wilson, one of the founders of modern ecology, predicted that if only 10% of the world's land base were most strategically preserved, while the other 90% was transformed by human activity, 50% of the species now living on earth would go extinct. According to Herb Hammond, a noted forestry ecologist, "about 25 to 30% of the [forest] land base" is required to protect biodiversity. Many ecologists hesitate to state a hard percentage figure for what really should be protected in most ecosystems. But some highly credible proposals, such as conservation biologist Reed Noss' study of Oregon's Coast Range, recommend 50% or more of the landscape for protection.

(excerpted from a recent newsletter of the Greater Ecosystem Alliance, and from "A Conservation Vision for Vancouver Island" in WCWC's Winter 1993-94 newsletter)

Cedar woman's arms and legs are cut and she's crying for the forest

Facts, Statistics, and Stuff!!!

How responsible is the Government?

Total government subsidy to logging road construction and maintenance in 1992 - $30.2 million
1992 stumpage fees paid for timber cut in B.C. - $411,000
Cost to run Ministry of Forests in same year - $666,946
Rank of BC provincial government among MacBlo shareholders - 1
Percentage of B.C.'s annual allowable cut controlled by multinational corporations - 85%
Percentage of assets of same multinational corporations controlled outside Canada - 43%
Largest exporter of forest products in the world - Canada
Largest producer of newsprint in the world - Canada (31% of total world production)

Is there enough Public Control?

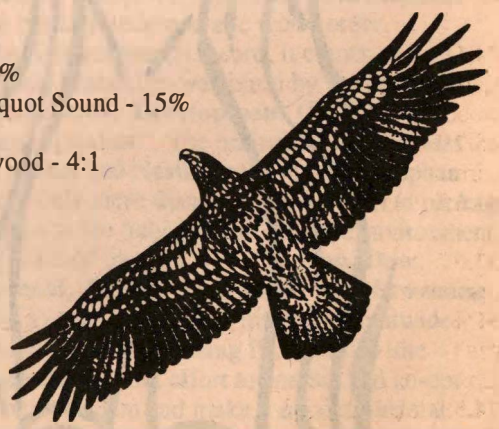
Number of jail terms handed out following discovery of logging damage to 34 of 53 Vancouver Island streams - 0
Percentage of the Clayoquot Sound population who are Nuu-Chah-Nulth by heritage - 43%
Percentage of land base controlled by Nuu-Chah-Nulth in the Sound - 0.4% (4/10th of 1%)
Number of forest jobs per thousand cubic meters in B.C. - 1.05
Number of forest jobs per thousand cubic meters in U.S. - 3.55
Number of forest jobs per thousand cubic meters in New Zealand - 5.0
Amount public received in revenue from logging in U.S. 1988-89 - $16.00/cubic metre
Amount public received in revenue from logging in B.C. 1988-89- $1.88/cubic metre

Really Jobs versus the Environment?

Estimated job losses in B.C. as forest industry becomes "more competitive" - 20,000
Number of jobs cut by forestry giant MacMillan Bloedel in Alberni/Clayoquot region, 1991-93 - 987
Number of further job cuts planned in the Alberni/Clayoquot region by MacBlo by 1995 - 310

Canadian Trees Forever?

Percentage of Canada covered by forest - 45%
Percentage of Canadian forest officially protected - 2.6%
Percentage of Canada's timber produced in British Columbia - almost 50%
Percentage of world's remaining temperate rainforest located in B.C. - 50%
Estimated number of years until all viable old-growth in B.C. is logged out - 12 to 27
Number of watersheds over 5000 hectares on Vancouver Island - 89
Number of watersheds over 5000 hectares still unlogged - 5
Percentage of Clayoquot Sound's ancient rainforests which are already clearcut - 23%
Percentage of the total ancient forest left on Vancouver Island represented in Clayoquot Sound - 15%
Height of Canada's largest tree (in Carmanah Valley) - 94.6 metres (312 feet)
Ratio of the amount of pulp per acre per year that can be produced from hemp vs wood - 4:1
Raw wood value of a single "big log" - $40,000



What about the Wildlife?

Province with the most wildlife species in Canada - British Columbia
Number of bird species found in B.C. - 445
Number of mammal species found in BC - 144
Percentage of birds and mammals that breed in B.C. - 70%
Number of bird species that breed in the province - 295
Number of bird species that breed nowhere else in the country - 162 or 55%
Number of wildlife species strongly associated with, or dependent upon, old growth - 80

"There isn't any possibility of MacMillan Bloedel expansion in B.C. When we make any large investments, we'll put them where they can get the best return. That's not in B.C., and it's probably not in Canada." MB President Bob Findlay, 1991

(statistics collected from: Sierra Club's "BC Forest Fact Sheet" - 1992, and "Clayoquot Sound Information Sheet" - 1993; Conservation Alliance of BC's "The Facts" sheet, 1994; Greater Victoria Econews' "BC Forest Realities" sheet - 1993; and Monday Magazine's "Clayoquot by the Numbers", 5 August '93)

Does the public . . .
Support Clearcutting?
Trust the Government to Regulate Logging?!

In March of 1994 the British Columbia Ministry of Forests commissioned Viewpoints Research to poll British Columbians on their opinions about the CORE report, clearcutting, the government's role in forestry, the environmental lobby and other issues concerning the current state of forestry in B.C. 1177 people were interviewed, mostly from the Lower Mainland, but also from Vancouver Island, the Southern Interior, and the North.

The public talks about Clearcutting:

62.3% of the public believe that the "Forest Practices Code" should allow only selective logging and ban all clearcut logging in British Columbia."
71% of British Columbians are very unlikely or somewhat unlikely to support clearcut logging even under new strict rules under the Forest Practices Code that reduce the size and control the location of clearcuts.
93% of British Columbians think that clearcuts should be banned, reduced in size and/or permitted only in controlled locations.
58% of the public support precisely the initiatives suggested by the Vancouver Island CORE report.
64.7% of B.C. residents want a ban on the export of raw logs

The public says the Government and Industry are to blame:

74.1% of B.C. residents want the government to "provide start-up funds to industries that process lumber into finished wood products."
48.7% feel that the forest industry is responsible for the current state of the forests.
34.6% feel the current Provincial Government is responsible for the current state of the forests.
32.6% feel that previous Provincial governments are responsible for the current state of the forests.
51% of the respondents said that the "(P)rovincial government can't be trusted to improve forest practices because they are too close to forest companies..."
74.5% of B.C. residents want the government to "provide financial help to communities to diversify their economies."
76% of the public feel that there are insufficient environmental laws and government intervention, and that we still need the Forest Practices Code.

The public talks about Corporations:

73.4% of the public feel companies are doing only a fair to poor job of managing B.C.'s forest.

96.7% of the public feel that it is important for the government to require companies to pay for the "clean up of any environmental damage resulting from violations of the Forest Practices Code."
62.3% of the public think "most job losses are the result of increased mechanization by the forest industry." Most people disagree with the forest industry's claim that preservation comes only at the expense of forestry jobs.
65.2% of British Columbians think that the industrial mismanagement of the forests is to blame for the current employment crisis.
89.8% of B.C. residents want companies to do more manufacturing in B.C.

Below: The proliferation of ecologos worldwide foretells a rise in market pressures for alternative forest practices.

PACIFIC CERTIFIED ECOLOGICAL FOREST PRODUCTS

CERTIFIED • CERTIFIED • CEI

CERTIFIED
This wood was harvested from a State-of-the-Art Well-Managed Forest*
SCIENTIFIC CERTIFICATION SYSTEMS

SMART WOOD

The B.C. Forest Practices Code

The B.C. government has begun to respond to the overwhelming local and international public pressure on forestry issues. The new Code, released in June 1994, unfortunately has serious flaws and shows that B.C.'s forest problems will continue. Some ways the Code fails:

Rampant Discretion

This Code is not a set of Rules at all. For practically every apparent rule, there is an exception allowing the timber-oriented District Managers to retain discretion (which was the main problem with the situation under the old Forest Act):

- Cut-block sizes and green-up requirements only apply "unless" the District Manager (DM) agrees.
- No harvesting in Riparian Reserve Zones unless "permitted" by the DM and Ministry of the Environment.
- Reserve Zones for lakes and wetlands "unless otherwise approved".
- No harvesting in lakeshore areas, except DM "may exempt".
- No road-building on steep, unstable slopes "unless" study shows DM that impacts can be "mitigated".
- "Unless" appears in the Act and Standards 109 times, "Despite" 53 times in the Act alone, "Exempt" 50 times, etc.
- The DMs responsible for forest practices continue in power!

No Public Appeals

Despite these being public lands, a member of the public has no right-of-appeal from any logging or planning decisions of the District Managers. The forest companies have a direct right of appeal to a Forest Appeals Commission and the courts from all penalties or orders imposed on them. The public is limited to a "complaint" about non-compliance to a Forest Practices Board which has no power to alter decisions, and is limited to making recommendations in a report. (A complaint cannot halt logging). And even public comment prior to proposed plans has been severely limited to only middle-level plans.

Weak Standards

Riparian Zones (Streamside Buffers): Compares very unfavourably with U.S. federal standards - roughly 10% of the U.S. protection. This continues the status quo under present "Guidelines" which have seen destruction of fish habitat in countless salmon streams.

Clearcutting: Continued chosen method, even in old-growth temperate rainforest areas. Selective harvesting is restricted to *very limited*, high-risk areas. Restrictions of clearcuts to 40 hectares (coastal) and 60 hectares (interior) are largely cosmetic (the average on the Coast now is only 37 hectares), and will not reduce clearcut destruction. In fact, since the high rate of cut continues unabated, this may increase fragmentation.

Biodiversity: No protection is mandated. Lip-service in the Preamble and other non-binding sections.

Endangered Species Habitat: No binding protection unless essential habitat is designated by government. But government has no duty to do that.

Old-Growth Protection: Completely optional. Some little may occur, but only where B.C. government is of the opinion that old-growth objectives "cannot be met" in any other way. The basic management objective (including calculation of rate-of-cut) is still complete "liquidation" of the old-growth forest, and replacement with even-aged "managed" forest.

Unenforceable

Since the burden of determining compliance is on the government when approving plans, the big companies are off the hook. A company has a complete defence to the major offence under s.45 of the Code of carrying out "a forest practice that causes damage to the environment" so long as that company "is acting in accordance with an operational plan". And the much vaunted "million-dollar fines" apply only to three sections under the Code: the above section 45, s.96 - trespass, and deliberately starting a fire! Also, there is no reason to think the government has the capability or the will to enforce this Act anymore than the past Forest Act, or the Fisheries Act (which also has million-dollar fines). It still has not created a separate and effective enforcement branch.

Delayed Implementation

The Act is not even scheduled to be 'proclaimed' until November 1994. There is an initial six-month holiday (after proclamation) during which even new plans "need not comply". For two years, only "substantial compliance" is required. And since the Code applies primarily to plans and not logging, and since these dates apply only to the date of *approval* of plans, and since non-complying plans approved during this transition period will continue in force, logging approved under those plans can legally be done for years afterwards. This is well beyond the term of the present government (it could be as much as three to five more years before the Code will apply to *all* logging! During this delayed transition period, the weak nature of the Forest Practices Code may be disguised, and pressure for real change blunted.

(excerpted from a Sierra Legal Defence Fund background report)

A Tree Plantation is NOT a Forest

[The Ecoforestry Alternative]

(This was originally a full-page ad which ran in the Victoria Times-Colonist)

As the political debate over the future of Clayoqout Sound rages and the number of arrests increases daily, the right issues are still not being addressed. The problem is not loggers' jobs versus old growth forests. That is the industry's equation. The REAL problem is the present concept of forestry: FORESTRY AS INDUSTRIAL AGRICULTURE. This cannot be sustained. It is already failing. Industrial forestry cannot save jobs, or communities. It kills the forests and kills our heritage and spirit. That's the bad news. The good news is that wonderful alternatives exist. But radical change is required.

1. The Forest as Agriculture

The first North American foresters were trained in Europe in the late 1880's. They were taught to grow trees as if they were corn. The natural (or primary) forest was liquidated. Replacement trees were considered a "crop" to be harvested again and again, in the least possible number of years. The place where a forest once existed, with all its natural diversity and values, was maximized for the production of fibre. All else was secondary. Non-timber values became "constraints" to achieve a "sustained yield" of wood fibre.

We now have a name for this, industrial forestry: trees as assembly line parts, trees viewed strictly as products, as "cubic metres", as digits in economic profit equa-tions, as cash crops. But forests are not agricultural planta-tions. Viewing them this way is the root of our problem.

Natural forests are ecological communities. They contain thousands of life forms, including diverse species of trees, animals, insects, plants and microorganisms, all at different stages in their ecological life cycles, all in constant interaction, co-evolving with one another, with water and fire, wind and avalanche. A forest is dynamic: one of nature's great cauldrons of biological diversity and genetic richness. Only by respecting and preserving that diversity can forests be healthy. And only if they are healthy in the long term can we be healthy.

Natural forests are self-sustaining, and self-repairing. They do not need humans. But humans can have a role, and we benefit greatly from healthy forests. Most benefits cease, when forests are misunderstood, depleted, simplified and redesigned for human purposes.

2. The Failures of Industrial Forestry

Industrial forestry - tree farms, plantations, clearcutting - kills forests, wiping out thousands of years of genetic heritage. When the rich understory of shrubs and grasses are cleaned out, when diverse tree species are eliminated, when the tussock moths and bark beetles, marbled murrelets and spotted owls, lose their habitat, when the bugs and worms that feed the birds are gone, then the forest is gone. Simply replanting after deforestation does not restore a forest.

Tree plantations weaken the ecosystem. They cannot cope with nature's challenges. They are dependent on humans the way caged monkeys or rows of tomato plants are. When hundreds of kilometres of diverse natural forests are reduced to unnaturally short plantation life cycles, the entire crop is vulnerable. Over time, heavy pesticide use often becomes necessary to keep it alive.

And when the biologically rich soup that is a natural forest is simplified, the soil is no longer enriched by the nutrients it needs; it too becomes weakened and unproductive. Fertilizers are often required to keep the plantation productive. And then, when the water is poisoned, the fish die, and entire ecosystems are threatened. Ecological collapse is around the corner, with grave consequences to humans too. As for clearcutting - industrial forestry's most spectacular statement - this eliminates much more than just trees and forests; it often removes the land itself. With no roots to hold the soil, whole hillsides slump into streams, where the rich soils become useless and sometimes lethal to life. A FRDA II Report released in 1988 showed that in British Columbia, soil degradation created by forestry practices has created an annual loss to the provincial economy of 80 million (between 1976-1986) and this is increasing by $10 million per year. By the year 2000, a loss of $200 million annually is expected. Clearcutting eliminates something else as well: jobs. *When the trees are gone, so are the jobs.* In many parts of British Columbia, that outcome is already apparent. Clearcutting and plantation forestry have destroyed the forests and ecological vitality, while also bringing economic doom. Don't blame the marbled murrelets, or the environmentalists for this.

3. The "Value" of Natural Forests

Industrial forests provide wood, for a little while. That is their only value.

Native forests provide wood, too, but they also provide homes for animals, plants, and insect life. They contain rich genetic and medicinal resources. They provide hundreds of other "products" such as red alder and pacific yew, two tree species once considered scrub by industrial forestry which now provide high quality furniture and a possible cure for cancer (taxol).

Forests preserve the soil against erosion. They slow the advance of the deserts. They regulate the climate; rainfall, humidity, temperature. Forests produce oxygen, absorb and store carbon, mitigating global warming. They protect watersheds and fresh water resources. They are home to one of the planet's greatest sources of biological activity.

But there is more to this story. Does it need to be repeated? *Native forests are glorious! They are among the planet's most flamboyant, magnificent expressions of life.*

And forests are teachers. They teach the truths of nature's process, and our appropriate place within it. Forests are windows to the roots of creation. They inspire human imagination, and touch the human soul.

Forests are still more than this. They have an intrinsic value beyond objective measure. A society that sees them as only a resource to be exploited, as a crop to be marketed, has lost its sense of the sacred. Saving British Columbia's intricate web of forest ecological systems is more than an economic or ecological issue. It is a spiritual one as well.

4. Some Principles of Ecoforestry

If our forests are to be saved in the long run, the reality of nature's limits must be respected. This is the basis of Ecoforestry. Industrial forestry attempts to defy these limits, to push one value - wood production - to its impossible maximum. We now know this can never work. It leaves the soil, air, water, weather, wildlife, genetic resources an ecosystems too damaged. In the end it destroys economies. This way is a path to failure.

There is a better way. Here are a few of its principles:

- We must accept that biological diversity - diverse species, genes, landscapes, communities - in all their natural patters, is the basis of fully-functioning, healthy ecosystems.
- All human activity must, first of all, be ecologically responsible. This standard must take precedent over perceived self-interest.
- Uses of a forest must be balanced, so all organisms, human and non-human, are provided with a fair and protected land base; none are sacrificed for short-run human benefit.
- The addiction to clearcutting must end; it kills ecosystems like a bullet through a brain.
- Pesticide use must be banned; it poisons the land and humans.
- Ecological "planning" periods should not be less than 150-200 years.
- Wood may be harvested, but from the naturally occurring surplus product, thrown off by a fully-functioning, ecologically balanced forest. Natural selection.
- Ecological succession must be maintained, to protect biodiversity; do not use "brush control".
- Road building and use must be minimal.
- Drainage systems, streams, lakes and rivers must be protected.
- In the past we have focused on economic products instead of the ecological processes that maintain those products. This must be reversed.
- Industrial logging jobs must be diverted to ecoforestry and restoration jobs, which are for more labour-intensive, benefit the planet and community, and are constructive, not destructive.

5. Ecoforestry is Labour Intensive

Twenty years ago, industrial forestry abandoned the use of high-lead and sky-line systems. This led to the use of "grapple-yarders" which required far more road on fragile mid-slopes, damaged soil and timber by dragging logs across ground. Forests were clearcut right to the edge of quality salmon habitat. Replacing "grapple-yarders" with alternative harvest methods, means more jobs. As well, by changing the harvest method, special habitats can be protected, not eliminated. If we restore our forest workers the tools, the skills, and the responsibility needed to balance harvesting with environmental protection, employment opportunities will increase.

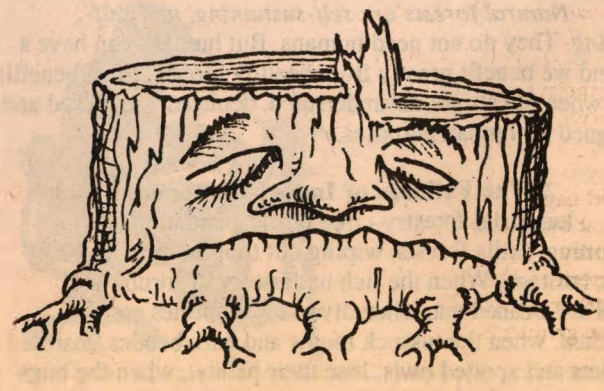
Renewal is also a key element. If we could turn around the energy that is now devoted to destroying forests, communities suffering job losses in the current transition period in British Columbia would also be renewed.

Protection of the handful of remaining ancient forests, restoration, renewal and ecoforestry will not only save the forests from the ravages of a failed industrial model, they will also be positive models for humanity's relationship with nature. Forests can be sustained for the long run. But to reverse our present course will require acceptance of certain limits, and tough choices. For example, we must use fewer wood products and add higher value to the wood we harvest. Our role as supplier of largely unprocessed wood and pulp (low-value) for export to others to convert into high value products must end. This has the potential to double or even triple forest-related employment; in Prince George, Canadian Woodworks Ltd. using skilled labour and high technology to produce windows, door jambs, moulding stock, and other products for world markets employs 68 people year round while harvesting 100,000 cubic meters of wood per year. The Carrier Lumber Ltd. mill located adjacent to Canadian Woodworks employs less than 20 employees for less than 6 months while cutting 480,000 cubic meters of wood per year (Ministry of Forests, Bid Proposal Program Review, 1992). This example clearly shows our logging rate can drop dramatically in order to restore a balance between protection of forest ecosystems and maintenance of a healthy economy. We must harvest only the forest surplus, determining this by standards of natural selection ecoforestry. Our universities must stop training logging and plantation managers, and start training ecoforesters, who understand nature's ways. And we must eliminate tax breaks for corporations that simply liquidate forests, giving those breaks to ecologically responsible businesses as Sweden has done in a recent change to its forest act.

We must adopt a new forestry that respects forests for their intrinsic worth, that places diversity and ecological health above all other standards: one that looks less at the corporate bottom line and more at nature's bottom line. This is what we would like to see from Premier Harcourt: the end to industrial forestry models.

(ad signed/sponsored by...)

The Ecoforestry Institute, Victoria, B.C., Silva Forest Foundation, Winlaw, B.C., Pulp and Paper Woodworkers of Canada, Vancouver, B.C., United Fisherman and Allied Workers Union, Vancouver, B.C., Cariboo Horse Loggers Association, Winlaw, B.C.



On Ecological and Cultural Restoration

by Paul Cienfuegos

I've been fretting about writing this piece ever since I started designing this Handbook and realizing that there just absolutely **had** to be a piece in here about ecological restoration! Fretting because there's so much I wish to impart and I have so little space to say it. If you remember only one thing in this essay, may it be that Ecological Restoration is **not** just for the experts to do but for every member of the human family. Our world is crashing down around us and everyone of us knows a spot not too far from where we live that needs serious attention; whether it's a vacant urban lot full of "weeds", a creek or stream filled with trash, or a wild area maimed by industrial culture. If you've lived in a place for a long time, no matter where, you know things about that place that no outside expert could possibly know. And that's what makes you into a potentially dynamite grassroots restorationist. Here's my favorite definition of Ecological Restoration:

Ecological Restoration is, quite simply, the act of working with the natural cycles of a place that has been devastated by industrial civilization. Lasting restoration does not attempt to restore an ecosystem to a particular state; it attempts to restore the processes of natural succession and evolution that occur in wild, self-regulating systems. The purpose of restoration is to repair previous damage, not to legitimize further destruction. Ecological restoration is much more than simply revegetation and reforestation. It is the reestablishment of our species' relationship to the land, a process of becoming native to the places we live, the re-creation of an holistic land ethic.

I live in Tofino, so my focus as a restorationist / community organizer is to devise a plan for the restoration of the steep clearcut slopes all over Clayoquot Sound. I am just in the early stages of planning now and am moving slowly and consciously because **my** vision is to have a project in place that is **led** by the Native Nations who have lived here for thousands of years (the ultimate bioregionalists).

Where do **you** live? Is the earth in pain there? Do you yet have an intuitive sense what to do? Can you organize your neighbours into a work-party to do erosion control on a piece of steep bare ground? Does your neighburhood creek need attention? Do you know which of the wild growing things around you are exotic imports and which are fragment populations of native plants hanging on for dear life?

A couple of resources worth digging up, all in the Bibliography in the back:
The Earth Manual by Malcolm Margolin
the special full edition on Restoration of Whole Earth Review
Northern Forest Forum
Raise the Stakes
Urban Ecologist (all three are journals - in the Magazines listing)

I'll leave you with a few of my favorite restoration quotes (as I'm putting the finishing touches on this Handbook):
"It is ourselves we are trying to manage, not nature"
"We must become participants in the planet's recovery."
"If you do a truly good job of restoring an ecosystem, it will decide for itself what it grows into after you're gone."

(Paul Cienfuegos is the editor of this Handbook, and has big ambitions to one day see all of Clayoquot Sound in a 200-year program of restoration and reinhabitation.)

TABLE 3 Vancouver Island Wildlife Species with Some Degree of Dependence on Ancient Forests

Birds

marbled murrelet
Lewis woodpecker
pileated woodpecker
varied thrush
red-breasted sapsucker
northern three-toed woodpecker
hairy woodpecker
Clark's nutcracker
grey jay
bald eagle
great blue heron
osprey
American kestrel
northern goshawk
blue grouse
Vaux's swift
great grey owl
wood duck
bufflehead
hooded merganser
common merganser
chestnut-backed chickadee
brown creeper
hermit thrush
olive-sided flycatcher
red crossbill
red-breasted nuthatch
Townsend's warbler
western flycatcher

Mammals

Roosevelt elk
black-tailed deer
marten
wolverine
big brown bat
Keen's long-eared myotis
silver-haired bat
long-legged myotis
Yuma myotis
western long-eared myotis
California myotis
black bear
river otter

Reptiles and Amphibians

rough-skinned newt
northwestern salamander
Ensatina salamander
clouded salamander
sharptailed snake

Source: *Ministry of Forests (1992); Campbell et al. (1990); Green and Campbell (1984); Gregory and Campbell (1984); Guiguet (1978); Taylor (1990).*

Making Paper Without Trees

Paper has not always been made out of wood. The ancient Egyptians made paper out of papyrus plants; the 3rd-century Chinese made it of flax and wisteria; the 8th-century Japanese made it of hemp; and the 12th-century Spanish made it of cotton. A 17th-century English preacher named George Fox, who practiced nonviolent resistance to tyranny three centuries before Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, wrote an account of his travels that was printed on a fine linen paper made of recycled rags. ("If they strike thee on one cheek turn the other...fighters are not of Christ's kingdom," reads one passage of the 800-page tome.) A surviving copy of the third edition, printed in 1765, sits on a shelf in the home of a World Watch writer. The original leather binding has dried up and turned to dust. The 228-year-old treeless paper, remarkably, is almost like new.

Good paper is still made from non-wood sources in many places: from rice and barley straw in China, from sugar cane waste ("bagasse") in Mexico and India, from bamboo in Vietnam, and from the kenaf plant in Australia. But since the early 20th century, the vast bulk of the world's paper has been produced from wood. An estimated 4 billion trees are cut for paper each year. And while papermaking is not a primary cause of deforestation, the rapidly rising demand for wood pulp for paper mills puts increasing pressure on those forests that remain. The tree plantations that produce most pulp now stand where natural forests were cut - whether in Florida, Indonesia, or Thailand. With the world's paper demand expected to double by the year 2010, the need to expand tree plantations could also nearly double. . . . The advantage of such crops is that they can be harvested annually - whereas trees require 7 to 30 years of growth. And while plant fiber crops require much less land than tree farms, another non-wood source - agricultural waste - requires virtually none at all. The straw left over after a rice harvest can be made into paper without any land required other than that already set aside for the rice. India, for example, produces 100 million tons of rice straw per year - 15 times the amount needed to meet the country's entire paper needs.

China's huge non-wood paper industry, in particular, has grown in response to a recognition that while forest resources were indeed scarce, the country's agricultural crops were generating huge amounts of fibrous waste - stalks or straws of plants from which the grains or seeds had been harvested - that were not being fully utilized. Some was used as cooking fuel, some as animal fodder, but much was being burned as waste - and producing polluted air to boot.
In the 1980s, China began conducting extensive research on the agricultural, technical, and economic aspects of plant fiber production. In 1992, an International Non-wood Fiber Pulping and Papermaking Conference assembled in Shanghai to examine the results of more than 100 studies of industries in a wide range of climates and economies.

Review of the research reported in Shanghai, and in subsequent symposia in the United States and Europe, shows that non-wood pulp has become dominant in many regional economies, and that a wide variety of sources are being used successfully. According to a survey by Finnish paper industry consultant Leena Paavilainen, over 300 mills now use non-wood fibers, worldwide. The raw materials for these mills are obtained from two broad categories: agricultural waste from food crops, and fiber crops grown specifically for pulp.

Altogether, non-wood pulps offer an impressive range of potential environmental benefits: saving forests, adding nitrogen to soil, providing natural herbicides, reducing the use of toxic chemicals in bleaching, reducing energy use in the pulping process, and providing a means of adding strength to recycled pulp without using virgin wood. Fiber crops like kenaf, hemp, and sisal are nitrogen-fixers, valuable for crop rotation as well as for their pulp. Hemp is also valued for crop rotation in some regions because it suppresses weeds, reducing the need for chemical herbicides. Kenaf and hemp are notable for their natural whiteness, producing pulps that require less chlorine bleach than wood to produce an equivalent paper. They share with wheat and rice straws the virtue of requiring less energy to process. And long-fibered crops like hemp and kenaf can provide needed reinforcement to the chopped-up fibers of recycled paper, precluding the need for virgin wood.

Now, it seems, the main hurdle to diversifying pulp production in North America is neither technological nor economic, but financial--a lack of investment capital in a market that has been suffering from a glut of woodpulping capacity due to a binge of overinvestment in the late 1980s. In such a market, no one wants to build new pulping plants of any kind - wood or non-wood. But that glut is probably temporary, and as demand catches up with capacity, North American and European manufacturers will take a harder look at the possibilities for treeless paper. As Marvin O. Bagby, a USDA scientist, recently said, "Kenaf is a sleeping giant just waiting for the stimulating splash of a major pulp and paper conversion facility."

Hemp and the Canadian Textile Industry

Could hemp rejuvenate Canada's sagging textile industry? At a time when unbleached cotton is in vogue, the possibilities for hemp look promising. Many eco-conscious consumers buy unbleached cotton clothing, ignorant of the fact that cotton is an extremely pesticide-intensive crop. Hemp, on the other hand, is naturally disease resistant, and is also an effective weed suppressant.

A crop that can be grown almost anywhere in Canada - it has been grown successfully in Manitoba, Alberta, British Columbia, Saskatchewan, Ontario and Quebec - hemp could reduce our dependence on imported fibres.

Hemp is a more hardy crop than cotton, and an acre of hemp will produce two to three times more fibre than the same plot of land planted in cotton. The fibres are (of course) biodegradable, and incredibly long - according to Seber, the longest fibre in the world.

Given all the benefits to our environment and economy, it is hard to understand why hemp is still illegal. We now have access to a strain of the plant that contains virtually no mood-altering substances. With the narcotics connection eliminated, it seems realistic to suppose that the Canadian government, like its European counterparts, will move to legalize its cultivation.

Legalizing Hemp

Under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Health and Welfare, The International Control and Licensing Division of the Bureau of Dangerous Drugs controls the use of cocaine, heroin, and hemp. Joe Strobel must apply here for permission to grow his crop. Only 11 licenses were granted last year, all to scientists and police officers for research purposes.

Despite the context, Strobel is likely to get permission to grow hemp. His legal counsel, Alan Young, Associate Professor of Law at Osgoode Hall in Toronto, says it's simply a matter of time. "The chances are as good as we or they are tenacious. I believe that we'll be successful."

One boon to North American hemp advocates is its successful European legalization. "What's happened in Europe has I think paved the way for the same developments in Canada. Everyone knows that the farming community is suffering, so the potential of creating a new agricultural opportunity has to be inviting to any government," he says.

Young also understands ecological implications of substituting wood. "Every day we have to watch this folly, of young people and old people chaining themselves to the old growth forests in Clayoquot Sound, and being sent to jail on contempt citations, because they feel they need to cut down these trees for pulp and paper when the reality is that cannabis may be a very viable alternative for the creation of paper."

Conspiracy?

Why did this useful plant disappear from cultivation for 55 years?

At first glance, the reasons for banning hemp seem obvious. One would assume that the benefits of the plant were outweighed by the negative implications of the drugs it contained. But history suggests otherwise.

According to Jack Herer, author of the classic book The Emperor Wears No Clothes, it was outlawed for purely economic reasons. Markets for paper, textiles and medicine were well established, and new harvesting techniques made it more economical than ever. In the wake of these developments, the plant seemed poised for record levels of cultivation.

Herer writes that timber baron William Randolph Hearst and the multinational DuPont stood to lose billions of dollars if hemp became widely used. Hearst controlled enormous tracts of forest land for pulp and paper, and DuPont had recently taken out patents for the production of paper from wood using sulfur/sulfite processes, and certain plastics from coal and oil. Low-cost hemp meant diminished markets for these products.

As outlined in Herer's book Hearst used his newspapers across the U.S. to fashion a new perception of hemp--that of "The Assassin of Youth". A survey of some headlines from this period produces classic examples of Hearts's tactics, which came to be known as "yellow journalism". "Marihuana Makes Fiends of Boys in 30 Days", "Hasheesh Goads Users to Blood Lust". These gross exaggerations were combined with racism and all-out lies, and they served their purpose. Hemp was outlawed, and DuPont went on to realize 80 percent of their railroad carloadings this century from the sale of wood pulp, coal and oil.

If any plant can provide new hope for the Canadian family farm, hemp is it. One can imagine small-scale hemp cooperatives across the country, using their facilities to make paper, plastics, textiles and animal feed for local consumption, and marketing the surplus internationally.

The 20th century has been a rough ride for this beneficial plant. By turns lauded and outlawed, one minute "the billion-dollar crop", the next "the assassin of youth". The next step is surely legalization and a return to respectability. Conspiracy or no, it's time.

(Excerpted from "Making Paper Without Trees", by Ed Ayres, September-October 1993 Worldwatch magazine (see bibliography), and "Back to the Future: Hemp Returns", by Scott Black and Ann Guthrie, February-March Earthkeeper magazine.)

Pulp Sources for Treeless Paper

SOURCE	CURRENT USE AND POTENTIAL
AGRO-WASTE:	*Presently accounts for more than half of all non-wood fiber, and about 6 percent of all paper produced worldwide. Agro-waste generates enough pulp to supply most (if not all) of the world's paper needs without any use of trees, thereby offering a means of alleviating future pressures to expand tree plantations at the expense of natural forest.*
■ Cereal straws	Primarily from rice, wheat, oats, barley, and rye. Straw-based paper requires no land other than that used to produce food, and processing consumes only 24 to 30 percent as much energy as wood does. Production capacity totalled 5.3 million metric tons in 1993, of which 4 million were in China, 400,000 in India, and 140,000 each in Pakistan and Spain.
■ Bagasse	Stalks left after sugarcane harvest were made into more than 2 million metric tons of pulp for paper in 1992. Mexico and Peru each produced about 300,000 tons. Other countries making paper from sugar cane include Indonesia, Colombia, Venezuela, Pakistan, Argentina, and Thailand.
■ Other sources:	Seed grass straw, sorghum stalks, cassava, pineapple leaves and cotton linters and stalks.
FIBER CROPS:	*Could require less than half as much land as trees to produce the same amount of paper, thereby reducing pressure to expand tree plantations at the expense of natural forests. As nitrogen-fixers, these crops are also valuable for crop rotation. Fiber crops presently account for about 4 percent of the world's paper production.*
■ Kenaf	Paper can be made from bark or whole stalk. Bast (bark) pulp has longer fibers than most wood fibers, yielding high tensile strength. Kenaf can be combined with recycled paper to eliminate the need for wood altogether—or can be mixed with small amounts of wood to make newsprint, reducing tree content by up to 90 percent. Kenaf requires less land, energy, and chemical processing to produce than does wood pulp. It also requires less startup capital. In Thailand, kenaf is produced in lieu of softwood, which has been depleted by deforestation. Investment in commercial production is beginning in Japan and the southern United States.
■ Bamboo	High fiber strength complements weaker fibers that are available in larger quantities. In India, rice straw is blended with 10 to 15 percent bamboo. World capacity in 1993 was 1.7 million metric tons of bamboo pulp, of which 1.3 million was in India. The rest was produced mainly in Vietnam, Brazil, Bangladesh, and Thailand.
■ Hemp	More than 330,000 hectares of hemp are being grown legally in the Northern Hemisphere, for paper and other products—primarily in the former Soviet states, Eastern Europe, France, and China. Brazil has produced sunn hemp for paper since the 1960s. Hemp uses much less energy than wood, serves as a natural herbicide, and is used to restore nitrogen to soil in crop rotation.
	Other sources: Jute, ramie, flax, sisal, roselle, and abaca.

SOURCES: United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO); Hunan Papermaking Research Institute (China); Federal Institute of Industrial Research (Japan); Government Industrial Research Institute (Japan); Ankal Pty. Ltd., New South Wales (Australia); and United States Department of Agriculture (USDA).

Canadian Government Violating International Law

"As stewards of a vast and beautiful land, as a people intimately connected to the environment, Canadians are aware of their environmental responsibilities." —Preface to Canada's National Report at the Rio Earth Summit

Canada has long enjoyed its reputation as the "Great White North," the land where forests cover the mountains as far as the eye can see, wolves range freely, and Canada Geese fly overhead in such abundance that they blot out the sun.

Yet nowadays when Canada is reported in the global press, the stories increasingly focus on clearcut and eroded mountainsides, wolf kills, and a diminishing diversity of life. Many people feel that the Canadian government is not protecting the environment, and instead supports industries creating these environmental problems.

Canada's disregard and violation of numerous international laws and agreements supports that argument. True North, Strong and Free is currently in contravention of the Convention on Biological Diversity, the Caracas Declaration, the World Charter for Nature, the Framework Convention on Climate Change, and the UN Convention for the Protection of Cultural and Natural Heritage.

Despite these violations, Canada was the first nation to sign the **Convention on Biological Diversity** (Rio, 1992) at the United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development, otherwise known as the "Earth Summit." Because clearcut logging destroys biodiversity as defined in the Convention and increases the prospect of improper forest regeneration, soil erosion and loss of forest habitat: because removal of the forest canopy also exposes forest organisms to dangerous UV light, which has become increasingly intense with the thinning of the ozone layer: because the Precautionary Principle of the Convention states that actions to eliminate a threat to biodiversity must not be postponed due to a lack of sufficient scientific study: for all these reasons, Canada is obligated to ban the practice of clearcut logging.

According to Joan Russow, an expert in international law and Chair of the International Affairs Caucus of the B.C. Environmental Network: "B.C. has yet to comply with the obligation under the Biodiversity Convention to carry out an environmental review of anything that could harm biodiversity [i.e., clearcut logging]; or under Agenda 21, to 'assess true environmental costs'; or to evaluate non-destructive use of forests; or to prevent activities on indigenous lands that could be harmful to the environment or culturally inappropriate. . ."

The **Caracas Declaration (1992)** mandates action to create national systems of protected areas including buffer zones and corridors. In a letter from both the Ministry of Forests and the Ministry of Environment (March 1992), the following intention was stated: "... under the aegis of the Commission on Resources and the Environment, we will be mindful of this [Caracas] Declaration." Through the Protected Areas Strategy, B.C. has pledged to protect 12% of representative ecosystems. However, conservation biologists have shown that preserving 12% is not nearly enough to protect biodiversity, especially for large mammals such as grizzly bears.

Signed by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1982, the **World Charter for Nature** has similar goals to those of the Biodiversity Convention. The philosophy behind it is biocentric, meaning that all life forms have value in and of themselves. For instance, the Preamble asserts that: "[E]very form of life is unique, warranting respect regardless of its worth to man [sic], and, to accord other organisms such recognition, man must be guided by a moral code of action."

The Charter goes on to demand that: "The allocation of areas of the earth to various uses shall be planned, and due account shall be taken of the physical constraint, the biological productivity and diversity, and the natural beauty of the areas concerned. Natural resources shall not be wasted, but used with a restraint appropriate to the principles set forth in the present Charter, in accordance with the following rules: (a) living resources shall not be utilized in excess of their natural capacity for regeneration; (b) the productivity of soils shall be maintained or enhanced through measures which safeguard their long-term fertility and the process of organic decomposition, and prevent erosion and all other forms of degradation."

B.C.'s Forest Practices Code and the **CORE** recommendations are based on ecologically-unsound forestry methods, in particular clearcut logging, road-building on steep slopes, and insufficient streamside buffer zones. A serious discrepancy exists in this province between law and reality.

The **Framework Convention on Climate Change** requires that governments protect and enhance greenhouse gas sinks and reservoirs. Old-growth temperate rainforests such as are found in Clayoquot Sound are literally the lungs of the earth, absorbing pollution and producing oxygen. The Framework Convention states: "[E]ach of these Parties shall adopt national policies and take corresponding measures on the mitigation of climate change, by limiting its anthropogenic emissions of greenhouse gases and protecting and enhancing its greenhouse gas sinks and reservoirs."

The **Convention for the Preservation of Cultural and Natural Heritage**, recognized in 1972, requires that measures be undertaken to protect areas with significant cultural and natural values. Few steps have been taken in this direction, and provincial laws such as the Heritage Conservation Act are consistently ignored by corporations and government agencies (see "Multinational Corporations are Not Your Friends" article).

Russow contends that through the common law arrangement known as the **"Doctrine of Legitimate Expectation,"** the public has a right to be concerned about actions or omissions which indicate non-compliance with these obligations. She has five primary recommendations:

1. Relocate logging from primary growth to secondary growth (Caracas Congress recommendation).
2. Avoid the "island mentality" in preservation (same).
3. Identify biodiversity (Biodiversity Convention).
4. Invoke the Precautionary Principle: that we do not have to wait for scientific certainty that harm to biodiversity will occur through clearcut logging for us to ban clearcut logging and

(continued on page 64)

Compensation for Lost Logging Rights:
Who Owns Public Lands, Anyway?

Precious wilderness areas in B.C. will be lost if laws are not passed limiting what forest and mining companies are compensated, said a report prepared for some of B.C.'s biggest environmental groups. Currently, mining and forest companies are making excessive demands for compensation in the event new parks are created and they lose access to some of B.C.'s publicly-owned resources. . . . These demands could have a "chilling" effect on the current government's willingness to adequately protect wilderness.*

Executive Summary of Report on Compensation Issues Concerning Protected Areas**

The Provincial Government's commitment to follow a rational, principled approach to land use and public resource allocation decisions is welcome and long overdue in B.C. The promise to protect a greater amount of British Columbia's precious wilderness heritage by increasing the percentage of the protected land base from the present minimal 6% to 12% is not only welcome, but necessary. . . . Corporations with a profit-based interest in the status quo have made substantial, and we believe, excessive, claims for compensation. If these claims are accepted, the government would not be able to carry out this essential policy change. . . .

In this Report on Compensation Issues:

• As a starting point, we agree with the forest industry and with Dr. Schwindt that there is a need for legislation. We recognize the inadequate and unsettled state of the law, which is based on an ad hoc approach from isolated court cases. We identify the absence of constitutional guidelines dictating limits to compensation, and recognize the right of the Legislature to select a new rational, comprehensive policy based on fairness and accepted legal principles. We suggest that legislation should have a scope which includes all resource interests, not just forest and mining.

• We analyze the strength of the existing legal rights to compensation, and we conclude that some claims to compensation have been wildly overstated. Public resource use contracts are not the same as private property rights. Government should distinguish claims made on legal rights from those based on fairness. We conclude that government has much wider latitude to make reasonable compensation decisions than corporations have claimed. . . . Compensation over and beyond private property rights should be and is a matter of government policy.

• We suggest that compensation policy should distinguish between those rights which are absolute "vested interests" and those rights which are contingent on future government approval. Traditional law requires only that compensation be paid for the first. Other rights were acquired with the knowledge that continued government discretion was to be exercised in the larger public interest. That discretion must take into account environmental considerations, the rights of workers and local communities and other matters relevant to the larger public interest. We recommend a number of fairness considerations for government which must be balanced against discretionary based claims to compensation for changing policy.

• We consider the principles which ought to determine the amount of compensation, where a duty to compensate is found. We oppose the full market value approach, which should only apply to full private property rights. We believe the Crown should not have to "buy back" its own resources that have not yet been extracted or sold. Where compensation is required for a vested public resource contract, fairness requires only that the investor be restored to its original condition by paying the amount invested, less depreciation, plus interest (except where full market value is less). From this amount, we propose that deductions that should be made, in fairness, including deductions for any damage the resource holder has done to other public resources, and for failures to fulfill promises.

• We consider the application of these principles specifically to the forest industry. We advocate that: the public owns the forests of B.C., and that the property in these trees do not pass at least until they are cut. No payments should be made for the value of standing timber. Replaceable tenures, such as Tree Farm Licences and Forest Licences, should be considered only for their existing term. Investment-based compensation should only take into account those investments made pursuant to, and in compliance with, "appurtenancy" clauses within the licences, and only for "vested" volumes. Compensation should only occur after using the Crown's full rights to withdraw 5% without compensation under s.53 of the Forest Act. Royalty and stumpage rates be raised to actual market value (thus eliminating any tenure value) and that monies raised be placed in a Compensation Fund.

• With regard to the mining industry, we accept in principle Dr. Schwindt's distinction between "exploration" and "advanced" properties, and recommend: That only operating mines with all necessary permits and certificates be considered for compensation, and on an investment cost plus interest basis (except where market value is less). That mineral claims and other claims at the exploration stage have not yet acquired a right to compensation, as they continue to be subject to Crown discretion. . . . That compensation should only be paid after reclamation and subject to deductions for existing wilderness damage.

• We point out the obvious - that public input is an essential component of any compensation strategy for public resources. The public has a right to be heard in these decisions, and public input is useful and desirable.

• We also suggest that interim deferrals on the creation of new vested interests in park study areas makes common sense and that to avoid these debates in the future, all new public resource interests created ought to be explicitly subject to the government's right to change its policies.

• We suggest that the environmental community work with government, and strongly support efforts by the Provincial Government to establish a fair and reasonable compensation policy that considers all aspects of public interest.

**(Taken from Press Briefing Summary, Roberta Olenick)*
*** (Report Prepared by Gregory McDade of the Sierra Legal Defence Fund, March 1993, for the B.C.E.N. Forest Caucus and 5 other groups)*

"Sustainable Development Is Possible Only if We Forgo Growth"

by Herman E. Daly

Although it appears unlikely, one positive outcome of the upcoming Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro may be the realization that "sustainable development," a phrase that has taken on almost magical qualities, is, in fact, a contradiction in terms. Currently the idea is used as a synonym for "sustainable growth" which, when applied to our economic life, will lead environmental and development policy makers down a dead-end street. Put simply, we cannot grow forever: "sustainable growth" is an impossibility and policies based on this notion are unrealistic and dangerous.

Economists will complain that growth in gross national product (GNP) is a mixture of quantitative and qualitative increases and therefore not strictly subject to physical laws. They have a point. When something grows it gets bigger. When something develops it gets different. The Earth's ecosystem develops (evolves), but it does not grow. Its subsystem, the economy, must eventually stop growing, but it can continue to develop and change indefinitely.

The term "sustainable development" therefore makes sense for the economy, but only if it is understood as "development without growth" - i.e. a qualitative improvement of a physical economic base that is maintained in a steady state defined by the limits of the ecosystem.

Exponential Growth

Politically, it is very difficult to admit that growth, with its almost religious connotations of ultimate goodness, must be limited. In the past two centuries we have developed a culture dependent on exponential growth for its economic stability. "Sustainable development" is a cultural adaptation being made as we become aware of the emerging necessity of non-growth. Even "green growth" is not sustainable. There is a limit to the population of trees the Earth can support, just as there is a limit to the populations of humans and of automobiles. To delude ourselves into believing that growth is still possible and desirable if only we label it "sustainable" or color it "green" will just delay the inevitable adjustments and make them more painful.

If the economy cannot grow forever, by how much can it grow? Can it grow by enough to give everyone in the world today a standard of per capita resource use equal to that of the average American? That would turn out to be a factor of seven, a figure that is neatly bracketed by the Brundtland Commission's (the UN's 1987 World Commission on Environment and Development) call for the expansion of the world economy by a factor of five to ten.

The problem is that even expansion by a factor of four is impossible if experts are correct in their calculations that the human economy currently uses one-fourth of the global net primary product of photosynthesis (NPP). Since land-based ecosystems are the more relevant to humans and we preempt forty percent of land-based NPP, even the factor of four is an overestimate.

If growth up to the factor of five to ten recommended by the Brundtland Commission is impossible, then what about just sustaining the present scale - i.e. zero net growth? Every day we read about stress-induced feedbacks from the ecosystem to the economy, which indicate that even the present scale is unsustainable. Currently growth in resource use seems to increase environmental costs faster than it increases production benefits, making us poorer, not richer. Sustainable development must be development without growth - but with population control and wealth redistribution - if it is to seriously attack poverty.

A sustainable development economy adapts and improves in knowledge, organization, technical efficiency and wisdom. It does this without assimilating an ever-greater percentage of the ecosystem's resources, stopping when the remaining ecosystem (the environment) can continue to function and renew itself year after year. The non-growing economy is not static - it is being continually maintained and renewed as a steady-state subsystem of the environment.

Policy Implications

What policies are implied by this goal of sustainable development? Both optimists and pessimists should be able to agree on the following policy for the industrialized countries, where truly sustainable development should begin:

- Strive to hold output constant at present levels (or reduced to truly sustainable levels) by reducing the income tax, especially on the lower end of the income distribution, perhaps even financing a negative income tax at the very low end. (Optimists who believe that resource efficiency can increase by a factor of ten should welcome this policy which raises resource prices considerably and would give a powerful incentive to just those technological advances in which they have so much faith. Pessimists who lack that technological faith will nevertheless be happy to see restrictions placed on the size of the already unsustainable production. The pessimists are protected against their worst fears - the optimists are encouraged to pursue their fondest dreams.)
- Renewable resources should only be exploited in such a manner that extraction rates do not exceed regeneration rates, and waste emissions do not exceed the renewable capacity of the environment to assimilate them.
- Non-renewable resources should only be depleted at a rate equal to the rate of creation of renewable substitutes. Projects based on exploitation of non-renewable resources should be paired with projects that develop renewable substitutes so that by the time the non-renewable is exhausted, the renewable substitute is sufficient to maintain output.

However, before these operational steps toward "sustainable development" can begin, we must first take the conceptual and political step of abandoning the contradictory slogan of "sustainable growth."

Herman E. Daly is co-author of For the Common Good - see Bibliography - and is a senior economist with the World Bank. The Bank does not necessarily subscribe to his views. *This article reprinted from Earth Island Journal, Spring 1992, which reprinted it from the United Nations Development Forum.*

"Community Steps Towards an Ecologically Sustainable Forest Culture"

The Vancouver Temperate Rainforest Action Coalition (VTRAC) has produced this community based forest strategy to depolarize B.C.'s current forestry crisis. This strategy recognizes the need to protect the whole web of life and maintain healthy democratic communities.

Shareholders outside of B.C. own close to 70% of our forest assets; close to 50% are owned outside of Canada. During corporate concentration of the 1980's, automation eliminated 27,000 direct forest sector jobs (Stats Canada).

With record numbers of jobs disappearing in conjunction with large outflows of capital from resource dependent communities throughout B.C. it's time that political courage reverses this injustice.

We Demand that the B.C. Government:

•Repeal the current Forest Act and implement a new Ecological Stewardship Act grounded in eco-forestry principles and drafted through bio-regional community consensus.

•Rapidly phase out current forest tenure licences issued throughout decades of corrupt administration and transfer them to community forest board control as trust for future generations.

•Pressure the federal government to negotiate native land title in B.C. to the satisfaction of First Nations, as per the Royal Proclamation of 1763.

•Ignore appeals from large corporations for financial compensation due to tenure reform until corporations undertake full cost analysis of environmental damage and the restoration of damaged eco-systems.

•Immediately raise stumpage rates to reflect the true value of B.C's wood. Use revenues to retrain forest workers in labour-intensive eco-forestry and small-scale value maximized industries.

•Pressure the federal government to honour international agreements such as those signed in Rio at the U.N. Biodiversity Convention.

Adopting the above recommendations, we can rapidly phase out clearcutting of old-growth forests and protect priceless wild areas such as Clayoquot Sound. To become a truly sustainable society, we must develop a holistic land stewardship ethic and harmony between the human and non-human worlds. Existing economic and industrial "blueprints" such as NAFTA and GATT are creating a non-sustainable global economy. A return to a holistic land ethic means that commodity production be secondary to the essential ecological functioning, and to long-term cultural sustainability, both native and non-native.

We must move beyond the Eurocentric percentage game of preserve or cut, and adopt an attitude of 100% protection of all lands. This means recognizing how the forest keeps soils in place and fertile, provides pure water, controls floods and droughts, cleans the air, and provides habitat for all species that are essential to maintaining forests.

Beyond Clearcutting

Necessary to realizing a holistic land ethic is an immediate phasing out of all clearcutting practices, along with a rapid transition from corporate to community control and eco-forestry practices. Methods such as 'natural-selection' logging will increase employment considerably, reduce environmental impacts and increase the value of timber.

New forest practices must move beyond an anthropocentric philosophy of domination. We must move beyond the current Forest Practices Code with its short rotation periods, clearcutting, even-aged management, pesticide use, tree breeding and artificial reforestation. This new biocentric-based code should prohibit practices that result in such things as massive soil erosion, biodiversity loss, damage to endangered species habitat, water quality degradation, damage of fish habitat, droughts and floods.

A New Legal Framework

A Holistic Land Stewardship Ethic will be affirmed within a new legal framework empowering local communities that reflects the full spectrum of community and ecological needs.

Administration and responsibility for this new Ecological Act will be delegated to local regional boards or watershed management units reflecting diverse bioregions. This devolution of control would supercede corporate control with a variety of community interests and stakeholders. It would identify a full range of alternative forest uses, employment opportunities and protection strategies.

Community control and land stewardship is the only way to institute a responsible land ethic: recognizing that the local inhabitants are closely connected to the land around them and are best suited to practice stewardship.

From Corporate To Community-Based Forestry: A Transition Strategy

Current tenure contracts predominantly held by the large corporations prejudice all forest based activities other than clearcutting. We can not have an ecologically sustainable forest and diverse economy until we diversify tenure. We must publicly discuss a full range of economic options to greatly increase employment alternatives.

Recognizing that the First Nations hereditary and treaty rights from the Royal Proclamation of 1763 which are not extinguished by the colonial Indian Act are protected in Canadian law (Constitution Act, 1982), the government must hastily and justly conclude outstanding land jurisdiction issues, in conjunction with the devolution of tenure.

Corporate tenures must open up to alternatives such as woodlot and community forestry tenures based on eco-forestry methods and maximum value-added manufacturing. These tenures would be awarded for creating jobs and meeting the limits imposed by the Ecological Stewardship Act,

including compatibility with alternative forest uses. These community tenures would include the communities in their own economic future and in the protection of their local environments.

We must recognize that compensation to corporations is secondary to compensation for damage to streams, soils, biodiversity, communities and cultures. Part of this compensation may be in the form of land set aside for woodlot and community resource tenures, and money for community development such as ecological restoration projects.

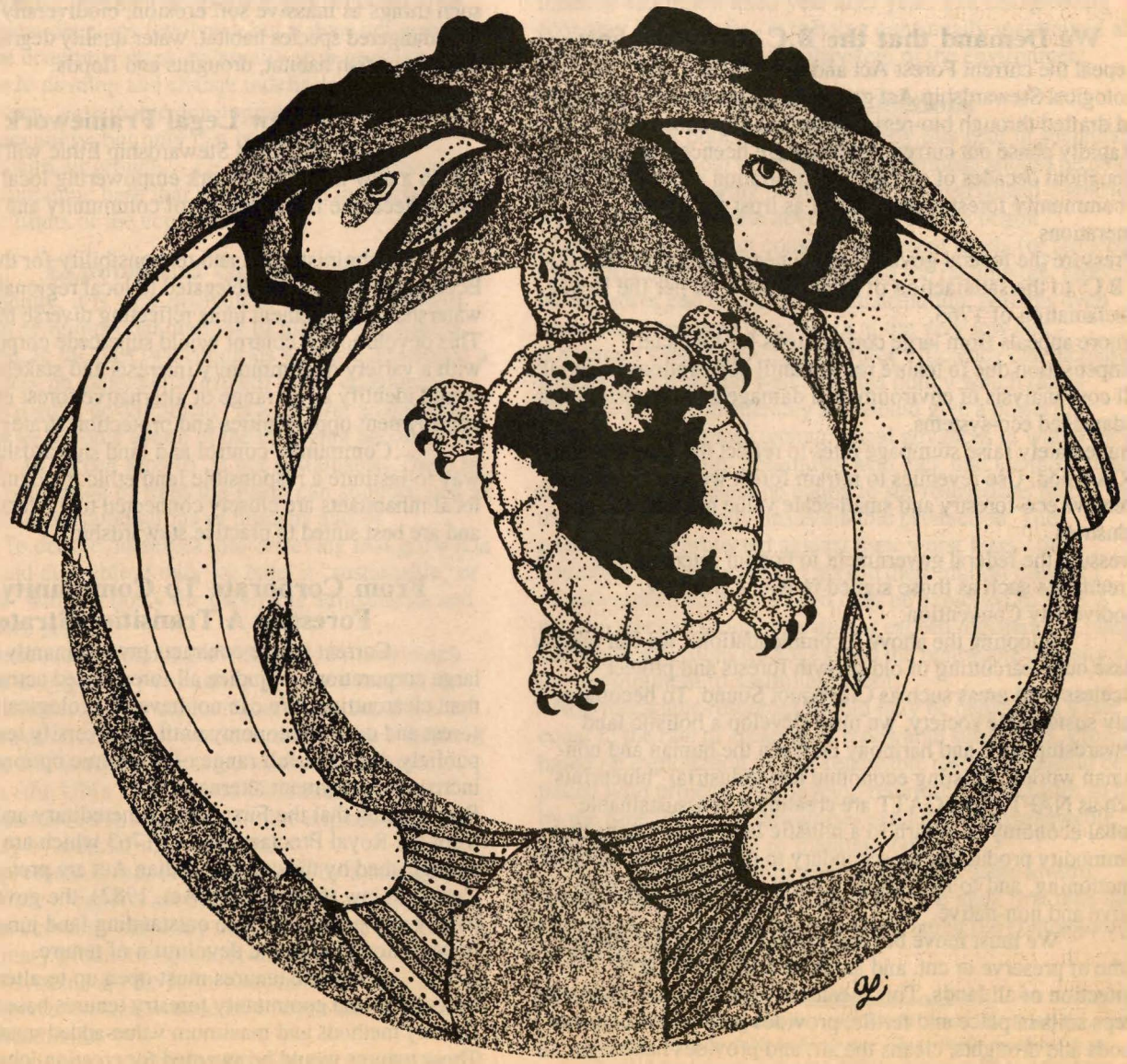
To protect old-growth forests, clearcutting should be halted immediately until full environmental assessments and ecological surveys are complete and appropriate forest uses have been thoroughly identified.

Woodlot stewardship cooperatives could develop immediate job creation strategies. Currently roughly 100,000 hectares of good second growth forest are suitable for thinning and milling in the Lower Mainland, Sunshine Coast, South and East Vancouver Island. Labour intensive eco-forestry practices in conjunction with creative value maximized local industry could potentially create 50,000 jobs in the next ten years. The research and development of this small-scale, low impact technology could further employ local engineering resources.

Stumpage rates must be increased to reflect the true value of high quality wood produced in B.C., and to encourage creative proposals for maximizing wood value.

The government should cooperate with small woodlot producers to market certified eco-forest products. The redirection of money spent in Europe, U.S. and Asia on promoting clearcutting and greenwashing propaganda should finance this program.

(originally presented by V-TRAC to the '94 NDP Convention, as "Community Steps Towards an Ecologically Sustainable Forest Culture: A Political Strategy in the Spirit of the Regina Manifesto")



"The Challenge of Feminism"

by Pam Simmons

A shadow lies over the environmental movement: patriarchy. Like so many movements before it - socialist, conservationist, civil rights, national liberation - the environmental movement is failing to acknowledge and criticize its own attachment to male power and privilege. Whether it is an oversight or deliberate, this failure to recognize patriarchy threatens to undermine the whole movement.

The problem is not just that the public figures in the environmental movement are predominantly men while surveys show that most activists are women. Nor is it just that men and their views and styles of work still dominate meetings and campaigns. Nor is it merely that the perspectives of leading figures in the movement, from Pinchot and Muir to Commoner, Goldsmith, Naess and Bookchin are still widely assumed to apply to men and women equally.

The problem is deeper. By shying away from the challenge of feminism, men (and many women) in the movement are blocking out opportunities and perspectives that will be indispensable for reaching the solutions they are anxious to find. Environmentalists cannot credibly discuss the effects and future of development, equality and justice, conflict-resolution, the preservation of diverse cultures, the industrial and military complex, the reconstruction or preservation of economic self-sufficiency or the dynamics of people's movements without discussing feminism. Any discussion about the masculine and feminine "principles" and relations between humans and nature must take into account how human nature in its diverse forms has been shaped by patriarchy's existence. The distortion and cooptation of women's demands for equity from the major development institutions is a warning to all environmentalists who wish to lobby and negotiate through these channels.

If the movement does not face up to its own patriarchal base, it is excluding potential allies, while creating a hierarchy ripe for a sell-out. The loyalties of the men who make it to the "top" are inevitably towards other men of their ilk, not to the people who are relying on them to represent their interests. What this results in are deals and compromises which have no popular support and no grounding in reality. Deals like "debt-for-nature" swaps will be pursued in closed boardrooms at the cost of local people's rights and lives. Criticism will be blunted by consideration for future career prospects and the "necessity" to keep good relations with those they are "dealing" with. It is by and large a game dominated by men and played by rules of controlled competition, "reasoned" debate, and using back-room whispers and good "connections".

"Man and Nature"

The back cover of a recent book of essays by Wendell Berry suggests the pervasiveness and difficulty of the problem. It states that one of Berry's abiding concerns is "to rediscover the organic relationship between God and man, man and nature, man and woman, the individual and society."

Many male environmentalists would take no notice of this quotation, and, if challenged, would defend its patriarchal assumptions on the grounds that they are either unintentional or unimportant ("everyone knows that 'man' includes woman"). Yet such a phrase epitomizes what is wrong. It assumes that the active human subjects in environmentalism are male. It assimilates women to "nature" and "God" as objects to which men have to rediscover their relationship. Solutions are found through men's recovering what they have lost, including that part of themselves which is "feminine".

The problem is not just theoretical. People who see women not as subjects but as passive adjuncts to men will view the world and everything that takes place in it through narrow, dark tunnels. They will assume that their reactions, their analyses and their conclusions are complete. They will ignore the experience and value of women's resistance to the forces which breed and feed on wars, genocide, centralization of power, corruption and intolerance. The views that have evolved among women out of their struggles for survival and freedom and protection of their natural surroundings will be invisible to them except insofar as they echo men's views. As a result, the structural roots of the environmental crisis - in industrialism, in commoditization, in commercialism and in competition and greed - will only ever be partially uncovered. In "Liberation Ecology", a recent editorial in *The Ecologist*, Nicholas Hildyard argues that environmental movements will have little relevance or success unless they are prepared to address the social issues of power and oppression. Many of these issues, such as the power of professions and other commercial elites: the threatening hegemony of Western culture: the insane contest for greater efficiency: the rise of religious fundamentalism: the coercive nature of population control policies: the sexual oppression of prostitution, rape, marriage, pornography and monogamy: and the increasing rate of violence directed at women, are being addressed, and in some cases can only be addressed, by women and by feminists.

Patriarchy is not only oppressive to women. What it establishes is a hierarchy that privileges, first and foremost, a minority of men who conform most successfully to the masculine image. It excludes women firstly, but also men who are open about their homosexuality, less articulate men, those who are indifferent to being counted as "one of the boys", and barely tolerates those who admit to being unsure of anything. If the movement continues down this path, it will become increasingly irrelevant to larger numbers of people and is in danger of being betrayed by its leaders. The commitment of the movement's leaders is, more often than not, divided between their avowed vision for justice and a desire to see "things" done. In the mistaken belief that achievement requires quick, decisive action, they are open to being coopted by those they are locked in combat with. More and more time will be spent at negotiating tables, international conferences and business lunches. Meanwhile, those not privy to these discussions will be left to make sense out of increasingly meaningless rhetoric.

Cooptation of Feminists

So far, feminist agitation has succeeded only to a limited extent. True, the use of gender-specific language is on

the decline; women's advocacy groups have been formed; and some attention is now given to "gender analysis" in many development documents. More significantly, the rise of ecofeminism as an autonomous movement has forced the issue into many journals and conferences. Yet feminists continue to be coopted within the movement and their critiques deflected.

On the conceptual level, many environmental movement theorists attempt to coopt ecofeminism by subsuming it within, or placing it alongside, other schools of thought such as deep ecology or social ecology. Ecofeminism resists such categorization, however. While it shares many of the views of such schools - for example, that social domination is related to the domination of nature and that the ideology that divides humans from nature must be dismantled - no other theory takes criticism of patriarchy to be so fundamental to the analysis of science and technology, Marxist theory, mainstream economics, development theory, environmental ethics and green politics.

On the institutional level, feminists are coopted when women's units are created within existing organizations, thus dividing "women's issues" from the "real work". It also detracts from the emergence of an autonomous political force which could challenge the established order. Things stay much as they were, with only occasional tinkering to make it appear as if the men in charge are taking the complaints seriously.

Cooptation of feminist ideas and movements is nothing new. For centuries, attempts have been made to ignore, repress, ridicule and silence women who have spoken out against male domination or who have made significant contributions in any other field. The relative obscurity of Anne Conway, a 17th century philosopher whose ideas stimulated the well-recognized work of Leibniz, is a case in point. Likewise ignored are Harriet Martineau, who popularized economics in the 19th century; Mary Somerville, an innovative and accomplished mathematician and scientist also of the last century; and Dora Russell, who in the early 1920s was arguing that the human race was but one constituent in a living and organic universe.

The feminist movement shares the same problems of invisibility of other liberation movements under pervasive, entrenched and violent ruling regimes. One tactic repeatedly used is to appropriate women's work and ideas, incorporating them within established institutions or theories and conferring legitimacy only under the patronage of prominent men. Few people know, for instance, that much of the work of John Stuart Mill was done in collaboration with Harriet Taylor, including "his" books The Subjection of Women, Principles of Political Economy and On Liberty. Much scholarly effort since has gone into ignoring Mill's insistence on including Harriet Taylor as his collaborator, and denigrating her own intellectual life. The attempts to absorb ecofeminism into other ecological theories and to compartmentalize gender issues is an attempt to minimize the possible impact of feminist agitation and preserve the status quo.

Crisis Ideology

Women are also coopted through the use of the "crisis ideology". In the current ecological emergency, they are told, they have no choice but to put aside their complaints about discrimination, postpone challenges to the hierarchy, and join in the male establishment's attempts to save the planet. In the era of "lifeboat ethics" they have to decide which child to save. Feminist struggles are a luxury and a diversion. Equality is a long-term goal, but the current crisis requires quick and precise action, best performed by those familiar figures "in the know".

The argument recalls one often heard during independence struggles. For over a century, women have been persuaded to abandon their autonomous liberation groups and combine forces with national liberation fronts. The image of a woman with a baby strapped to her back and a gun in her hand served as a great propaganda tool in national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America alike.

Yet once the battles were won this image was replaced with pictures of the revolutionary leaders and founding fathers - Lenin, Mao, Castro, Mugabe. Revolutionary laws guaranteeing women new economic power and independence were rolled back in China in favour of more patriarchal relations. Economic reconstruction in Vietnam proceeded along a familiar dual path giving men control of a dominant formal sector while women were relegated to subcontracted manual work, private plots and household production. In post-revolutionary Zimbabwe, prostitution proliferated when the government, unable to provide paid jobs to all ex-fighters, decided to give the scarce jobs to men rather than to women.

Adopting a crisis ideology and expecting "loyalty" to the cause serves the purpose of those who need to protect their positions of power. False choices are offered in the thrilling atmosphere of "do or die" urgency. But the choices carefully avoid real causes and blot out other perspectives.

However a time of crisis can provide the impetus for exploring new ways of thinking. But first the construct of having to choose between limited options must be rejected. The environmental crisis is not just the sum of ozone depletion, global warming, overpopulation and overconsumption; it is a crisis of the dominant ideology. If the environmental movement does not face up to this, it will find itself increasingly irrelevant and impotent. As demands for justice and equality come to the fore, environmentalists will be judged along with all the other "power-brokers" as to what they did to benefit or impede people's and liberation movements. Already there are signs of this. Critics are looking at organizations like Greenpeace and the Worldwide Fund for Nature as part of the (male) establishment that they have to struggle against. Activists in Northern capitals are facing criticism from their more distant colleagues for assuming responsibility, where none was granted, for campaign issues such as rainforest destruction in the Amazon or Sarawak, or the slaughter of seals in Northern Canada.

The opportunity is here now to begin to create the sort of society environmentalists say they want. Instead of asking how do they patch up the holes in their sinking lifeboat, they could be asking whether they cannot get out and swim for the shore or whether they should listen to the captain at all. There are innumerable ways of viewing any problem. But closing your mind to some of these views just because they may implicate you in the problem or because they challenge your preconceptions can only lead to false solutions.

(Reprinted from the Jan/Feb '92 issue of The Ecologist magazine - see Bibliography. The above piece was the editorial in a special issue on feminist perspectives on environmental problems.)

What Do You Value?

by Susan Meeker-Lowry

What is the value of an intact rainforest? What is the value of an untouched vein of quartz on the side of a mountain trail? What about an 800-year-old tree? Indigenous culture? Tranquility? These values that are among those most important to humans cannot be quantified. When we try, our power dissipates, because we play by the rules of a game that is obsolete and designed to keep us powerless.

What does it really mean when we hear phrases like "the economy can't afford it"? It means that those in control have decided they don't want to pay for it. It means to pay for it, something else of value to those in control would have to be sacrificed. . . .

If we really want to change the very structures upon which our social, political, and economic systems are framed,we must extricate ourselves from the mindset that forces even intelligent activists to quantify everything, even (especially) those values that simply cannot be regarded in that context. . . . I'm trying to make a point here. Not only do we need a new perspective of our relationship with Earth and each other, we need a truly new perception of economics.

(Susan Meeker-Lowry is the founder and director of Catalyst, a non-profit based in Vermont connecting economics, ecology and human rights - see Organizations listing. She is the editor of Catalyst: Economics for the Living Earth, a quarterly newsletter - see Bibliography; and author of Economics As if the Earth Really Mattered - see Bibliography. This is an excerpt from an article in the 1990 Earth Day Wall Street Action Handbook.)

MODERN ECONOMICS

Clayoquot Makes The Newspaper. . . .

Daily. Current wood fibre supplies are extracted almost entirely from the original B.C. forests, including Clayoquot Sound. Under present "balanced decisions" all old growth coastal temperate rainforests are approved for logging, except for about 6% of the original ecosystems now protected. Is it acceptable that flourishing wild areas be squandered to make our news?

Not only newspapers, but phonebooks are culprits as well. 98% of the worlds telephone books use MacMillan Bloedel pulp. Pulp is a low-value, high-volume product. Rare old growth rain forest should only be used for high-value, low-volume products IF ANY, with as much value added industry as possible to lighten our impact and increase employment. The current practice ships slightly processed logs to Japan where western red cedar is hand-crafted into items like guitars, then sold back to Canadians: absurd. Half of B.C. old growth is pulped. 20% is directly from trees and the rest from sawmill waste, creating a huge market for the production inefficiency. To achieve sustainability and re-orient priorities, industry must engage in critical thought.

There are alternatives to a pathological pulp industry, editing the demand for old growth paper products. So many folks diligently filling their blue boxes signals public effort: now we have to shift industry. Instead of shipping large quantities of 40% recycled-content newsprint to California, it could be available to B.C. first. Oregon has a facility that produces 100% recycled newsprint. The technology and desire are already here. We can use less paper products and produce pulp from second growth forests, or better yet from more efficient plant fibres such as kenaf, hemp, flax and many others (see article "Making Paper without Trees"). To save our economic and biotic communities there is a need for community effort: to live in a global village or a globe of villages. Perhaps?

(material from Vancouver Temperate Rainforest Action Coalition, adapted by Chris Gustafsson)

GOING CLEAR-CUT FREE: LEADING PAPER BUYERS DEMAND CLEARCUT-FREE PRODUCTS:

- Otto Versand: the world's largest mail order company
- Axel Springer: publisher of 51 magazines and newspapers in Europe
- Der Spiegel: leading international news magazine
- Gruner & Jahr: publisher of 50 magazines in eight countries
- Mohndruck: the largest offset printing company in Europe
- Bauer: Germany's largest publishing house

Want to know more about the growing worldwide movement to stop the pulping of ancient trees? Contact Greenpeace or the Friends of Clayoquot Sound. There's lots you can do!

Reflections on Civil Disobedience

Howard Zinn is America's leading radical historian. He's written more than 20 books - his most famous: A People's History of the US. What follows is a potpourri of passages from his 1968 book, Disobedience and Democracy: Nine Fallacies on Law and Order (see Bibliography). As you'll quickly discover, times were very different in 1968. Writers were not yet conscious of their gender specific (male) language; and the state had not yet been eclipsed by corporate power. Lastly, the Mr. Fortas he continually refers to was a US Supreme Court Justice who at the time had just published a booklet urging the nation back toward "law and order". (Italics have been added to text.)

A common argument is that civil disobedience even of bad laws is wrong because that fosters a general disrespect for all laws, including good ones, which we need. But this is like arguing that children should be made to eat rotten fruit along with the good, lest they get the idea all fruit should be thrown away. Isn't it likely that someone forced to eat the rotten fruit may because of that develop a distaste for all fruit?

In fact, there is no evidence that violations of the law in the spirit of civil disobedience lead to a general contempt for all laws. If this were so, we might expect either that persons engaging in civil disobedience become general law violators, or that other persons are encouraged by these acts to become indiscriminate violators of law. There is no indication that this has happened. For instance, Negroes in the South who began to violate segregation laws in organized campaigns of civil disobedience did not at the same time become general law-breakers, nor did this lead to a larger crime rate among others in the population. Indeed, it was found in Albany, Georgia, that during the mass demonstrations of civil disobedience there in 1961 and 1962, the general crime rate declined.

The danger is in the other direction. When laws which violate the human spirit are maintained (like the segregation laws), or intolerable conditions are protected by the rule of law (like the poverty of Harlem amidst the wealth of Manhattan), and the victims have not found an organized way of protesting via civil disobedience, some will be spurred to ordinary crimes as a release for suppressed needs.

There is some truth, however, to the notion that acts of civil disobedience have a proliferating effect. Such acts, aimed at certain laws or conditions, may encourage others to similar acts, aimed at other evils. For instance, the sit-ins of 1960 probably helped lead to the Freedom Rides of the spring of 1961, and these in turn may have helped stimulate the civil rights demonstrations of late 1961, 1962, and 1963. And all the civil disobedience in the civil rights campaigns may well have had a stimulating effect on the tactics of the movement against the war in Vietnam. But that is not a general breakdown of law and order; that is a spread of organized protest against wrong. And such an effect is to be welcomed in a country seeking improvement.

But there is, on the part of many people, just a general reluctance to weaken the spirit of obedience to law, a fear that "it will lead to anarchy," or to a "breakdown of law and order". . . . That is the same basically conservative impulse which once saw minimum wage laws as leading to socialism, or bus desegregation leading to intermarriage, or Communism in Vietnam leading to world Communism. It is an expectation of the domino effect, the assumption that all actions in a given direction rush towards the extreme, as if all social change takes place at the top of a steep, smooth hill, where the first push assures a plunge to the bottom.

In fact, however, an act of civil disobedience, like any move towards reform, is more like the first push *up* a hill. Society's tendency is to maintain what has been. Rebellion is only an occasional reaction to suffering in human history; we have infinitely more instances of forbearance to exploitation, and submission to authority, than we have of revolt. Measure the number of peasant insurrections against the centuries of serfdom in Europe - the millennia of landlordism in the East; match the number of slave revolts in America with the record of those millions who went through their lifetimes of toil without outward protest. What we should be most concerned about is not some natural tendency towards violent uprising, but rather the inclination of people, faced with an overwhelming environment, to submit to it. . . .

Those who fear the spread of social disorder should keep in mind that civil disobedience is the organized expression of revolt against existing evils; it does not create the evils, but rationalizes the natural reactions to them, which otherwise burst out from time to time in sporadic and often ineffectual disorders. Civil disobedience, therefore, by providing an organized outlet for rebellion, may prevent chaotic and uncontrolled reactions. Riots, it must be said, may be useful as barometers showing government its inadequacies, showing the aggrieved the need for organized revolt; but civil disobedience, controlling and focusing rebellious energy, is more effective in bringing positive change.

It is the positive good of civil disobedience that should be stressed. Democracy must improve itself constantly or decay. If citizens maintain a universal respect for human rights, rather than for law, the society can change fast enough to meet the swift-moving expectations of people in this century. It is good for citizens to learn that the laws, when they seriously encroach on human rights, *should* be violated, that some conditions are so intolerable that they may require violations of otherwise reasonable laws (like traffic laws or trespass laws) to dramatize them. If the effect of civil disobedience is to break down in the public's mind the totalitarian notion that laws are absolutely and always to be obeyed, then this is healthy for the growth of democracy.

I am arguing for a civil disobedience measured to the size of the evil it is intended to eliminate. When someone criticized William Lloyd Garrison for his militancy, he replied: "Sir, slavery will not be overthrown without excitement, a most tremendous excitement." Nor will war, nor will racism. Nor will the maldistribution of wealth in the world, nor the monopolization of power in the hands of a few. . . .

We in America are so far removed from our own revolutionary tradition, and the abolitionist tradition, and also from the reality of suffering among other people, that we consider as unpardonable transgressions of law and order what

are really mild acts, measured against the existing evils. For students to occupy a university building in protest against the University's long-time policy of pushing black people from their homes while it accumulated enormous wealth - that is a mild action. For black Mississippians to occupy government property in protest against their poverty is a pitifully moderate act. For a young person to burn a draft card is a rather weak form of protest against a government which drops bombs on villages, destroys crops, kills thousands in war. . . .

But what would happen if everyone obeyed his own conscience? Wouldn't there be chaos? No, our country would be a better place.

Democracy is not just a counting up of votes; it is a counting of actions. Without those on bottom acting out their desires for justice, as the government acts out its needs, and those with power and privilege acting out theirs, the scales of democracy will be off. That is why civil disobedience is not just to be tolerated; if we are to have a truly democratic society, it is a necessity. By its nature, it reflects the intensity of feeling about important issues, as well as the extent of feeling. This fills a vital need in a political system accustomed to counting heads, but needing also to measure passions.

Is this impractical? How can a government govern if it tolerates, in any instance, disobedience to its laws? It would have less trouble governing, it seems to me, in a more just society. And to the extent that it remains unjust, it should have more trouble governing. . . .

But why was it right for Dr. [Martin Luther] King to accept an unjust verdict corroborating an unjust injunction, resulting in an unjust jail sentence, "without complaint or histrionics"? Why should there not have been bitter, forceful complaint across the country against this set of oppressive acts? Is the general notion of obedience to law more important than the right of free assembly? Does quiet acceptance in such a case not merely perpetuate the notion that transgressions of justice by the government must be tolerated by citizens?

If the social function of protest is to change the unjust conditions of society, then that protest cannot stop with a court decision or a jail sentence. If the protest is morally justified (whether it breaks a law or not) it is morally justified to the very end, even past the point where a court has imposed a penalty. If it stops at that point, with everyone saying cheerfully, as at a football match, "Well, we played a good game, we lost, and we will accept the verdict like sports"- then we are treating social protest as a game. It becomes a token, a gesture. How potent an effect can protest have if it stops dead in its tracks as soon as the very government it is criticizing decides against it? . . .

I would define civil disobedience more broadly, as "the deliberate violation of law for a vital social purpose." Unlike Fortas's definition, this would include violating laws which are immoral whether constitutional or not, and laws which themselves are not at issue as well as those that are. It would leave open the question of the means of disobedience, but with two thoughts in mind:

1. that one of the moral principles guiding the advocate of civil disobedience is his belief that a nonviolent world is one of his ends, and that nonviolence is more desirable than violence as a means, and
2. that in the inevitable tension accomanying the transition from a violent world to a nonviolent one, the choice of means will almost never be pure, and will involve such complexities that the simple distinction between violence and nonviolence does not suffice as a guide.

There is another point which he slides over - one which is very important, I believe, in drawing up a set of principles on violence and nonviolence in civil disobedience. That is the distinction between violence to people and violence to things; destruction of life, or destruction of property. Mr. Fortas lumps them together as if they were equally reprehensible. He says in his concluding section: "Violence must not be tolerated; damage to persons or property is intolerable." He does not differentiate, in this general prohibition. Yet, once Mr. Fortas has opened the door to any distinction on the problem of violence (which he does, once he allows the violence of war), he should not fail to discriminate between people and things. Surely that is one of the cardinal rules in any humanistic philosophy. A fixed devotion to property as something

FROM THE GALLERY

by Trevor Bryden

holy, when carried to its extreme, leads policemen to shoot to death black people who are taking things from stores.

At one point, Mr. Fortas mentions as intolerable "breaking windows in the Pentagon." Surely that is a mild form of violence compared to the violence a window-breaker might be protesting against - the decisions made in the Pentagon which result in thousands of American men returning to their families in coffins. Should property be so sacred that it must not be despoiled even where there is a need to protest mass murder? Or to express outrage at some great injustice? Should that act of violence in which several Baltimore clergymen burned some draft board records to protest killing in Vietnam be declared wrong, while the act of soldiers burning a peasant village (to see what this means, read Jonathan Schell's The Village of Ben Suc) is not?

The historical evidence is far from supporting the idea that violence is not effective in producing change. True, there are many instances when violence is completely ineffective, and does result only in repression. But there are other instances when it does seem to bring results. Shay's armed uprising of 1786 had direct effect on tax reform in the Pennsylvania legislature, but more important, an influence on the Constitutional Convention which we cannot begin to measure. Violent labor struggles of the 1930's brought significant gains for labor. Not until Negro demonstrations resulted in violence did the national government begin to work seriously on civil rights legislation. No public statement on the race question has had as much impact as the Kerner Commission report, the direct result of outbreaks of violence in the ghettos.

Certainly this country has not progressed purely on the basis of nonviolence in its constitutional development. We do not know what effect John Brown's violence had in that complex of events leading to the end of slavery, but it is certainly an open question. Independence, emancipation, labor unions - these basic elements in the development of American democracy all involved violent actions by aggrieved persons.

My point is not that violence is unquestionably an effective method of reforming a society; it seems to me we would have to be extremely careful in adapting historical experience to the conditions of the United States. Each situation in the world is unique and requires unique combinations of tactics. I insist only that the question is so open, so complex, that it would be foolish to rule out at the start, for all times and conditions, all of the vast range of possible tactics beyond strict nonviolence. . . .

Perhaps Mr. Fortas misunderstands the motive of the Founding Fathers. They did not provide the skeleton of our democratic processes - representative government, the federal system - to enable us to make *revolutionary* changes, but to promote stability. Madison argued in The Federalist Papers for the Constitution on the ground that voting for representatives is a neat way of *cooling* that passion for change which citizens sometimes develop. In the 20th century, with more evidence at hand by this time, the Swiss sociologist Roberto Michels analyzed carefully how representative government, by its very nature, is unable to mirror the demands of its constituents. . . .

We have been naive in America about the efficacy of the ballot box and representative government to rectify injustice. We forget (hence all the emphasis in recent years on voting rights for the Negro) how inadequate is the ballot. We forget what the history of American politics has shown repeatedly: that there is only the vaguest connection between the issues debated in an election campaign and those ultimately decided by the government; that the two-party system is only slightly less tyrannical than the one-party system, for Michels' "iron law of oligarchy" operates to keep us at the mercy of powerful politicos in both parties. We forget that the information on which the public depends for judging public issues is in the hands of the wealthiest sections of the community (true, we have freedom to speak, but how much of an audience we can speak to depends on how much money we have); that wealth dominates the electoral process (see Murray Levin's meticulous study, "Kennedy Campaigning"); that the moment we have cast our ballots, the representative takes over (as Rousseau, and before him, Victor Considerant pointed out) and we have lost our freedom.

The result of all this is that most of us - when we are honest with ourselves - feel utterly helpless to affect public policy by the orthodox channels. The feeling is justified. . . .

The nation's second great crisis, over slavery, also could not be settled by the traditional procedures, by the exercise of speech, press, and the electoral system. . . . Whenever this country has faced an important crisis, the

traditional methods of dissent, the use of public platforms and the electoral process, have been insufficient. . . .

What does this all mean - the country reaching fever pitch, and the old medicines not enough? It means that if we want to prevent a perspiring, writhing, life-and-death struggle involving massive violence, we had better develop devices for change, prods to government, that go beyond what we are now willing to accept, yet trying to keep the inevitable costs of turbulent change to a minimum. A new politics of protest, designed to put pressure on our national leaders more effectively, more threateningly, more forcefully than ever before is needed. We need techniques of civil disobedience which will not only ruffle the complacency of the powerful enough to bring needed changes - but begin to replace the old institutions, the old leaders.

Of course, this spells trouble and conflict. But the alternative is either decay or gigantic uncontrolled violence. That is exactly the point of civil disobedience, of a politics of protest - that it is an attempt to bring about revolutionary social changes without the enormous human toll of suicidal violence or total war, which often falls on a society unwilling to go outside accustomed channels. . . .

The individual's power is more and more fragmented; he *feels* helpless because he *is* helpless. To tell a person he is represented by his Congressman, that he can take care of a grievance by writing a letter to Washington, or by voting in the next election, is rightly seen as a joke. . . .

(T)o guide us in deciding when to obey and when to disobey the law, perhaps we can assemble (a Code) for ourselves from the ideas enunciated so far. In skeletal form, it might be as follows:

1. Civil disobedience is the deliberate, discriminate violation of law for a vital social purpose. It becomes not only justifiable but necessary when a fundamental human right is at stake, and when legal channels are inadequate for securing that right. It may take the form of violating an obnoxious law, protesting an unjust condition, or symbolically enacting a desirable law or condition. It may or may not eventually be held legal, because of constitutional law or international law, but its aim is always to close the gap between law and justice, as an infinite process in the development of democracy.

2. There is no social value to a general obedience to the law, any more than there is value to a general disobedience to the law. Obedience to bad laws as a way of inculcating some abstract subservience to "the rule of law" can only encourage the already strong tendencies of citizens to bow to the power of authority, to desist from challenging the status quo. To exact the rule of law as an absolute is the mark of totalitarianism, and it is possible to have an atmosphere of totalitarianism in a society which has many of the attributes of democracy. To urge the right of citizens to disobey unjust laws, and the duty of citizens to disobey dangerous laws, is of the very essence of democracy, which assumes that government and its laws are not sacred, but are instruments, serving certain ends: life, liberty, happiness. The instruments are dispensable. The ends are not.

3. Civil disobedience may involve violation of laws which are not in themselves obnoxious, in order to protest on a very important issue. In each case, the importance of the law being violated would need to be measured against the

importance of the issue. A traffic law, temporarily broken, is not nearly as important as the life of a child run over by a car; illegal trespass into offices is nowhere as serious as the killing of people in war; the unlawful occupation of a building is not as sinful as racism in education. Since not only specific laws, but general conditions may be unbearable, laws not themselves ordinarily onerous may need to be violated as protest.

4. If a specific act of civil disobedience is a morally justifiable act of protest, then the jailing of those engaged in that act is immoral and should be opposed, contested to the very end. The protester need be no more willing to accept the rule of punishment than to accept the rule he broke. There may be many times when protesters choose to go to jail, as a way of continuing their protest, as a way of reminding their countrymen of injustice. But that is different than the notion that they must go to jail as part of a rule connected with civil disobedience. The key point is that the spirit of protest should be maintained all the way, whether it is done by remaining in jail, or by evading it. To accept jail penitently as an accession to "the rules" is to switch suddenly to a spirit of subservience, to demean the seriousness of the protest.

5. Those who engage in civil disobedience should choose tactics which are as nonviolent as possible, consonant with the effectiveness of their protest and the importance of the issue. There must be a reasonable relationship between the degree of disorder and the significance of the issue at stake. The distinction between harm to people and harm to property should be a paramount consideration. Tactics directed at property might include (again, depending on efficacy and the issue): depreciation (as in boycotts), damage, temporary occupation, and permanent appropriation. In any event, the force of any act of civil disobedience must be focused clearly, discriminatingly, on the object of protest.

6. The degree of disorder in civil disobedience should not be weighed against a false "peace" presumed to exist in the status quo, but against the real disorder and violence that are part of daily life, overtly expressed in wars, but hidden locally under the facade of "order" which obscures the injustice of contemporary society.

7. In our reasoning about civil disobedience, we must never forget that we and the state are separate in our interests, and we must not be lured into forgetting this by the agents of the state. The state seeks power, influence, wealth, as ends in themselves. The individual seeks health, peace, creative activity, love. The state, because of its power and wealth, has no end of spokesmen for its interests. This means the citizen must understand the need to think and act on his own or in concert with fellow citizens. . . .[ed: this is equally true about the corporations!]

Eight Stages in the Process of Social Movement Success

Social movements have played a central role throughout history in achieving positive social change. Rooted in grassroots "people power", nonviolent social movements have been a powerful means for ordinary people to act on their deepest values and to successfully challenge immoral and unjust social conditions and policies, despite the determined resistance of entrenched official powerholders.

The Social Movement Empowerment Project was founded by Bill Moyer in 1986 to increase the effectiveness of social movements by helping activists recognize their own political power and to help them strategically analyze and conduct social movements more effectively. During its first three years, 25,000 copies of this page were distributed and 100 workshops and consultations were held for 2000 activists in the US, Canada and Europe. In addition, German and Russian translations of this article have also been published.

The Project offers three publications: "The Practical Strategist" ($3), "The Movement Action Plan (MAP) Training Manual" ($3), and "Eight Stages of Successful Social Movements" ($2). Write: SMEP, 721 Shrader St, San Francisco CA 94117.

(1) CRITICAL SOCIAL PROBLEM EXISTS
- Violates widely-held values.
- Powerholders support problem:
  - "Official Policies" tout values
  - Real "Operating Policies" violate values.
- Public is unaware of the problem. Support powerholders.
- Problem/policies not a public issue.

(2) PROVE FAILURE OF OFFICIAL INSTITUTIONS
- Many new local opposition groups.
- Use official channels:
  - Courts, government offices, commissions, hearings...
  - Prove they don't work.
- Become experts: do research.

(3) RIPENING CONDITIONS
- Recognition of problem and victims grow.
- Public sees victims' faces.
- More active local groups.
- Need pre-existing institutions and networks available to new movement.
- 20-30% of public oppose powerholder policies.

(4) TAKE-OFF

TRIGGER EVENT
- Dramatic nonviolent actions/campaigns.
- Actions show public that conditions & policies violate widely-held values.
- Nonviolent actions repeated around country.
- Problem put on the social agenda.
- New Social Movement rapidly "takes-off".
- 40% of public oppose current policies/conditions.

(5) PERCEPTION OF FAILURE
- See goals unachieved.
- See powerholders unchanged.
- See numbers down at demonstrations.
- Despair, hopelessness, burnout, dropout, seems movement ended.
- Emergence of "Negative Rebel".

(6) MAJORITY PUBLIC OPINION
- Majority oppose present conditions and powerholder policies.
- Show how the problem and policies affect all sectors of society.
- Involve mainstream citizens and institutions in addressing the problem.
- Problem put on the *political* agenda.
- Promote alternatives.
- Counter each new powerholder strategy.
- Demonology: Powerholders promote public's fear of alternative.
- Promote a Paradigm Shift, not only reforms.
- RE-TRIGGER EVENTS HAPPEN, re-enacting Stage 4 for a short period.

(7) SUCCESS
- Large majority oppose current policies and no longer fear alternative.
- Many powerholders split off and change positions.
- End game process:
  - Powerholders change policies (it's more costly to continue old policies than to change), are voted out of office, or slow invisible attrition.
- New laws and policies.
- Powerholders try to make minimal reforms, while movement demands social change.

(8) CONTINUATION
- Extend successes (example: even stronger civil rights laws).
- Oppose attempts at backlash.
- Promote paradigm shift.
- Focus on other Sub-issues.
- Recognize/celebrate Successes so far.

POWERHOLDERS

PROTESTS

•Focus more on other sub-goals•

•Spin off new social movements•

CHARACTERISTICS OF MOVEMENT PROCESS:
- Social movements are composed of many sub-goals and sub-movements, each in their own MAP stage.
- Strategy & tactics are different for each sub-movement, according to the MAP stage each is in.
- Keep advancing Sub-movements through the 8 stages.
- Each sub-movement is focused on a specific goal (eg. for civil rights movements: restaurants, voting, public accommodations).
- All of the sub-movements promote the same paradigm shift. (eg. shift from hard to soft energy policy.)

PUBLIC MUST BE CONVINCED THREE TIMES:
1. That there is a Problem. (Stage 4)
2. To oppose current conditions and policies. (Stages 4,6,7)
3. To want, no longer fear, alternatives. (Stage 6,7)

"Working for the Earth Without Going Crazy!"

by Joanna Macy

Can you be present in the world today - work for its survival, engage with it deeply - and not go crazy? If you hold in your gaze the death of the forests and wetlands, the loss of the soil, the overwhelming threats to the diversity of life, the fact that pollution is now generalized - in the water, the air, the food we eat - and if you hold in your gaze all the kinds of avoidable suffering that humans inflict on each other: war, hunger, unjust distribution of goods and resources, homelessness, imprisonment, torture, oppression, abuse, addictions of all kinds - there is good cause for fearing you could go crazy. I'd like to suggest five guidelines that have helped me keep on and not lose heart or lose my mind.

The first guideline is: *Nourish respect and compassion.* Hold yourself and those whom you meet in the utmost respect and compassion for simply being alive and conscious at this crucial turning of our collective journey. Don't scold, don't moralize, don't expect people to easily embrace the magnitude of what needs to be done. We have no experience for this, we don't have language for it, we don't have rituals for it. Pause reflectively, bow in reverence to the recognition that what is happening for us is really very new. And when your brothers and sisters want to stick their heads in the sand, just remember how much you'd like to do that too. Nourish compassion, knowing that they're not going to do that forever. And respect yourself for suffering with our world. It's a measure of your aliveness and your humanity. Listen when you feel that pain, listen for the accompanying message, which is: "This is my body." Sarajevo, Africa, the trees in the Amazon, it hurts because it is your body, our body.

Guideline number two: *Drop unnecessary baggage.* What do I mean by baggage? The need to have a blueprint or a pre-formulated solution, the need to be right, or enlightened, the need to win an argument, or the need for hope. When you put these down a great relief happens. Then you can be right here. We are in a time of such profound change that we can't have pre-defined solutions. We must become like the samurai poised and ready to move in response to the situation as it unfolds. And it's also a great relief to know that you don't have to be perfect, or enlightened, or have it all together before engaging. Actually getting out there and taking risks on behalf of other beings can pop you from the prison cell of the ego quicker than anything else. Another thing, perhaps hardest of all: drop the unnecessary baggage of hope. Hopefulness, hopelessness, it's not such a big deal. Hope is often for something you've already known, like the Lone Ranger coming to save you. We cannot predict the glory that will be revealed. If we don't hang on, if we let go of hope, we will be open for what can be. Lastly, drop the need to do everything. You can't. Just do something you love. Keep at it. In the marvelous interconnected web of life, that doing will touch all things.

Guideline number three: *Do it together.* This is the time for us to awaken together. For many years I've been working with a Buddhist community development movement in Sri Lanka called Sarvodaya. That means, "everybody wakes up". Actually the full name of the movement is Sarvodaya Shramadana, which means, "everybody wakes up by sharing energy". And that's what's happening for us. We're learning to build teams, and networks; we're learning how to nourish them and sustain them and use them for support and action. These are tremendous gifts for us to harvest now. And when I say "do it together", it isn't just with beings who are of your own species. Feel that you are in league with your brothers and sisters who are animals and plants, that they are supporting you. They are the most worthy blessed company. They add their love of life to yours, and this is grace. Remember also that your actions are in the company of the generations of beings yet to be born. Every being who will ever live is on earth today in our shared DNA, in our chromosomes. Feel their companionship and support, feel them saying, "Yes! Go for it!"

Guideline number four: *Remember who you really are.* Remember that you are borne by and carried and supported and informed and acted through by that which you are protecting, the living earth. The notion that you are a separate self working to save the world, no matter how noble or heroic or saintly it may be, will ultimately burn you out. Allow that shift in your identity that opens you to the feeling of being acted through. As John Seed said, "I am not John Seed protecting the rainforest so much as the rainforest, recently emerged into human thinking, protecting itself." When you break through to that kind of awareness you can go on tirelessly.

Guideline number five: *Act your age.* You weren't born yesterday. Remember that every atom in every cell of your body goes back through time in an unbroken succession of life, of survivors and adaptors right back to that initial fireball which created space and time. Or if you want to feel younger, take the age of our planet, five billion years. Reap the authority that your true age bestows upon you. When you're in that congressman's office, or at the nuclear power plant, or putting your body in the way of clearcutting the ancient forests, you're doing that not just out of some nobility of this lifetime, or some personal whim, you are doing that out of the full authority of your five billion years. Feel the dignity that graces you with and you simply can't go crazy.

(Joanna Macy is the author of numerous books, most notably Despair and Personal Power in the Nuclear Age - see Bibliography for other titles. This essay was originally given as a talk and is reprinted from the Winter '92 newsletter of the Institute for Deep Ecology Education.)

A Glossary for Forest Activists:

Adaptive management - rigorously combines management, research, monitoring, and means of changing practices so that credible information is gained and management activities are modified by experience.

Allowable annual cut (AAC) - the amount of timber permitted to be cut each year in any particular forest area.

Biodiversity (biological diversity) - the diversity of plants, animals, and other living organisms in all their forms and levels of organization including genes, species, ecosystems, and the evolutionary and functional processes that link them.

Biomass - the total weight (usually dry weight) of a designated group of organisms in a particular area, as of all the birds living in a woodlot or all the algae in a pond or all the organisms in the world.

Biome - a major category of habitat in a particular region of the world, such as the tundra of northern Canada or the rain forest of the Amazon basin.

Bioregion - see "What is Bioregionalism?" article.

Canopy - the more or less continuous cover of branches and foliage formed collectively by the crowns of adjacent trees and other woody vegetation; layers of canopy may be called stories.

Cant - a raw log, cut to make it square.

Class - in classification, a group of species of common ancestry ranked below the phylum and above the order; hence one or more orders.

Clear cutting - cutting every tree on the site, and removing the trees considered merchantable.

Community - a group of one or more populations of the various organisms - plants, animals, and microbes - that live in a particular habitat and affect one another as part of the food web or through their various influences on the physical environment.

Conservation biology - the relatively new discipline that treats the content of biodiversity, the natural processes that produce it, and the techniques used to sustain it in the face of human-caused environmental disturbance. See "A Conservation Biology Vision" article.

CORE - Commission on Resources and Environment, appointed by the provincial gov't and chaired by Stephen Owen.

Cutblock - a specific area, with defined boundaries, authorized for harvest.

Diversity - the relative degree of abundance of species of plants and animals, functions, communities, habitats, or habitat features per unit of area.

Ecological restoration - the study of the structure and regeneration of plant and animal communities, aimed at the enlargement or restitution of threatened ecosystems. See related article.

Ecology - the scientific study of the interaction of organisms with their environment, including the physical environment and the other organisms living in it.

Ecosystem - a functional unit consisting of all the living organisms - plants, animals, and microbes - in a given area (the organisms alone are called the community), and all the non-living physical and chemical factors of their environment, linked together through nutrient cycling and energy flow. An ecosystem can be of any size - a log, pond, field, forest, or the earth's biosphere - but it always functions as a whole unit. Ecosystems are commonly described according to the major type of vegetation, for example, forest ecosystem, old-growth ecosystem, or range ecosystem.

Edge effect - habitat conditions (such as degree of humidity and exposure to light or wind) created at or near the more-or-less well-defined boundary between ecosystems, as, for example, between open areas and adjacent forest.

Endangered - near extinction. Referring to a species or ecosystem so reduced or fragile that it is doomed or at least fatally vulnerable.

Extinction - the termination of any lineage of organisms, from subspecies to species and higher taxonomic categories from genera to phyla. Extinction can be local, in which one or more populations of a species or other unit vanish but others survive elsewhere, or total (global), in which all the populations vanish. When biologists speak of the extinction of a particular species without further qualification, they mean total extinction. See also article "On Extinction".

Family - in the hierarchical classification of organisms, a group of species of common descent higher than the genus and lower than the order; hence a group of genera. Examples: Felidae (cats) and Fagaceae (beeches and oaks).

Forest license - a license, usually granted for a 15-year term, guaranteeing the holder an allowable annual cut in a timber supply area.

Gene pool - all the genes in all the organisms belonging to a population.

Genetic diversity - variation among and within species that is attributable to differences in hereditary material.

Genus - a group of similar species of common descent.

Examples: *Canis*, comprising the wolf, domestic dog, and similar species; and *Quercus*, the oaks.

Green-up - the process of reestablishing vegetation following logging to achieve specific management objectives. Green-up criteria are usually based on commercial tree species ecologically suited to a site, wildlife requirements, and hydrological considerations.

Ground-based systems - logging systems that employ ground-based equipment such as feller-bunchers, hoe chuckers, skidders, and forwarders.

Ha-houlthee - the traditional system of land and resource management centering around ownership and stewardship of specific sites and their resources by hereditary chiefs. All the lands, waterways, shorelines, and offshore sites, except for relatively remote areas far inland, fall under this system of ownership, control, and resource use.

Habitat - the sum total of environmental conditions of a specific place occupied by a plant or animal, or a population of such species (such as lake shores or tall-grass prairie; also a particular environment in one place, such as the mountain forest of Tahiti).

Harvest rate - the rate at which timber is harvested, commonly expressed as an allowable annual cut (AAC).

Harvesting (logging) - forest harvesting activities including felling, yarding (skidding), hauling, and road building; the cutting and removal of trees from a forested area.

Hectare - metric unit of area; equal to 2.47 acres.

High grading - logging only the best trees from a stand, often resulting in a residual stand of poor quality trees.

Island Biogeographic Theory - the concepts and mathematical models that account for the number of species of organisms found on islands and fragments of habitats, such as Clayoquot Sound surrounded by a sea of clear-cuts. A central idea in the theory is the equilibrium in the species numbers attained when new species arrive and old residents go extinct at the same rate.

Kingdom - The highest category used in classification. Five kingdoms are commonly recognized: Plantae (plants), Animalia (animals), Fungi (mushrooms and other fungi), Protista (or Protoctista, algae and single-celled "animals"), and Monera (bacteria and close relatives - like Aunt Judy!).

Large Organic Debris (LOD) - entire trees or large pieces of trees that provide channel stability or create fish habitat diversity in a stream channel.

Large woody debris - large tree part; conventionally a wood piece greater than 10 cm in diameter and 1 metre in length.

Local Resource Use Plan (LRUP) - a plan for a portion of a Timber Supply Area or Tree Farm License that provides management guidelines for resource use integration in the area.

Natural selection - the differential contribution of offspring to the next generation by various genetic types belonging to the same population; the mechanism of evolution proposed by Darwin. Distinguished from artificial selection, the same process but carried out with human guidance.

Niche - a vague but useful term in ecology, meaning the place occupied by a species in its ecosystem - where it lives, what it eats, its foraging route, the season of its activity, and so on. In a more abstract sense, a niche is a potential place or role within a given ecosystem into which species may or may not have evolved.

Non-timber resource values - values within the forest other than timber which include but are not limited to biological diversity, fisheries, wildlife, minerals, water quality and quantity, recreation and tourism, cultural and heritage values, and wilderness and aesthetic values.

Old growth - a forest that contains live and dead trees of various sizes, species, composition, and age class structure. Old-growth forests, as part of a slowly changing but dynamic ecosystem, include climax forests but not sub-climax or mid-seral forests. The age and structure of old growth varies significantly by forest type and from one biogeoclimatic zone to another.

Partial cutting - cutting and removing only selected trees, leaving the rest.

Phylum - the highest level of classification below the kingdom. Examples: phylum Mollusca (snails, clams, octopuses) and phylum Pterophyta (ferns).

Population - in biology, any group of organisms belonging to the same species at the same time and place.

Pre-harvest Silviculture Prescription (PHSP) - a documented process for collecting site-specific field data, establishing site-specific management objectives and standards for basic silviculture, and prescribing a series of treatments necessary to achieve these objectives and standards.

Riparian area - the land adjacent to the normal high water line in a stream, river, lake, or pond and extending to the portion of land that is influenced by the presence of the adjacent ponded or channeled water. Riparian areas typically exemplify a rich and diverse vegetative mosaic reflecting the influence of available surface water.

Rotation - the planned number of years between the formation or regeneration of a tree crop or stand and its final cutting at a specified stage of maturity.

Salmonid - a fish of the fish family *Salmonides*; e.g. salmon, trout, and chars.

Shelterwood silvicultural system - a silvicultural system that removes the old stand in a series of cuttings to promote the establishment of an essentially even-aged new stand under the overhead or side shelter of the old one.

Sidecasting - moving excavated material onto the downslope

side during construction.

Silvicultural system - a process that applies silviculture practices including the tending, harvesting, and replacing of a stand, to produce a crop of timber and other forest products. The system is named by the cutting method with which regeneration is established. The four classical systems are seed tree, shelterwood, selection, and clearcut.

Silviculture - the art and science of producing and tending a forest, and the application of the knowledge of silvics in the treatment of a forest; the theory and practice of controlling forest establishment, composition, and growth.

Snag - a standing dead tree or part of a dead tree from which at least the smaller branches have fallen.

Species - the basic unit of classification of plants and animals consisting of the largest and most inclusive array of sexually reproducing and cross-fertilizing individuals that share a common gene pool.

Stand - a community of trees sufficiently uniform in species composition, age, arrangement, and condition to be distinguishable as a group from the forest or other growth on the adjoining area, and thus forming a silviculture or management entity.

Stand level - the level of forest management at which a relatively homogenous land unit can be managed under a single prescription, or set of treatments, to meet well-defined objectives.

Stream class - The *British Columbia Coastal Fisheries/Forestry Guidelines* defines 3 stream classes: Stream Class A includes streams or portions of streams that are frequented by anadromous salmonids and/or resident sport fish or regionally significant fish species; or streams identified for fishery enhancement in an approved fishery management plan; stream gradient is usually less than 12%. Stream Class B includes streams or portions of streams populated by resident fish not currently designated as sport fish or regionally significant fish; stream gradient is usually 8-20%. Stream Class C includes streams or portions of streams not frequented by fish; stream gradient is usually greater than 20%.

Stumpage - the money paid into provincial revenues as fees for cutting timber.

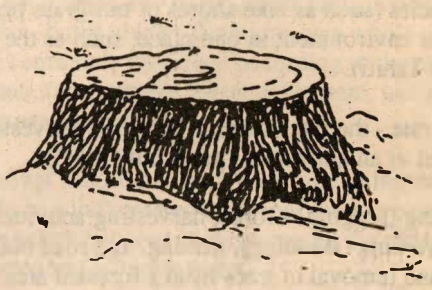
Tree farm license (TFL) - a form of property rights on public land, granted for 25-year replaceable terms. TFL's give private companies much more extensive management rights and control than forest licenses. Corporations actually use TFL's as collateral to raise huge sums of capital.

Understory - any plants growing under the canopy formed by others, particularly herbaceous and shrub vegetation under a tree canopy.

Wildlife trees - dead, decaying, deteriorating, or other designated trees that provide present or future critical habitat for the maintenance or enhancement of wildlife.

Yarding (yarding systems) - in logging, the hauling of felled timber to the landing or temporary storage site from where trucks (usually) transport them to the mill site. Yarding methods include cable yarding, ground skidding, and aerial methods such as helicopter and balloon yarding.

Glossary entries were gleaned from a diverse variety of books', manuals', and leaflets' glossaries. Some may appear quite status-quo while others cutting edge. Sources: Forest Primeval by Chris Maser; "Jobs, trees and us" - The PPWC's Forest Policy, 1983; The Diversity of Life by Edward O Wilson; and Progress Report 2: Review of Current Forest Practice Standards in Clayoquot Sound from the Scientific Panel for Sustainable Forest Practices.



(Canadian government article - p.48 - concluded here)

other ecologically unsound practices (Biodiversity Convention). 5. Evaluate non-destructive uses of the forests, which may be more profitable than destructive uses (Agenda 21).

B.C. judges have expressed both ignorance and contempt for these laws, and some have claimed that they don't affect federal or provincial law. However, under Article 18 of the Convention of Treaties, Canada must not act to jeopardize the fulfillment of its obligations. Article 14 of the World Charter for Nature states that: "[T]he principles set forth in the present Charter shall be reflected in the law and practice of each State, as well as at the international level."

It seems rather obvious that all these international agreements are meaningless if they don't apply to the countries who signed them. As the Introduction to the 1991 Ombudsman Annual Report suggests, "[T]o create an expectation is an empty gesture without a promise to fulfill it. Before creating an expectation, an organization must assure itself of its ability to fulfill the promise it implies."

(adapted by Al Decker and Rob Thompson from information prepared by the Ecological Rights Association)

Organizations to watch:

Alberni Environmental Coalition, POB 1087, Port Alberni BC V9Y 7L9. Ph/fax (604) 723-4566
Catalyst, POB 1308, Montpelier, VT 05601
Clayoquot Biosphere Project, Box 67, Tofino BC V0R 2Z0. Ph (604) 725-2001, fax 2433
EcoForestry Institute - Canada, POB 5783, Stn B, Victoria, BC V8R 6S8. Ph/fax (604) 598-2363
Ecoforestry Institute - US, POB 12543, Portland, OR 97212. Ph (503) 287-7252, fax 5130
Environmental Youth Alliance (west coast), 1035 Sutlej, Victoria, BC. Ph (604) 383-2062, fax 2068
Forest Action Network, Box 155, 1895 Commercial Dr, Vancouver BC V5N 4A6. Ph (604) 251-2477
Friends of BC Forests, 5018 N Williams, Portland OR 97217. Ph (503) 280-8983, fax 249-1969
Friends of Clayoquot Sound, Box 489, Tofino BCV0R 2Z0. Ph (604) 725-4218, fax 2527
Friends of the Trees, POB 1064, Tonasket WA 98855. Ph/fax (509) 486-4726
Friends of the Wolf-BC, POB 2983, Vancouver BC V6B 3X4. Ph (604) 290-9256
Greater Ecosystem Alliance, POB 2813, Bellingham WA 98227. Ph (206) 671-9950, fax 8429
Greenpeace (western Canada), 1726 Commercial Dr, Vancouver BC V5N 4A3. Ph (604) 253-7701, fax 0114
(The) Hemp Alliance, 2nd floor, 479 Fourth St, Courtenay, BC V9N 1G9. Ph (604) 338-9242
International Kenaf Association, 101 Depot St, Ladonia, TX 75449. Ph (903) 367-7216
NW Atmosphere Protection Coalition, POB 10346, Olympia WA 98502. Ph (206) 352-1763, fax 8526
NW Hemp Foundation, 333 SW Park Av, Portland, OR 97205. Ph 1-800-595-HEMP
Patriotic Canadians for Hemp, Box 293, Ucluelet, BC V0R 3A0 Ph (604) 726-7239
Planet Drum, POB 31251, San Francisco CA 94131. Ph (415) 285-6556, fax 6563
Rainforest Action Network, 450 Sansome, Suite 700, San Francisco CA 94111. Ph (415) 398-4404, fax 2732
Reach For Unbleached!, Box 3333, Manson's Landing BC V0P 1K0. Phone (604) 935-6992 or ph/fax 6500
Remarkable Rainforest Tours, POB 124, 1472 Commercial Dr, Vancouver BC V5L 3X9. Ph (604) 251-3190
Sierra Club (western Canada), 1525 Amelia St, Victoria BC V8W 2K1. Ph (604) 386-5255, fax 4453
Sierra Legal Defence Fund, Suite 601-207 W Hastings, Vancouver BC V6B 1H6. Ph (604) 685-5618, fax 7813
Society for Ecological Restoration (SER), 1207 Seminole Hwy, Madison WI 53711. Ph (608) 262-9547
Terra Prima!, A5-1720 Douglas St, Victoria BC V8W 2G7. Ph/fax (604) 380-0102
Traveler's Earth Repair Network (TERN), POB 1064, Tonasket WA 98855. Ph/fax (509) 486-4726
Valhalla Society, Box 224, New Denver BC V0G 1S0. Ph (604) 358-2333, fax 7950
Vancouver Temperate Rainforest Action Coalition (V-TRAC), POB 124, 1472 Commercial Dr, Vancouver BC V5L 3X9. Ph(604) 251-3190, fax 254-9980
Western Canada Wilderness Committee (WCWC)-Vancouver ofc, 20 Water St, Vancouver BC V6B 1A4. Ph (604) 683-8220 or 1-800-661-9453, fax 683-8229
Western Canada Wilderness Committee (WCWC)-Victoria ofc, 201-19 Bastion Sq, Victoria BC V8W 1J1. Ph (604) 388-9292, fax 9223

Magazines and Newsletters of interest:

Alliance for a Paving Moratorium (newsletter), POB 4347, Arcata, CA 95521
BC Environmental Report, c/o BCEN, 1672 E 10th Av, Vancouver, BC V5N 1X5
Capitalism/Nature/Socialism, Guildford Publications, 72 Spring St, NY, NY 10012
Catalyst: Economics For The Living Earth, POB 1308, Montpelier, VT 05601
Columbiana, Chesaw Rt, Box 83-F, Oroville, WA 98844
Conservation Biology, Blackwell Scientific Publications, 238 Main St, Cambridge, MA 02142
Cultural Survival Qtly, 215 First St, Cambridge, MA 02142
Earth First! (Journal), POB 5176, Missoula, MT 59806
Earth Island Journal, 300 Broadway, Suite 28, San Francisco, CA 94133
Ecologist, c/o MIT Press Journals, 55 Hayward St, Cambridge, MA 02142
Fifth Estate, 4632 Second Av, Detroit, MI 48201
Forest Watch, 3758 SE Milwaukie, Portland, OR 97202
Friends of Clayoquot Sound, Box 489, Tofino, BC V0R 2Z0
Global Biodiversity (English or French editions), Canadian Centre for Biodiversity, Canadian Museum of Nature, POB 3443, Stn D, Ottawa, Ont K1P 6P4
In Context, POB 11470, Bainbridge, WA 98110
International Journal of Ecoforestry (incorporating Forest Planning Canada), POB 5885, Stn B, Victoria, BC V8R 6S8
Kick It Over, POB 5811, Stn A, Toronto, Ont M5W 1P2
M: Gentle Men For Gender Justice, 306 N. Brooks St, Madison, WI 53715
Ms. Magazine, 230 Park Av, NY, NY 10169
New Catalyst, POB 189, Gabriola Island, BC V0R 1X0
No Sweat News: Journal of Grassroots Action to Protect the Atmosphere, POB 10346, Olympia, WA 98502
Northern Forest Forum: Working For Sustainable Natural and Human Communities, POB 6, Lancaster, NH 03584
Raise the Stakes, Planet Drum Foundation, Box 31251, San Francisco, CA 94131
Restoration and Management Notes, 1207 Seminole Hwy, Madison, WI 53711
Talking Leaves, 1430 Willamette, Suite 367, Eugene, OR 97401
This Magazine, 35 Riviera Dr, Markham, Ont L3R 8N4
Trumpeter: Journal of Ecosophy, Box 5853, Stn B, Victoria, BC V8R 6S8
Urban Ecologist, POB 10144, Berkeley, CA 94709
Watershed Sentinel, Box 25, Whaletown, BC V0P 1Z0
Wild Earth, POB 455, Richmond, VT 05477
WorldWatch Journal, 1776 Mass Av NW, Washington, DC 20036
Z Magazine, 116 Saint Botolph St, Boston, MA 02115

Wildlands Project, POB 5365, Tucson AZ 85703. Ph (602) 884-5106
Wild Olympic Salmon, POB 585, Chimacum WA 98325

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South End Press, 116 Saint Botolph St, Boston, MA 02115, USA. Free catalogue.

Key Book Distributers:

Dave Foreman's Books of the Big Outside, Ned Ludd Books, POB 85190, Tucson, AZ 85754, USA. Free catalogue.

(Ecological Characteristics - p.18 - concluded here)

rain forests (notably invertebrates, fungi and soil organisms) may compare to those of the tropical rain forests. Researchers are just now discovering the number of organisms, particularly insects, living in the canopy of North American coastal temperate rain forests. These woodlands may support the highest fungal and lichen diversity of any forest system.

The estuarine areas associated with coastal temperate rain forests, including salt marshes and mud flats are among the most productive in the world. This productivity can be partially attributed to the forest, which continually provides dissolved nutrients, particulate organic matter, and large woody debris. In contrast to the fate of fallen logs in terrestrial environments, wood-boring animals in the estuaries and the ocean attack wood long before significant soft rot can occur. Mollusks and crustaceans all play a role in breaking down large pieces of wood, and marine fungi and bacteria finish the job. Within estuaries, dissolved and particulate nutrients and downed logs support rich shellfish beds and spawning grounds for commercially-important fish species. Due largely to logging practices, present levels of driftwood in estuaries and in the ocean are considerably lower than in the past.

Fallen trees also, as in the terrestrial setting, create habitat and protective areas for fish, allowing them to hide from predatory birds, such as herons, eagles and ospreys. Ironically, these birds of prey use the same logs as hunting perches. Floating on the high seas, drift logs harbor schools of small fish, which in turn attract predator fish such as tuna, forming distinct ecological communities. In the salt marshes of the Pacific Northwest, these logs influence successional processes, allowing advances of the spruce/ alder/ willow forest community on stable piles of drift trees and logs left by past storms. In other parts of the marshes, exposed to winter storm waves, the forest edge may be in retreat: the ebb and flow of the tree line provides changing habitat for many organisms.

Little is known about the functioning of this dual marine/terrestrial ecosystem. Clearly the complex ecological processes necessitate a management and conservation approach which provides for a full evaluation of biodiversity and ecological productivity.

(reprinted from "Coastal Temperate Rainforests: Ecological Characteristics, Status and Distribution Worldwide", a booklet from Ecotrust/Conservation International - see Bibliography)

The Complete (well almost!) History of the Friends of Clayoquot Sound

1960s and 70s: Level of clearcutting continually increases to more than triple the initial rate at time licenses granted. Evidence of damage - especially accelerated erosion - grows.

1979: Tofino locals gather & try to keep books. Agree on a name. Incorporate as non-profit society on September 20th. Campaign & petition. Meares Island children poster, funded by Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council (NTC). Pressure on Ministry of Forests. Friends of Clayoquot Sound (FOCS) members crash Ucluelet Social Credit dinner party.

1980: Meares Island Planning Team formed. Archaeological Study on Meares Island. Fish & Wildlife; & Mariculture studies. Adrian Dorst's Bird Survey. NTC donates $800. These are hopeful times.

1981: 1st Annual General Meeting (AGM). 1st brochure out. Telegram to Minister of Lands, Parks, & Housing re Young Bay & Macmillan Bloedel (MB) foreshore lease. Locals begin face-to-face dialogue w/ Ministry of Forests branch in Tofino.

1982: Ahousaht historian John Jacobson charges MB w/ violation of Fisheries Act re. booming ground @ Steamer Cove, Flores Island. Case approved but charges dropped. Social Credit Government initiates planning process for Meares Island.

1983: Meares Island Planning Team dissolves (MB walks away from the table). Decision made to log 90% of Meares; 10% (800 hectares) to be deferred. **December** - Planning begins for Easter Festival in Tofino.

1984: **March** - FOCS directors & Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations leaders lobby in Victoria. First trails cut on Meares Island...boatloads of visitors...unprecedented energy/support. **April** - Easter Meares Festival. Tla-o-qui-aht & Ahousaht Bands declare Meares Island a Tribal Park. 80% of Tofino community involved. **June** - Tla-o-qui-aht & Ahousaht Bands erect sign "Meares Island Tribal Park". Declaration stated again by Livi Martin in tremendous speech. Totem Pole raising in Victoria marks the beginning of Natives & Non-Natives working together. Tree Spiking on Meares Island. **November** - Meares Island cutting permit issued (17th). Clearing site for protectors' cabin@C'is-a-qis on Meares (18th). First logging blockade in Canadian history (21st). Strong local & national support. Chief Moses Martin declares Meares a garden w/ no chainsaws; loggers turned away. **Nov. '84 to March '85** - 5 camps maintained. 100's of people ready for mass arrest. $10,000 spent on diesel fuel alone. FOCS takes MB to court re: illegal granting of TFL due to MoF's Robert Sommers accepting bribes. Thrown out of court on a technicality. **December** - MB granted an injunction, which is only served on the non-native protectors. Tla-o-qui-aht & Ahousaht bands apply for counter-injunction.

1985: Tla-o-qui-aht & Ahousaht injunction granted by Supreme Court 3 to 2 (March)...A National Precedent! Logging on Meares Island postponed pending court case (it's still going in 1994!...over $1.5 million spent as of 1993). Ecotourism Boom begins. Tofino community burns out (family break-ups, energy drain is too much). Realization that we have responsibility to act for all of Clayoquot Sound.

1986: Recovering personal financial losses. FOCS continues to promote public access to Meares Island. Organizes rainforest tours for the public. Raising public awareness about rain forests. Meares Island book published. Some financial support to Tla-o-qui-aht Nation. **November** - Wilderness tourism operators in Clayoquot Sound elected to a majority on Tofino's Chamber of Commerce.

1988: Illegal road discovered leading into Sulphur Pass. **April** - FOCS sends telegram to Cabinet, Fletcher Challenge, & MB calling for a full sustainable development plan involving all of the communities of Clayoquot Sound, & asking for a moratorium 'till the plan is implemented. FOCS is opposed to the verbal permission given to road building in Sulphur Pass. **June** - Protest over clearcutting@Sulphur Pass (through September). The April FOCS telegram is unanimously endorsed by Tofino Chamber of Commerce. Fletcher Challenge is granted an injunction allowing them to arrest protectors. 35 people arrested. Earl George, an hereditary Ahousaht chief, arrested, then charges dropped. **August/September** - Sulphur Pass road construction halted. Sulphur Pass picnic celebration. **September/October** - Chamber requests a Sustainable Development Strategy. FOCS hires Herb Hammond (Forester) to do in-depth forestry study. **November** - Environmentalists elected to Tofino Council. **December** - Tofino Council hires Robert Prescott Allen to develop Sustainable Development Strategy.

1989: Nestucca oil spill hits Clayoquot Sound, community rallies together. 4 men & 6 women from Tofino imprisoned@Okalla maximum security prison for Sulphur Pass activities. IWA sues individuals for lost wages: the first SLAPP suit (Strategic Lawsuit Against Public Participation). **July** - Premier Vander Zalm visits Clayoquot Sound, meets w/ Council, Chamber of Commerce, & arrestees, expresses horror over Black Hole logging. The loggers picket. **August** - Premier announces a moratorium in Clayoquot Sound (4th) & creates the Sustainable Development Task Force (SDTF). Ministry of Forests excluded from SDTF. Moratorium "un-announced", applied only to planning (7th). Tofino proposal co-opted. FOCS begins boycott of SDTF. **September** - Wilderness Gathering to celebrate & network. Atleo Road Declaration of Indian Title by Chief Earl George. **October** - First SDTF meeting. **December** - Tofino Creek OK'd for clearcut logging.

1990: **June** - Tofino Creek Planning Committee formed. **September** - Wilderness Gathering on Vargas Island. **October** - SDTF failing due to ongoing logging; no consensus on short term logging (Talk & Log). Task Force members decide a new process is necessary. Interim Committee formed. **November** - Environmentalists reelected (and elected) to Council. **December** - 1st Big Meares Island Auction.

1991: **January to March** - Adrian Dorst's Clayoquot - On The Wild Side hardcover book published. First years of its production financed by FOCS. Clayoquot Sound Sustainable Development Strategy Steering Committee (CSSDSSC!) established. No mandate to address short-term logging. Tofino Council endorses deferral of logging in contentious areas (including Bulson River). Tla-o-qui-aht Band applies for reserve status for TinWis, but Tofino Council refuses to support their application. In response, the Native communities begin boycott of Tofino businesses. **April** - Interim Committee announces go-ahead to clearcut contentious areas (2400 hectares, including Bulson River). The Kennedy River Bridge leading to Clayoquot logging areas is burned. MB tries to barge around the burned bridge, but the barge tips, spilling their 11 vehicles into the water right in front of Tofino. Tofino/Ucluelet tension increasing. **May** - Environmentalists on CSSDSSC resign. 2 days later, Interim Committee defers 3 of the contentious areas for 1 year. **June** - Tourism Rep resigns from CSSDSSC. **July** - Beddingfield Range clearcut w/o local or CSSDSSC input. Big blowdown in Clayoquot Valley. **September** - Rally for the Rainforest on Clayoquot Island; Temperate Rainforest Action Coalition (TRAC)

formed there. Bulson River road blockade. 6 arres' . on SLAPP suit. Meares Island goes to B.C. Supreme Court (30th).

1992: **January** - The Commission on Resources & Environment (CORE) created by Premier Harcourt. His "Log Around Contentious Areas" plan announced. Chairman R.P. Allen, during a CSSDSSC meeting in Tofino, gets a pie in the face by a mysterious avenger in a bat costume. 2nd Meares Island Auction raises big $$. **June** - CD action@Interfor office in Ucluelet. 2 men lock their necks to the front door, closing it for the day. Very tense. **July** - BC Gov't recesses Meares Island case for negotiations. Clayoquot Arm Bridge blockade: 65 people arrested. **September** - Meeting@Tin Wis of natives & non-natives. Blockade protocol established. **October** - CSSDSSC ends w/ no consensus. **December** - 5 Bulson River road blockaders jailed.

1993: **January** - 8 jailed. Full-page NY Times ad re. Clayoquot.

February - Harcourt's European trip to counter threat of a BC forest products boycott.

March/April - FOCS trip to Europe. Harcourt Gov't purchases $50 million in MB shares, becoming its largest shareholder. 3 weeks later, the long-awaited Harcourt decision (April 13th) on the fate of Clayoquot Sound: log 74% of it! Surprise surprise!!

June - "Clayoquot's Last Stand" w/ David Suzuki, Vancouver (24th). Peace Camp opens@infamous"Black Hole" (28th).

July - First day of blockades@ Kennedy River bridge (5th). NDP MP Svend Robinson, Paul Staes (Belgian EuroParliamentarian) & 13 others risk arrest. No one arrested. Daily arrests begin the 6th. BC government faxes warning to all Legal Services Society offices advising them not to offer services to protectors (10th). Arrestees include Stewart Parker, leader of B.C. Green Party (14th). Largest single-day blockade in Canadian history: 3000+ as Midnight Oil performs an early morning concert@the Camp (15th); no logging that day. Tofino resident Sile Simpson sentenced to $1500 fine & 6 months imprisonment for breach of probation & 3rd time contempt of court. New injunction granted to MB (19th) requiring protectors to stand 15 feet from the road while they witness arrests (this changes later). First women's & children's blockade - 150 women & 19 arrests (21st). Wiccan author/priestess Starhawk and Anglican Reverend Brownlee arrested (22nd). Spontaneous on-site dancing between protectors & Share members! 21 people arrested, bringing the total number to 100 (26th). 4 Forest Industry workers (representing 80% of their co-workers) are among those arrested (28th). Kenny Cooper, Elder of Lummi Nation in WA State, attends blockade (29th).

August - 3000 people march & rally in Vancouver: "Ban clearcuts in Clayoquot" (2nd). Province-wide convoy arrives@camp (7th). FOCS is tipped off that some loggers were offered pay to attend Clayoquot Rendezvous / SHARE Rally in Ucluelet (13th). "Youth Voices For Our Future" Day on blockade; 18 youths arrested (17th). Seniors' Day: a dozen elderly citizens arrested (19th). Incredible show of local support when Tofino residents provide overnight accomodation to over 100 Peace Campers w/ just a few hours notice during freak wind/rainstorms which level camp (22nd). Peace camp resurrected (23rd). Bear protectors get light sentences (26th). Action@Toronto Stock Exchange against MB w/ 11 arrests makes p.1 of The Globe & Mail (30th).

September - Bus/van convoy of Victoria business people on its way to blockade is hijacked by loggers & SHARE near Port Alberni, generating more media coverage than ever (1st)! Police just stand by; make no arrests. Cross-Canada Train Caravan arrives in Vancouver (5th). 242 in mass arrests@blockade (7th). Rally for Clayoquot in Bellingham, WA (11th). Forest workers' day on blockade (15th). Day for the physically challenged (16th). Deaf persons' day on blockade (20th). "Farmers for Forests" day (21st).

October - Clayoquot Summer '93 Peace Camp closes for the season (4th). Action moves to the courts in Victoria, community actions across BC, & lumber & pulp boycotts internationally. International Day of Student Protests/Walkouts (13th). First 44 Clayoquot protectors sentenced by Justice Bouck: 45-60 days in jail, along w/ fines of $1,500 to $3,000 (14th). 'Rally of the Outraged'@Vancouver Law Courts (15th). Business people from Victoria return to Kennedy River Bridge; 11 arrested (22nd). Justice Low convicts another 25, stating he "has heard it all before" (28th). "Who are the Real Criminals?" ad airs on TV (30th).

November - Justice Low sentences Dr. Carol Johnson to 28 days plus $1000 fine; accuses her of "being intolerant of opinions besides her own" (1st). 23 others get 21 days plus $500 fine. Defence lawyers question the legality of the RCMP giving blockaders' photos, addresses & phone numbers to MB (3rd). NDP audit reveals MB in violation of Coastal Fisheries/Forestry Guidelines in 80% of cutblocks examined (5th). Justice Murphy gives suspended sentences of 45 days & $500 fines to 20 protectors. Greenpeace International action@Kennedy River Bridge (9th). 2nd "Clayoquot Express" train arrives from East Coast, 19 more arrests (10th). Actions in Germany. Canadian environmentalists meet w/ journalists in Japan (15th). NDP Social Services threatens to check into arrestees on the dole (16th). Japanese Execs from Nippon Telephone & Telegraph (NTT) shocked by info/photos on B.C. Forest practices (19th).

December - Action@ Interfor office in Tofino (8th). Interim Agreement pre-agreement signed (10th). Clayoquot Granny Betty Krawczyk appears on CBC's '50 Up' (12th). UN's Rio Summit Convention on Biodiversity becomes law (29th); Action@ Legislature. Provincial Chief Forester Cuthbert reduces Annual Allowable Cut (AAC) by 8.5% (31st).

1994: **January** - Lightest sentences handed out - $250 fine, no jail, no probation (4th). 2 Raging Grannies go to jail (10th). FOCS calls for Wolf Study in Clayoquot Sound (11th). Actions in Toronto, Victoria & Tacoma, WA (31st). **February** - Clearcut book released (2nd). Vancouver Island CORE Report released (9th). Action in Toronto; 2 arrests (14th). Euro-Parliamentarians on fact-finding aerial tour of Vancouver Island told weather too bad to land@Tofino Airport: clear skies (17th)! Merv Wilkinson (acclaimed elderly Ecoforester) & wife Anne (Raging Granny) given suspended sentences. Scott Paper UK cancels contract w/ MB (28th). **March** - Rally@Legislature (14th). Kimberly-Clark UK cancels contract w/ MB (17th). **April** - MB cuts illegally again in Clayoquot Sound (4th). International Clayoquot Day of Actions (13th). Action in Austria (20th). Trial of Tzeporah Berman, charged w/ aiding & abetting Summer '93 protectors, postponed to June 20 (25th). B.C. Ministry of Forests gives maximum fine of $206,000 to MB for illegal cut in Bulson Creek (28th)! **May** - FOCS launches comprehensive Forest Watch Project, documenting MB transgressions. NDP raises B.C.'s stumpage rates from 1st to 3rd lowest in the world! Bear Watch & FOCS take headless bear carcass to Victoria to protest legal but immoral trophy hunting; great media coverage. Scientific Panel for Sustainable Forest Practices in C.S. releases recommendations; among them - end all clearcutting (10th); FOCS calls for their implementation. NDP ignores us.

(That's as much as we've gotten onto the written record so far. Stay tuned!)

Order Form for Friends of Clayoquot Sound goodies:

___YES! I'd like to be part of your support network! I can contribute __annually, __quarterly, __monthly:

___$1000 ___$500 ___$300 ___$200 ___$100 ___$50 ___$40 ___$25 ___$15 ___other
(All donations of $10 or more get you our newsletter. All donations of $200 or more receive a gift of our beautiful unbleached cotton T-shirt designed and printed by local Nuu-Chah-Nulth artist Annie George: please circle your size if you want one: Medium Large X-Large. ***All donations are tax-deductible!***)

YES! Please send me:

___ copies of your new 72-page Action Handbook. $1 to $5 each, sliding scale. ($.60 each with 10 or more)

___Our famous "Protect the Wild" sweatshirt. Fabric colours: purple, turquoise, black, maroon, green, light & dark blue. Sizes: M, L, XL. $45. (List 1st, 2nd, 3rd choices in colour)

___Our famous "Protect the Wild" T-shirt. Fabric colours: navy & dark green, light & dark purple, blue, black. Adult sizes: S, M, L, XL, $23.Kid sizes: 2-4, 6-8, 10-12, $14. (List 1st, 2nd, 3rd choices in colour.)

___"Save Our Sound" unbleached cotton T-shirts designed & printed by local Nuu-Chah-Nulth artist Annie George. Sizes: M, L, XL. $29.

___Kennedy River "Bridge of Tears" T-shirt, a pastel painting by Robert Burbridge. Adult sizes: M, L, XL, $24. Kid sizes: 2-4, 6-8, $14.

___"Save Clayoquot Sound" sweatshirt with white eagle on forest background. XL only (will shrink). $35.
___or T-shirt. Fabric colours: red, blue, green. XL only (will shrink). $28.
___or long-sleeve T-shirt. Same colours as above. XL only (will shrink). $34.

___Three bumperstickers: Money Rules/The Spirit Liberates, Addicted to Life, Hug a Selection Logger - We'll Never Go Back to Clearcuts. $3 each.

___Button: Money is a Drug/Heal the Spirit. $2.

___Book: Meares Island: Protecting a Natural Paradise, softcover, 1985, co-published by FOCS. $14.

___Clayoquot Perpetual Diary (for any year) - full of '93 Camp pictures, stories, etc. Unique! $16.

___1 or 67 of our latest or previous newsletters. $.20 each in any quantity (covers our expenses).

___Current office literature package: our current newsletter, a variety of leaflets & brochures. $3.

___D.O.A. benefit 45 rpm record for the Friends! with "The Only Thing Green" and "Folsom Prison Blues". Alternative Tentacles Records, 1993. $7.

___Our own educational video about our campaign, & chock full of information! $17.

$_____ Total. And thank you very very much!

Send to: Friends of Clayoquot Sound, Box 489, Tofino, BC V0R 2Z0

Name (please print) _____ Phone_____

Full Address_____