

SHARE GROUPS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

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BACKGROUND

A. Ownership of Forestlands

Forestry in North America is a natural resource-based industry subject to considerable controversy - the so-called "politics" of forest resources being determined to a large extent by who owns the land.

In the United States, the key to future western timber supply is said to be the National Forestland held by the federal government, which contains an estimated two-thirds of the western U.S. softwood inventory, almost all the country's virgin forest, but only a little over one-third of the region's annual cut. In Canada, most of the productive forest, or 91%, is owned by the Crown (i.e., the public).⁽¹⁾ The provinces are responsible for 80% of the productive forests. The federal government's 11% ownership consists mainly of the untapped forests of the Yukon and the Northwest Territories; about 9% of the national total is therefore privately owned. In British Columbia, where about 40% of Canada's growing stock volume is located, the provincial government controls about 95% of the province's forests; about 1% is federal Crown land.⁽²⁾ Thus, throughout Canada, the pattern of forestland ownership (i.e., public ownership)⁽³⁾ closely parallels that in the western United States.

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- (1) About 45% of Canada's total area is forested, but only 244 million hectares (or 54%) of the area is productive forest (i.e., land that is capable of producing a forest crop).
- (2) Forestry Canada, *Forestry Facts*, Supply and Services Canada, Revised May 1990, p. 16-17.
- (3) The only provinces with significant portions of their forests in private hands are Prince Edward Island (about 93% is privately owned), Nova Scotia (more than 70%) and New Brunswick (about 50%). Forestry Canada, *The State of Forestry in Canada: 1990 Report to Parliament*, Supply and Services Canada, 1991, p. 20.

Webster defines forestry both as "the science of developing, caring for, or cultivating forests" and "the management of growing timber," a rather ambiguous description. It should come as no surprise that opposing sides in the logging debate base their cases on quite different views of forests and forest management. Where forestlands are held principally by private individuals or industry, one may anticipate the emphasis tilting toward commercial management or growing timber. Also noteworthy is the tendency on the part of some foresters to interpret their responsibility to be the management of wildland resources, and not management of timber alone or even timber as a dominant objective.⁽⁷⁾

In Canada, the focus of forest management has historically been the production of timber and fibre for industrial use.⁽⁸⁾ By this standard, trees, whether in a virgin forest or in a planted one, are there for harvesting. Thus, the primary aim of forest management would be the long-term sustainability of production. As MacMillan Bloedel Ltd., B.C.'s largest forest products firm, explained in a recent internal memo, "the culture of the B.C. forest industry is rooted in pride of our efficient conquest of the forest resource. Our industry jargon is laden with terms such as extraction, liquidation, exploitation and denudation. We speak of a resource, not a forest; of fibre, not trees."⁽⁹⁾

More recently, however, society has come to recognize that forests are more than mere "fibre" producers. For example, it is widely acknowledged that recreational resources have emerged as the dominant resources on the public forestlands during the second half of the twentieth century.⁽¹⁰⁾ Wilderness and the wildlife that the forest supports are also valued for their own sake, and ecologists point to the importance of forests in maintaining a stable global ecosystem and in preserving biological diversity.

(7) Bowes and Krutilla (1989), p. 2.

(8) Forestry Canada, *The State of Forestry in Canada: 1990 Report to Parliament*, Supply and Services Canada, 1991, p. 18-19.

(9) Quoted in Joel Connely, "The Big Cut," *Sierra*, May/June 1991, p. 44.

(10) Bowes and Krutilla (1989), p. 337.



were created suddenly with large amounts of "outside" capital that was used to buy up a number of companies along with their timber rights.(15)

In British Columbia, the result over the past 40 years has been that timber rights have become concentrated in a few corporate hands. Perhaps a more significant feature of the industry's structure is its domination by large transnational corporations, though for the most part it is concentrated into a continental framework. According to a recent B.C. Central Credit Union newsletter, slightly more than two-thirds of B.C.'s forest industry assets are now controlled by shareholders outside the province.(16) For some, the situation leads to potential conflict of interest between absentee shareholders and the people of B.C.; the concern is that the national pursuit of profit may conflict with environmental and community priorities such as maintaining employment levels. The ultimate objective of forest companies in becoming diversified multinational corporations, or in becoming part of larger corporate enterprises, was to acquire financial stability.(17)

Current operating conditions in the industry have been well publicized. These are characterized by sluggish markets and falling prices for pulp and newsprint, and lower demand in North America and overseas for solid wood products. For example, MacMillan Bloedel of Vancouver and Canadian Pacific Forest Products of Montreal, two of Canada's leading pulp and paper and lumber firms, lost a combined \$154.5 million in the first nine months of 1991. In fact, virtually all of B.C.'s more than 100 forestry companies have reported dramatic decreases (or losses) in their

(15) Drushka (1985), p. 205-206.

(16) See Richard Watts, "Foreigners Controlling B.C. Forests," *Times Colonist*, 15 December 1990; "Who Controls B.C.'s Forest Industry?" *Forest Planning Canada*, Vol. 7, No. 2, March/April 1991, p. 15; Patrick Durrant, "Our Trees in Foreign Hands," *The Province*, 14 December 1990. Eastern Canadian corporations reportedly control 27.1% of the assets of the province's 25 largest corporations, which account for 97% of industry revenues. Foreign corporations control 43.2% of industry assets. "Control" is defined as ownership in excess of 50%; this probably understates the number of companies actually controlled from outside the province since effective control can often be achieved with less than half ownership.

(17) Drushka (1985), p. 199-202.

The following is an incomplete list of major groups or organizations involved on both sides of the issue over how and how much of B.C.'s forests should be logged:

- B.C. Ministry of Forests - administers most of the public land in the province.
- Council of Forest Industries - industry association representing more than 100 companies and associations.
- Share B.C. - a growing, loosely knit federation of 18 local groups across the province.
- Western Canada Wilderness Committee - usually referred to as WC-Squared, an 11-year old group of environmental activists.
- B.C. Roundtable on the Environment and the Economy - one of 10 provincial roundtables across Canada.
- Forest Resources Commission - established by the provincial government two years ago, the commission recently published its first report calling for radical reform of the way B.C. forests are managed.
- Sierra Club of Western Canada - a grassroots environmental action group focusing primarily on the ancient forest issue.
- Sierra Legal Defence Fund - specializes in environmental litigation.
- Greenpeace - international environmental activist group, started in Vancouver in 1971.
- Tin-Wis Coalition - a three-year old group formed in response to conflicts over land use in Strathcona Park on Vancouver Island.
- Clayoquot Sound Sustainable Development Steering Committee - a coalition of community, interest group and government representatives, to help residents of the region prepare a long-term sustainable development strategy. (23)

Of the many sites in British Columbia where conservationists and pro-industry groups are at odds, the following may be mentioned: Tahsish River, Clayoquot Sound, Tsitika River, Carmanah Creek, Khutzeymateen River, Kitlope River, Koeye River, Chilcotin Plateau, Stein River and Cummins River. In some areas, such as the Stein and Carmanah Valleys, their placenames have become household words.

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

(23) "Groups Line Up for Forest Fray," *The Globe and Mail*, 8 July 1991.

practices of the forest industry in B.C. and the economic impact of dramatically altering those practices. The Alliance will not speak for the forest industry, but will - sometimes - speak in support of the industry. At times it may criticize the industry, or even our company. It will criticize or praise the government or environmentalists.

The Alliance will be made up of people from more than just the forest industry. It will include business and community leaders, including members of Share B.C. - people who think we need both environmental protection and a healthy, forest industry. I am hopeful it will be a voice to which all British Columbians will listen with great interest...

Our forestland base is under threat from several sources - provincial government actions, native land claims and extreme preservationists whose demands, if granted, would cripple the forest industry in B.C. and those who depend on it...

Such extreme positions regarding forest practices and old-growth preservation must be taken very seriously. They demand a strong response, and this is where the Alliance can help.

Unfortunately, our industry alone lacks public trust. Acting alone we cannot effectively influence government policy decisions. The B.C. Forest Alliance, being a broadly-based grouping of industry, community leaders, research scientists and forest community residents, could have an effective and listened-to voice. (25)

At the time of its formation, the Alliance planned to produce a monthly television broadcast, commission and publish research on specific environmental or economic aspects of B.C.'s forest industry, and send groups to Sweden and other areas to examine forestry practices elsewhere. To help earn public trust, the public relations firm of Burson-Marsteller Ltd. (of New York) was hired to help in crafting a media

(25) Bob Findlay, President and Chief Executive Officer of MacMillan Bloedel Limited, Letter to Employees, 10 April 1991.



campaign, the same firm that managed the responses to the Bhopal poison gas disaster in India and the Tylenol deaths in the United States.⁽²⁶⁾

Although the rank-and-file of Share groups may be a cross-section of local populations in resource-dependent communities (e.g., loggers and their families who fear losing their jobs), much of their personnel and funding can be traced to resource industry corporations and concerns which have a stake in maintaining the status quo, or in pushing for an agenda of commercial development.⁽²⁷⁾ Industry-sponsored consultants have also been instrumental in organizing the Share movement.

B. The Ron Arnold Philosophy

One such expert is Ron Arnold, a self-styled "consumerist," "sage," and chief ideologue and strategist of the burgeoning "Wise Use Movement" in the United States. He has spent several years travelling 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.⁽²⁸⁾ Ron Arnold has advised the B.C. forestry industry and various Share Groups, and reportedly has a network of

(26) Anne Fletcher, "PR Link for Forest Firms and Unions," *The Financial Post*, 11 April 1991; Blake Desaulniers, "Environmentalists and the Big (Green) Lie," *Logging and Sawmilling Journal*, May/June 1991; Deborah Wilson, "Alliance Challenged by Environmentalists," *The Globe and Mail*, 8 July 1991; Ben Parfitt, "PR Giant in Forestry Drive Linked to World's Hotspots," *The Vancouver Sun*, 8 July 1991. Burson-Marsteller has also been credited with recommending the establishment of the B.C. Forest Alliance. See Allan Fotheringham, "Class Warfare Enters B.C. Logging Debate," *Financial Post*, 25 July 1991.

(27) Purcell (1989), p. 25; Howard Goldenthal, "Polarizing the Public Debate to Subvert Ecology Activism," *Now*, 13-19 July 1989, p. 13; "Industry Versus the Environment Via the 'People'," in *Deforestation and Development in Canada and the Tropics*, Aaron Schneider, ed., Centre for International Studies, University College of Cape Breton, N.S., 1989, p. 129; Bob Nixon, "Multiple-Use Lobby Off to Shaky Start: Comment," *Forest Planning Canada*, Vol. 4, No. 6, November/December 1988, p. 4.

(28) Noel McNaughton, "Propaganda," CBC Radio, Noon, 21 July 1989; Carol Latter and Juaneta Haddad, "Sharing with the Share Groups," *The Leaflet*, Vol. 26, No. 1, January 1989, p. 1.



quoting a length for its revelations about the speaker's ideology and belief system.

A small but vociferous minority in North America is effectively stopping the use of vital agrichemicals, not on the basis of scientifically sound health and safety concerns, but to forward the lifestyle, world view and political goals of anti-pesticide activists, thereby diverting precious time, money and the public interest from legitimate questions of safe and beneficial pesticide use...

I began to study these groups in 1978 as part of my 10-year investigation of all environmentalist organizations... I was struck by something about the anti-pesticide advocates I was investigating that didn't ring quite true. In public, I kept hearing them talk only about the scientific health and safety concerns over pesticides, but in private I kept hearing snatches of conversation and seeing notes on bulletin boards about citizen power, about building a counter-culture with clout, about the elimination of capitalism, about revolutionary social change, and other political rhetoric of the far left...

But in my investigation of CATH [Citizens Against Toxic Herbicides], I found something far more insidious and far more threatening to the future of industrial civilization. I found a number of scientists who were doing for the anti-pesticide movement what anti-pesticide advocates have accused industry scientists of doing: altering their findings to make a point: exaggerate the dangers of pesticides. With the world food supply the way it is, that to me amounts to shouting "Fire!" in a crowded theatre...

Your nation [Canada] has certain advantages over the U.S. in maintaining the right to use agrichemicals, for example, you have a relatively weak federal government and strong provincial rights, whereas the U.S. has a very strong central government and relatively weak states rights. You seem about to bring your Constitution home in order to amend it. To all those who are interested in the continued use of agrichemicals by the free enterprise system, I would suggest a hard look at retaining strong provincial power and relatively weak federal power. I can tell you from experience that you



scientific quarrel" but "a social and political quarrel about how forests should be managed";

- said he believed that the philosophy of environmental movements was provided by Marxist-Leninists who were using environmental concerns as a way of furthering the Marxist struggle;
- said he had proof that the Soviets were financing the Environmental Party (Greens) in West Germany and that the Soviet Union saw the environmental movement as a "vehicle by which the USSR [could] encourage the free world to voluntarily cripple its own economy";
- stated that in an activist society, no industry could save itself by itself; and that industry should encourage the development of citizen activist groups supportive of the need to produce goods and supply basic needs; and
- argued that private property, free enterprise and the ability to produce food for a hungry world were important causes for such citizen groups to champion, and that there were market solutions to every problem. (35)

3. Speech Given to a Conference Sponsored by the Canadian Pulp and Paper Association, March 1985

In relating his experiences in "studying" and "fighting" the anti-pesticide movement, Ron Arnold told his audience that:

- a "small but vociferous minority in North America" had been effectively opposing "the use of vital agriculturals," a minority associated with the wider environmental movement which constituted "less than 2% of the entire North American population";
- although the development of environmentalism in Canada and the U.S. closely parallel each other, the Canadian form of government promoted "far more rational deliberation of environmentalism" because of the

(35) Tom McKegney, New Brunswick Natural Resources, Forest Extension Service, Operational Note, 25 October 1984. Other speakers included Maurice Tugwell, Director of the Centre for Conflict Studies at the University of New Brunswick and identified as an expert on the use of propaganda in so-called "low-level" conflicts, and Dave Dietz, a lawyer/lobbyist whose firm had been involved in an organization called Oregonians for Food and Shelter, which had been working against the anti-pesticide movement in Oregon.

free enterprise throughout the world. It currently has 100,000 supporters whose small contributions from \$10 to \$25 make up a substantial portion of its annual budget. It accepts foundation and corporate grants for both general operating support or for specially designated projects such as battle books. It accepts anonymous gifts and bequests. Donations and gifts are 100% tax deductible under U.S. law. The Center is legally permitted to lobby in the U.S. with up to 20% of its income. The Center's legal defence fund is able to bring lawsuits in defence of free enterprise, even if that involves suing environmental groups for publishing lies. It is another voice in the growing pro-industry movement. (38)

The Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise was said to operate three "fascinating departments" that received his "special attention."

The first is the American Broadcasting Network whose weekly public service radio program "economics 101 on the air" is heard on some U.S. radio stations, reaching 25 million listeners with messages in defence of free enterprise...

The second department is the American Press Syndicate that provides news feeds to 400 U.S. newspapers including both opinion columns and hard news feature stories on free enterprise issues.

The third department is the Free Enterprise Press, a publishing house capable of producing books rapidly and at substantially lowered cost because of its fully computerized typesetting program and competitive production jobbing methods. (39)

Ron Arnold concluded his speech by saying that environmentalists were "not likely to abandon their ideology because they hold their misguided beliefs with religious fervour." (40)

(38) *Ibid.*

(39) *Ibid.*

(40) *Ibid.* That year (1985), Ron Arnold suggested that Union Carbide was not to blame for the methyl isocyanate disaster in Bhopal, India. He wrote: "Sabotage is not far-fetched. The Soviets were certainly the propaganda beneficiaries. What really happened? We may never know. It may be another failure of human technology. But it could also be another Soviet mass murder. Will investigators explore that possibility?" Quoted in "Industry Versus the Environment...", 1989, p. 129.

mentalists count on the public not being too well informed on technical timber issues...

They also know that the human personality contains much more than the intellect which responds to rational argument. They know that a much more fundamental part of human personality is emotion and intuition. Environmental leaders are excellent political psychologists. They know that most ordinary people vote their feelings, not their intellectual information. They know that most ordinary people make decisions based on intuition, beliefs and gut feel, not on qualified expert opinion... They get people to support wilderness preservation and all their other issues, not by providing information, but instead by evoking archetypes and great symbols that touch the collective unconscious - such things as lashing out against oppressive authority figures and father figures, symbolized by big business; such things as the urge to return to paradise, the urge to return to the womb, as symbolized by the wilderness; such things as primal guilt for disrupting the life web of mother earth, which in the unconscious evokes all sorts of powerful links to the listener's actual biological mother. (43)

The so-called "unconscious archetypes" employed by environmentalism, although never discussed openly, were said to be always present as a silent sub-text. Ron Arnold told his audience that the environmental movement, as such, was a type of cult, engaged in "genuine psychological warfare" aimed at gathering recruits and manipulating the masses.

And once newly committed people have joined an environmental group, they became True Believers who will fight and die for the cause. Their sincerity and lack of selfish interest are intuitively obvious to the public. They make perfect shells for movement leaders who are well aware that they're manipulating people. (44)

Arnold also warned that all attempts by the timber industry to turn public opinion against environmentalists with a public relations campaign were bound to fail.

(43) *Ibid.*, p. 131.

(44) *Ibid.*, p. 132.

coordinate whatever information resources may be needed to deal with developing issues...

Must publish books, articles and other media features designed to gradually shift the intellectual climate toward approval of the forest products industry in Canada. It must take every opportunity to recruit opinion leaders to write and speak in favour of permanent multiple use policies and find outlets for their messages...

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 50 years.(47)

C. Share Groups and the Wise Use Connection

A discussion of Share Groups in B.C. invariably leads to Ron Arnold. It would also appear that Share tactics have their origins not in rural British Columbia, but in the so-called "Wise Use" movement in the United States - a movement formed on the reasoning that the only way to battle a "grassroots" movement (like environmentalism) is with another such movement.(48)

Although resistance to wilderness and environmental regulation in the United States has existed for many years, the Wise Use movement only began organizing in earnest in 1988,(49) at the first of many conferences sponsored by the Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise, an organization headed by Ron Arnold (as previously mentioned). Share groups in B.C., at least in part, 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

(47) *Ibid.*

(48) Jeff Keller, "Hard Sell: Mind Games," *Equity*, Vol. 8, 6 September 1990, p. 24.

(49) Dan Baum, "Wise Guise," *Sierra*, May/June 1991, p. 72.

- What is the proper place of mankind and industrial civilization in the natural world?(53)

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 the following as affiliates from British Columbia:

- Cariboo Lumber Manufacturers Association, Williams Lake
- Council of Forest Industries, Vancouver
- Furney Distributing Ltd., Port McNeill
- MacMillan Bloedel Ltd., Vancouver
- Mining Association of British Columbia, Vancouver
- Jack Mitchell, Alderman, City of Port Alberni
- Share Our Forest Society, Cobble Hill
- Share the Stein Committee, Lytton
- Truck Loggers Association, Vancouver
- Western Forest Products Ltd., Port McNeill(54)

The Agenda's top 25 goals include:

- clear-cutting old growth on national forestlands (old-growth stands are termed "decaying and oxygen-using forest growth" and young ones are called "oxygen-producing, carbon dioxide absorbing trees" which "help ameliorate the rate of global warming and prevent the greenhouse effect");
- rewriting the *Endangered Species Act* to remove protection for such "non-adaptive species" as 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 in the interest of national security");

(53) Alan M. Gottlieb, ed., *The Wise Use Agenda: The Citizen's Policy Guide to Environmental Resource Issues*, Task Force Report Sponsored by the Wise Use Movement, Introduction by Ron Arnold, The Free Enterprise Press, Bellevue, Washington, 1989, p. viii.

(54) *Ibid.*, p. 158.

- You Have a Right to Be Here,
No Less Than the Trees and the Stars
- Don't Be Stingy - Share the Earth(57)

Gifford Pinchot, first chief of the U.S. Forest Service, reportedly gave Ron Arnold the idea for the movement's name in a 1907 quote "Conservation is the wise use of resources."⁽⁵⁸⁾ The concept of "wise" or "multiple use," however, as applied by activists in the Wise Use movement, can be categorized, to put it mildly, as "pro-industry" and "pro-development."⁽⁵⁹⁾ As one observer put it,

[Activists who] call themselves members of the "wise use" or "multiple use" movement ... are dedicated to keeping public and private land open to logging, mining, drilling, motorized recreation and all manner of commercial enterprise. In other words, they oppose designating any land "wilderness" and openly - even proudly - abhor the notion of preserving the habitats of endangered species. As they put it, land is to be used to benefit humanity, not preserved in a bubble. They resent the government telling them, in the name of the environment, what to do with privately owned marshes, apple orchards, factories or slag heaps.⁽⁶⁰⁾

In brief, the Wise Use philosophy portrays environmentalists as extremists pursuing a hidden and "unfinishable agenda" aimed at ending all resource use "to destroy industrial civilization."

In the United States, dozens of Wise Use organizations similar to Share groups are said to have sprung up, mostly in the West. Through newsletters, rallies and conferences, Wise Use is said to be bringing together such disparate interests as the American Farm Bureau Federation and the Eastern Washington Dirt Riders, Oregonians for Food and Shelter and the National Rifle Association. Estimates of potential

(57) *Ibid.*, p. xi-xii.

(58) Knox (1990), p. 35; Jon Krakauer, "Brown Fellas," *Outside*, Vol. XVI, No. 12, December 1991, p. 71.

(59) Baum (1991), p. 72.

(60) Knox (1990), p. 31.

There is a great deal of background to each of those concerns, and I know you've been made aware of labour's views on the corporate involvement and the anti-labour agenda of some of the members of both your group and the Wise Use Movement, such as the Communities for a Great Northwest. (65)

In Montana, there are reportedly 18 chapters of People for the West, a "grassroots" campaign organized by the Western States Public Lands Coalition (headquartered in Pueblo, Colorado), which claims to represent 350 groups in 15 states in its fight for multiple use of all public lands. Both organizations are said to be dominated by oil and natural gas companies. (66) Corporate sponsors of the third annual Wise Use conference in April 1990 are said to have included such companies as Chevron, Exxon U.S.A., Shell Oil and Georgia-Pacific. (67) Wise Use activists are also said to have had certain legislative influence in the United States.

Three bills were introduced in Congress last year that appeared to have been taken straight from the [*Wise Use Agenda*]. The *Community Stability Act* would have placed the economic effects of timber policy above environmental effects; the *Recreational Trails Fund Act* would have diverted a portion of federal gasoline taxes to build motorized-vehicle recreation trails; and the *National Forest Plan Implementation Act* would have put production ahead of all other forest values.

... Another *Agenda* item was written into the *Americans with Disabilities Act* of 1990, designed to eliminate discrimination against the disabled. One provision of the new law requires a study to see if the *Wilderness Act* of 1964 - which bars any mechanical vehicles from designated wilderness - should be amended to admit motorized wheelchairs. That sounds innocuous, but Blue Ribbon Coalition president Clark Collins, who helped

(65) James W. Murry, Executive Secretary, Montana State AFL-CIO, Letter to Clark L. Collins, Executive Director, Blue Ribbon Coalition Inc., 9 August 1989.

(66) Donald R. Judge, Executive Secretary, Montana State AFL-CIO, Letter to the Honourable Robert Skelly, 19 March 1991; "Groups Arise from Land Dispute," 1991.

(67) Baum (1991), p. 92.

warped and clouded over by extremists we sometimes call "preservationists" or "environmentalists."

A goal of old environmentalism is to destroy or at least badly cripple industrialized capitalism. Old environmentalism has imposed regulations on industry and recreation that are too costly and unnecessary. In his book, *Ecology Wars*, author Ron Arnold says experts estimate 50% of all America's known energy reserves (oil, coal, natural gas) lies under public lands, lands that overzealous preservationists wish sealed off in the name of "Wilderness."

Wise use means loving the earth and life without hating technology, and without destroying industrial civilization.

Wise use means placing the future of natural resource management back on a firm foundation of scientific research.

Wise use philosophy has enjoyed support from the silent majority in North America. We're no longer silent. (72)

Patrick Armstrong, who is Director of Moresby Consulting Ltd., is also the publisher of *Envisage*, (73) a monthly B.C. "Share" publication.

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,"

(72) "The Voice of the Commons - Share B.C.," *Envisage: Environment and Land Use Perspectives*, Vol. 1, No. 11, Published by Moresby Consulting Ltd., December 1989.

(73) *Ibid.* At a Share B.C. Conference in 1989, Patrick Armstrong is quoted as saying: "The way we have done things in the past is changing. There is a new order that is taking place in terms of these natural resources debates. And I think this is a really good example, a little snapshot of the kind of things that happen." "Share B.C.: Community Stability and Land Use in the '90s," Conference Transcript, Chilliwack, B.C., 17-19 November 1989, p. 57.

And at MacMillan Bloedel, we understand that not only must we make ourselves heard: we must also deliver on our promises to protect and share our forests.(75)

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 British Columbia Environmental Information Institute founded and chaired by Gerry Furney, mayor of the B.C. logging town of Port MacNeill. 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,"(76) and has had the objective of encouraging "responsible, multiple use of public land and resources."(77) The Institute's founder has stated that the organization received its impetus from the 1988 Wise Use conference (previously mentioned).(78)

D. Wise Use and the Unification Church

Much of the evidence linking the Wise Use movement to the Unification Church comes largely from speculative newspaper accounts (by investigative journalists) published during the past four years. As mentioned, the Wise Use Conference held in Reno in 1988 was sponsored by Ron Arnold and the Centre for the Defence of Free Enterprise. The Bellevue Washington-based Centre shares offices and directors with the American Freedom Coalition (AFC),(79) a group identified by the *Seattle Times*,

(75) H. Williams, Assistant Chief Forester, MacMillan Bloedel Limited, "The Unfinishable Agenda," Speech to the Vancouver Rotary Club, Hotel Vancouver, 2 August 1988, p. 3-8.

(76) British Columbia Environmental Information Institute, "Our Challenge for the Nineties," A Presentation, undated.

(77) British Columbia Environmental Information Institute, "Environment Matters," Spring 1990, p. 1.

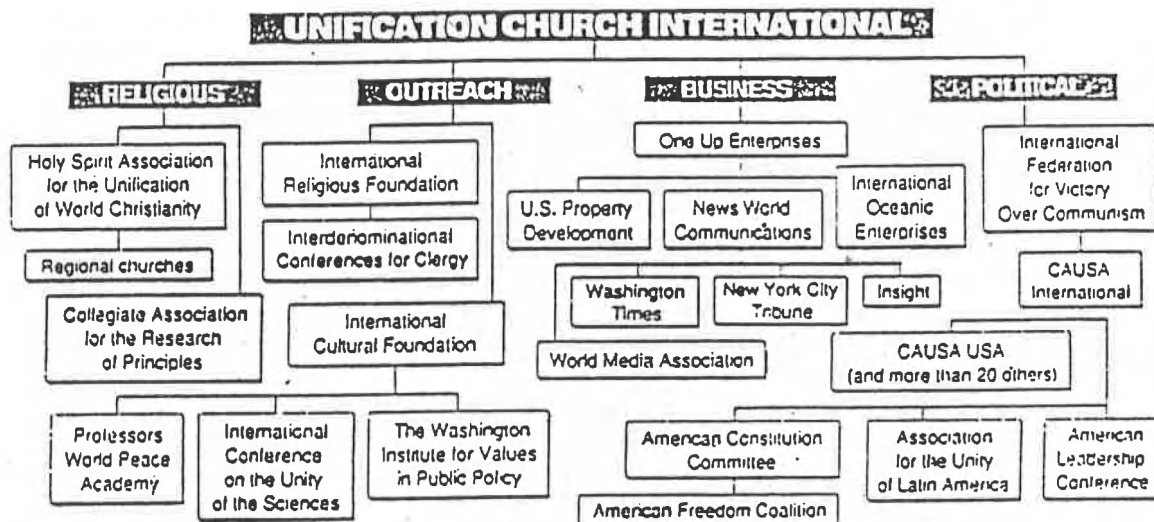
(78) "Share B.C.: Community Stability and Land Use in the '90s," Transcript, 17-19 November 1989, p. 21.

(79) Hume (1989), p. 6; Cameron (1989), p. 15; Goldenthal (1989), p. 13; Krakauer (1991), p. 114.



Figure 1

The American Freedom Coalition, the Confederation of Associations for the Unification of the Societies of the Americas, and Their Ties to the Unification Church



Information for this chart was pieced together from church publications. It does not include all church operations.

Source: Walter Hatch, "Big Names Lend Luster to Group's Causes: Church Leader Gains Legitimacy Among U.S. Conservatives," *The Seattle Times*, 13 February 1989.

funding from the Church.⁽⁸⁶⁾ It is noteworthy that the AFC and CAUSA are said to have been principal supporters of the contras in Nicaragua,⁽⁸⁷⁾ and backers of right-wing regimes in South America.⁽⁸⁸⁾ Alan Gottlieb, editor of the *Wise Use Agenda*, President and founder of the Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise, and organizer of the Wise Use movement, has been identified as a convicted tax felon,⁽⁸⁹⁾ a director of the AFC and fundraiser for that group in Washington state.⁽⁹⁰⁾

Some members of the B.C. contingent sent to Reno in 1988 have stated that they were unaware that the Unification Church had any links to the Conference.⁽⁹¹⁾ Ron Arnold has denied having any ties to the Church,⁽⁹²⁾ but is said to have confirmed that the Centre for the Defence of Free Enterprise was allied with a movement with the Church.⁽⁹³⁾ An investigative study conducted in 1989 and which appeared in the *Portland Free Press* (Oregon), shows the alleged connections between the Wise Use movement in the United States and an array of front groups, the Unification Church and certain corporations (Figure 2).

(86) Purcell (1989), p. 25; Hume (1989), p. 6; Cameron (1989), p. 15; Walter Hatch, "Big Names Lend Luster to Group's Causes: Church Leader Gains Legitimacy Among U.S. Conservatives," *The Seattle Times*, 13 February 1989, p. 4.

(87) Hatch (1989), p. 4; Clift (1988), p. 31; Fred Clarkson, "Privatizing the War," *Covert Action*, No. 22, Fall 1984, p. 30-31.

(88) Hatch (1989), p. 4; Mark Clifford, "Messianic Mission: Moon Driven by Efforts to Reunify Divided Peninsula," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 1 November 1990, p. 5-6. See also Scott Anderson and Jon Lee Anderson, *Inside the League*, Dodd, Mead and Company, New York, 1986, p. 129-130, 181, 232-234, 239 and 272.

(89) Baum (1991), p. 72; Krakauer (1991), p. 114.

(90) James W. Murry, Executive Secretary, Montana State AFL-CIO, 9 August 1989. *The Wise Use Agenda* contains a congratulatory telegram from George Bush and features a back-cover photo of the U.S. President alongside the President of the Centre for the Defence of Free Enterprise, Alan Gottlieb.

(91) Hume (1989), p. 6; Hume (1990), p. 9.

(92) Hume (1989), p. 6; Baum (1991), p. 92; Goldenthal (1989), p. 13.

(93) Purcell (1989), p. 25.

The Rev. Sun Myung Moon, the staunchly anti-communist head of the Unification Church, reportedly came to the United States from South Korea in 1971 with the objective of pursuing his vision of a worldwide theocracy with himself as the central figure. In brief, the Church's doctrine is based on the beliefs that:

- its founder and leader, Sun Myung Moon, is the earthly incarnation of God;
- its aim is to set up a world government in which church and state would be united, under Moon's leadership;
- "to win heaven one has to be powerful on earth" (a much repeated slogan);
- the world is divided into two systems - dictatorships of the "Cain-type" (communist states) and "Abel-type" democracies (capitalist countries). (94)

A major focus of the Unification Church today is said to be "politics," "influence" and "credibility." International seminars and trips sponsored by the Church are said to be part of a public relations campaign to sell a new image of the Church. (95) Moon, who served almost 12 months in federal prison for tax evasion in the United States from 1984-1985, is said to have used several tools to achieve this goal, including the Unification Church and its followers, CAUSA and the AFC, to

(94) Maria Laura Avignolo, "After U.S. Jail Term, Moon Picks Uruguay as Investment Haven," *Latinamerica Press*, 12 December 1985, p. 6. The Church's *Commentary on the Divine Principle* claims that because Jesus Christ - the second Adam - failed in his mission to restore the Kingdom of Heaven on earth, a third Adam - the Lord of the Second Advent - born in Korea between 1917 and 1930, will complete this mission. Although the *Divine Principle* does not mention the Rev. Moon by name, it is said that his followers are encouraged to believe that Moon is this messiah. The Unification Church's brand of christianity has been disclaimed by established churches. Daniel Junas, "Rising Moon: The Unification Church's Japan Connection," Institute for Global Security Studies, Seattle, Washington, 1989, p. 13-14.

(95) Hume (1989), p. 6; Clifford (1990), p. 24-28; Mark Clifford, "Holy Business: Grandiose Schemes Funded by Donations, Borrowings," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 1 November 1990, p. 30; Frank Gibney, "A Panda of a Different Sort," *Newsweek*, 13 August 1990, p. 45; Roberta Clare, "Why we Need to Question the Moonies' 'Free' Trips," *The Presbyterian Record*, March 1990, p. 20-21.

brochures, mailings, fact sheets, speeches or conference transcripts put out by the movements in question. For example, the following are selected passages from a transcript of a Share B.C. conference held in November 1989:

Party politics of whatever stripe and whatever particular philosophy we may have as individuals has no place in what we are trying to do here... The reason politicians make such strange bedfellows is that they all like the same bunk. So that's the reason we are going to stay non-partisan - just the straight goods here...

There is a small group of people [environmentalists], I believe, that have very skilfully manipulated circumstances so that they are really controlling the agenda in this province. ... Somehow we must wrest power from their hands...

I think we have turned the corner in a real sense. ... First of all, politicians are beginning to listen in Victoria, and in Ottawa. And, of course, the municipal politicians have been listening for a long time and they are your strongest allies and supporters. Number two, the judges are beginning to listen...

It was Eric Hoffer, the San Francisco longshoreman philosopher, who said, "The very survival of the human species depends on a much grander sense of compassion than we see in society today." The human species, not the Suzuki species, but the human species. There is now a terrible tendency on the part of some writers to deal with the human race with contempt. It's a tragic, upside down way to look at the world. And I deplore it constantly...

The comparison photographs ... dispel the myth that moonscape and permanent deforestation are appropriate words spoken by our friend David Suzuki, the Jimmy Swagart of wilderness advocacy...

In fact, senior staff of the federal Environment Minister did, in my opinion, break the law, by continually communicating sensitive negotiations between the governments to leading preservationists in B.C. The community support from those supporting multiple use was slowly building. Some of the real warriors that led the battle to protect communities included R.L. Smith, who edited an immensely popular *Red Neck News* and, of course, our own Patrick

proclaimed as such by the wilderness groups, it seems nothing will stop them in their quest. The leaders of this movement manipulate their followers, the media and the public...

The way we have done things in the past is changing. There is a new order that is taking place in terms of these natural resources debates. And I think this is a really good example, a little snapshot of the kind of thing that happens...

You have got to understand that. They don't care! ... And there I was in the evening and here were the Sierra Clubbers. I looked at them and they looked at me and I said, my God! City folks, wearing salty clothes that they ordered from Abercrombie and Fitch. And funny little hats. I didn't have anything in common with them. I was a logger and a forester. And I pleaded with them to show an ounce of humanity. I said to them in effect, don't let your love of wilderness blind you to the needs of your fellowman. And I was met with blank and uncomprehending stares. They never heard a word of it, they couldn't relate at all. They came from a different planet. I didn't like them and I don't think they liked me very much. What's the point? We didn't have anything to talk about...

How innocent we were, how trusting, how believing in our fellowman, and in simple truth and justice. I am not bitter. I am being candid. I think you will progress beyond that. I think you will get hard-nosed. I think you will get businesslike, I think you'll get tough. And I think you are going to get there. But you've got to move quickly. Hold them to account! Make them responsible!...

Preservationist propaganda is blatantly deceptive and one-sided. You may ask, how can seemingly decent, altruistic people be parties to such dishonesty? ... Unless they have some reason to take a personal interest in forestry, they are unlikely to look deeply into such distortion and they easily equate the cutting of forests with environmental destruction. As to the preservationist leadership, the people responsible for the lies, they are zealots. Zealots are characterized by their enthusiasm, fanaticism, and radical approach to pursuing their goals. Zealots so deeply and sincerely believe in the righteousness of their cause that they assume that any means necessary to achieve their goals is justified. ... I suggest that much of the slick preservationist propaganda comes from a

to do about them, they unwittingly expose themselves to propaganda and may become naive supporters of an invisible institution.

- (3) Even when it is obvious that a message is propaganda, people will respond favourably to it. Knowledge that communication is propagandistic does not necessarily neutralize people's reaction to it.
- (4) People tend to divide into opposing camps in response to propaganda, and public "communities" are formed that create powerful "armies" to fight for and support a cause. The media can instantly transmit information, and the community responds with instantaneous reactions.
- (5) New technologies are powerful allies of propagandists. Computer technology has created an unexpected force in direct mail propaganda. People's predispositions are easily identifiable, making them easy targets for propaganda.
- (6) External propaganda may be created for internal consumption.
- (7) Propaganda is not an evil thing. It can only be evaluated within its own context according to the players, the played upon, and its purpose. (104)

Other generalizations can be made. These include:

- the likelihood that the propagandist does not care about the audience, or believe in the message being sent;
- identity concealment is often necessary in order for the propagandist to achieve desired objectives and goals;
- the source of propaganda is likely to be an institution or an organization with the propagandist as its leader or agent;
- some guidelines for determining the identity of the propagandist are found in the apparent ideology, purpose, and the context of the propaganda message;
- successful propaganda campaigns tend to originate from a strong, centralized and decision-making authority

(104) *Ibid.*, p. 216-217.

including all levels of government, business, labour, environmental groups and other diverse interests. The essence of the Brundtland Commission's argument referred to the use of natural resources guided by the science of practical economics and matched with the science of good land management so that today's needs can be met without impairing the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.⁽¹¹⁰⁾ However, the term, as used by the Wise Use movement, is interchangeable with "sustained economic development" and even "sustained development," as seen, for example, in the Wise Use Motto and Agenda.⁽¹¹¹⁾

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The present era has been called "the period of the great land grab" in the Pacific Northwest, a region where a large established timber industry depends on access to public lands.⁽¹¹²⁾ In British Columbia, the conflicting demands on the forest resource base are not likely to diminish. The region promises a continuing source of revenue that both industry and government will want to maintain or even increase; at the same time, a growing number of other interests, some whose objectives are compatible with timber harvesting and some whose objectives are not, will continue to lobby to have their requirements met from the same land.

Although grassroots movements, advocacy and lobbying are considered to be normal, legitimate and desirable in a democratic society, such activity is open to criticism if it deliberately misrepresents,

(110) See Robert Gibson, "Should Environmentalists Pursue 'Sustainable Development'?" *Probe Post*, Winter 1991, p. 22-24.

(111) In its stated aims and objectives, the British Columbia Environmental Information Institute ("Environment Matters," Spring 1990) lists 12 items (including understanding "the fact that no industry is immune to the pressures of the environmentalists, and all industry must stand together in this effort") which it claims are, in part, based on the Brundtland report.

(112) Drushka (1985), p. 19.

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APPENDIX 1

A CRITIQUE OF THE "MULTIPLE USE" APPROACH TO FOREST MANAGEMENT

Source: Ken Drushka, *Stumped: The Forest Industry in Transition*, Douglas and McIntyre, Vancouver, 1985, p. 19-20.

.. The multiple use concept came to North America from nineteenth-century Germany, where the owners of large private estates, unlike their North American counterparts, controlled not only the trees on their lands but also the wildlife in the forests and the fish in the streams. It was economically logical for them to treat their forests as ecological entities, investing time and money in fish

and wildlife as well as in trees. They found profit from these investments by selling hunting, fishing and recreational privileges to the public.

That situation has never existed in North America. Ownership of land here does not normally confer such comprehensive rights. And in the case of public lands, the various resources have over the years become the responsibility of a wide variety of government departments, ministries, branches and agencies, each of which usually has jurisdiction over just one resource. The confusion is compounded by the existence of three levels of government — federal, provincial or state, and regional or municipal — each of which is likely to be pursuing different policies.

Heretofore, the utilization of public lands is almost always restricted to a single use per user. Within a single watershed, separate licences or permits will probably be required for sport fishing, commercial fishing, hunting, water rights, recreational activities, timber harvesting and so on. The holder of a timber permit need feel no particular concern over the state of the water or fish. Conflicts arise, and as they do there is a tendency for the various user groups to form shifting alliances with each other and with certain government agencies. The result is often a glorious free-for-all as the various factions flog each other with dubious statistics, irrelevant data and a great deal of public posturing. All too often the dust settles to reveal a sort of compromise in which the ecological realities of the land are lost.

Until the last decade or so, the chief beneficiaries of this procedure were the timber companies. Their ability to generate from the forests quick and enormous revenues, a share of which was paid to government, gave them a definite advantage. But in recent years they have begun to lose a lot of ground — literally as well as figuratively. Now, even where the facts speak otherwise, they behave as though they are fighting a rear-guard action against a mounting coalition of bureaucrats, "eco-freaks" and a largely unsympathetic public which, in theory at least, owns the bulk of the productive forest lands in North America.

APPENDIX 2

CHAPTER TEN AND EXCERPTS FROM *INSIDE THE LEAGUE* BY
SCOTT AND JON LEE ANDERSON, DODD, MEAD AND COMPANY, NEW YORK, 1986

AUTHORS' NOTE

This book is about specific people and organizations that have belonged to the World Anti-Communist League. It may be presumed that all members of the League share a strong anti-communist sentiment, but it doesn't necessarily follow that they share a common strategy in acting upon this sentiment. Not all League members are Nazis or death squad leaders; some are respectable, influential conservatives in their respective nations. They will no doubt be dismayed to find themselves discussed in conjunction with outright thugs, terrorists, and criminals. Nevertheless, it is a situation of their own choosing.

No League member can claim ignorance of the dark side of the World Anti-Communist League: in the past decade, investigators, newspapers, even League members themselves have publicly exposed some of its seamier aspects. Although it seems inconceivable to us that the bona fide conservatives involved in the League do not know about the unsavory background of some of their fellow members, without evidence to the contrary we must give them the benefit of the doubt and ascribe their association with the League to naïveté rather than to an orientation shared with their infamous associates. If nothing else, perhaps this book will cause mainstream conservatives to be more selective about who they choose to ally themselves with in the future.

In *Inside the League*, we discuss organizations on six continents with histories dating in some cases to the 1920s or before. In the interest of brevity and readability, we have avoided elaborating on some issues that are subjects of debate in some circles (such as exactly when

TEN

The more democratic a society is, the more serious the collapse of its traditional value system appears to be. This shows that democracy is failing to provide solutions to the problems currently facing our societies and the world.

*The Reverend Sun Mung Moon
December 1983*

THE UNITED STATES Congressional "Koreagate" hearings in 1976-78 focused on the South Korean government's campaign of influence-peddling by giving American congressmen and senators gifts, all-expense-paid trips, and even bribes.

It was not only the Korean government that was involved in the scheme; the Kuomintang government of Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan had also been engaged in a quieter and more subtle public relations offensive for years. For both countries, the World Anti-Communist League had acted as an important instrument in establishing and maintaining close ties with influential American anti-communists, although it was an instrument that wasn't itself closely scrutinized by Congress. Prominent Americans were invited to attend its conferences; their expenses were picked up by the League and, by extension, by the Korean and Taiwanese governments.

"In the last two years," *New York Times* reporter Richard Lyons wrote in November 1976, "at least 64 senators and representatives have visited Seoul. . . . The costs of many of these excursions have been met, wholly or in part, by such groups as the Pacific Cultural

dealt in legislation that could touch Moon, either in an investigatory or regulatory way. The objects would be leaks, and influence."¹

Although the "young ladies" operation never achieved the level Moon had hoped for, his followers were able to ingratiate themselves into several congressional staffs, including those of House Speaker Carl Albert (D-Arkansas), Les AuCoin (D-Oregon), and John Hammerschmidt (R-Arkansas).

As these revelations and those of other Moonie operations were disclosed, the Unification Church went on the offensive. Bo Hi Pak, Moon's chief lieutenant, made tearful appearances before the subcommittee both to defend the Church and to attack its chairman, Donald Fraser.

"I cannot help but believe," he charged, "that you are being used as an instrument of the devil. Yes, 'instrument of the devil.' I said it. Who else would want to destroy a man of God?"

In the end, the Church exacted its revenge on the chairman. With the aid of an ultra-right "journalist," they charged that the liberal Fraser was an agent of the KGB, and he was narrowly defeated in the Minnesota senatorial contest in 1978. Afterward, the Moonies could crow, "Mr. Fraser's defeat was due to more than political fortune. It was an act of God."²

As the world has seen, the Reverend Sun Myung Moon has not disappeared from the scene, both as a result of his involvement with the Japanese *yakuza* warlords and of the Koreagate revelations. He remained active even while he was behind bars for income tax evasion in a New York penitentiary in 1984 and 1985. His disciples are still being trained in government-sponsored "anti-communist training centers" scattered throughout South Korea. His advisers, chief among them Bo Hi Pak, the former Korean CIA agent, have spread his empire throughout Asia, Europe, and the Americas by funneling money through corporations and organizations that are supposedly independent of the Church.

One group from which the Church has publicly disassociated itself is the World Anti-Communist League; in 1975, Moon announced that he would no longer be associated with this "fascist" organization. His umbrage is perhaps just so much more of his "Heavenly Deception."

In his quest for a global anti-communist movement that he could

host of other front groups. According to *The Washington Tribune*, the Church was operating over a hundred such fronts in 1982.

Clearly, the Unification Church of the Reverend Sun Myung Moon remains very active in spreading its brand of anti-communism, theological patriotism, and fealty to the "Heavenly Father." Ever since its vocal defense of President Nixon during Watergate, it has gained respectability through its alliances with conservative American professors, journalists, policymakers, and former intelligence agents. Most disquieting is the Church's close and extensive ties with American New Right leaders, present and former high-ranking military officers, and officials of the Reagan Administration.

The U.S. Global Strategy Council, an organization that former CIA Deputy Director Ray Cline helped create, purports to advise the Reagan Administration on foreign policy matters. On the council is Arnaud de Borchgrave, a fellow senior associate with Cline at the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies and editor of the Moon-owned *Washington Times*. The council's executive director is retired General E. David Woellner, president of CAUSA World Services.⁵

The retired head of the Defense Intelligence Agency, Major General Daniel O. Graham, is on CAUSA USA's board of directors. Lynn Bouchey, president of the Council for Inter-American Security, organized two CAUSA conferences. Joseph Churba, former senior policy adviser to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and director of the Center for International Security, spoke at a CAUSA symposium in January 1985. Retired Lieutenant General Gordon Sumner, former chairman of the Inter-American Defense Board, was the cochairman of a conference of the International Security Council, a CAUSA project, in Paris in February 1985. General George Keegan, former chief of Air Force Intelligence, paneled a CAUSA seminar in September 1984. Miles Costick, president of the Institute on Strategic Trade; Terry Doan, executive director of the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC); and Jay Parker, president of the Lincoln Institute and head of the NCPAC-funded Blacks for Reagan 1984—all have attended CAUSA conferences.

The Church also conducts its elaborate public relations campaign with New Right newspapers and magazines. Donald Holdgrieve, associate editor of the Moonie *Rising Tide*, is also the managing editor of *The Washington Inquirer*, the weekly of the conservative Council for

figures at 15,000, 8,000 and 4,000, respectively. *The Washington Times* once claimed to have a circulation of 126,000; actual circulation hovers around 70,000. This figure was independently verified only in April 1985; until then, the *Times* had repeatedly canceled outside auditing, a process that sets advertising rates and that most newspapers initiate regularly.

And yet the Church has quietly channeled over \$100,000,000 into the South American nation of Uruguay, buying up its biggest hotel, its third-largest newspaper, and a printing company, and depositing at least \$50,000,000 in one of its banks. It has also underwritten half-million-dollar Asian junkets for American journalists (among them Reed Irvine, chairman of Accuracy in Media, and William Rusher, publisher of *National Review*) through the World Media Conference and has picked up the costs for international meetings of CAUSA and the International Conference of the Unity of the Sciences.

It also spends \$1,500,000 a year on a conservative Washington think tank; has sunk \$15,000,000 into national distribution for the unsuccessful *Washington Times*; has given a half-million dollars to the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC); and still has money left over to scour northern Virginia for a suitable location to build a new radio station.

According to Mike Murphy, a former NCPAC official who was hired by Bo Hi Pak to advise on that particular project, "We drove all over northern Virginia in limousines looking at empty lots on high ground. When I asked them how soon they were thinking of starting [the radio station], one of them opened up a suitcase and smiled. It was full of dollars."⁶

It is clear that the Unification Church is applying its "Heavenly Deception" dogma—that lying is necessary when doing God's work and that truth is what Moon, as the son of God, says it is—to its financial matters. For a church of dwindling congregation and of annual profits from its industrial holdings in Korea estimated at considerably less than \$10,000,000, to lose \$150,000,000 on a newspaper in the United States, to operate unprofitable fishing fleets in Massachusetts and Louisiana, to spend untold millions for conferences throughout the world, and simultaneously to deposit \$100,000,000 into a South American country, leaves a financial dis-

out North and South America join forces under a single ideological banner to fight communism. That ideological banner would of course be Unificationism. It has pursued this goal by extending invitations to CAUSA seminars to businessmen, political leaders, scientists, and journalists, all expenses paid. It also organizes "fact-finding" trips to Asia and the United States and carries the message of theological anti-communism into the hinterlands of Latin America through radio stations and newspapers in eighteen countries.

What has emerged, then, is a pattern of Moon joining forces with prominent American conservatives, former military and intelligence officials, and Reagan Administration appointees to jointly pursue a Latin America policy independent of the will of any government and of the dictates of any congress. This alliance has in fact been secured to such an extent that the disclosures of Koreagate might pale in comparison. It is perhaps for that reason that an analyst for the Institute of Defense Analysis, a Pentagon-funded think tank, warned of the possible effects that exposure of the Administration's ties to the Church might have on the 1984 elections.

Current Moonie involvement with government officials, contractors and grantees . . . could create a major scandal. If their activities and role become public knowledge, it will unite both the left and the right in attacking the Administration.

Moonie involvement leaves the government open to charges that can only be called mind-boggling. . . . If efforts are not taken to stop their growing influence and weed out current Moonie involvement in government, the President stands a good chance of being portrayed in the media as a poor, naive incompetent.

Lest the point be missed, the writer concludes, "Any thought that this festering problem will go away if ignored is foolish. There have been comments in the media about Moonie activities and the likelihood [*sic*] of a reporter or a democratic staff member piecing the total picture together is too great to be neglected."

In 1983, CAUSA sponsored a series of four-day seminars in Honduras on the evils of communism. Among the speakers were Lynn Bouchev of the Council for Inter-American Security and Jay Parker, chairman of the Lincoln Institute (and member of the board of directors of the U.S. chapter of the World Anti-Communist League).

Moises Jesus de Ulloa Duarte, a conservative Honduran radio commentator as well as the former head of his nation's chapter of the World Anti-Communist League, traveled to Korea on the invitation of the Unification Church. "I went because I supported their anti-communist beliefs. But," he added enigmatically, "I don't like the way they raise their money."¹⁰

CAUSA also turned its attention to the Nicaraguan exiles. In a Tegucigalpa safehouse in 1983, contra leader Fernando "El Negro" Chamorro told one of the authors that CAUSA had first approached him the year before, offering to help "unite the contra factions."

Chamorro said he went as far as to take them up on a free trip to the United States; there he met with some Unification Church officials in San Francisco and attended Moonie-arranged meetings with the heads of other Nicaraguan exile groups. "The trip was the extent of my relationship with them, but other help was offered. At the time, I had reasons to consider the offer, but I couldn't tell whether there might be strings attached. I don't want them to give us money and then to turn this around into a Moonie thing."

Other contras have accepted CAUSA's offers of help, notably Steadman Fagoth, the former leader of the Misura guerrilla force of Miskito Indians and Atlantic Coast black Creoles. Fagoth's top aides admitted to receiving material and financial aid from CAUSA, especially since the cutoff of CIA aid in May 1984. In the autumn of 1984, when Misura's political officers were scrambling for money to pay the telephone and rent bills for their Tegucigalpa safehouse, CAUSA helped them out with nearly eleven thousand dollars in cash. Several tons of food, medicine, and clothing, paid for by CAUSA, have also been sent to Misura's base camps in the desolate, swampy Honduran Mosquitia region bordering Nicaragua. One of the authors, who spent several weeks with Misura guerrillas in June and July 1984, noticed Misura fighters wearing red T-shirts emblazoned with the CAUSA logo.

10. Ulloa Duarte to coauthor, Tegucigalpa, Honduras, March 1 1985.

In March 1985, the College Republicans, an adjunct of the Republican National Committee, distributed a poster, "Save the Contras," featuring an armed contra and the reminder that "only 53 cents a day will support a Nicaraguan freedom fighter." CAUSA USA has sent an estimated one million dollars in supplies to refugees in Honduras since mid-1984. In May 1985, the Moon-owned *Washington Times* announced that Bo Hi Pak was contributing \$100,000 toward a private fund that the *Times* was establishing to raise fourteen million dollars for the contras.²²

22. As *Times* editor Arnaud de Borchgrave told *The Washington Post*, "People ask, how can the paper afford to do this when it isn't making money? The answer is that, on important moral issues, our corporate owners [Unification Church] are willing to lend extraordinary assistance." *The Washington Post*, (May 7, 1985), p. E4.

In Central America, the killing goes on. Formerly neutral Costa Rica has adopted an increasingly militant stance against Sandinista Nicaragua, a policy shift strongly advocated by both the World Anti-Communist League and the Reagan Administration. Honduras remains the primary staging ground for the contras, who have grown and expanded their operations, thanks, in large part, to the League's aid. CAUSA, the anti-communist political arm of the Reverend Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church, still maintains an office in the Honduran capital. "The Spiritual Father" is now able to play a more active role in CAUSA and other Church fronts since his August 1985, release from a U.S. prison where he served over a year for tax evasion.



JIM FULTON, M.P.
SKEENA

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Mr. Mike Harcourt
Leader of the NDP
Legislative Buildings
Victoria, B.C.

Dear Mike,

Time to take a look at the reality of the B.C. Forest Alliance. You will note on this fax from Jerry Lampert to Jack Kempf that Mr. Lampert (Rita Johnson & VanderZalm's advisor) is acting as an intermediary for the "Alliance". You will note from the letter that Mr. Lampert confirms the forest industry as using the Alliance as a front.

Get it Mike. The Socreds and the forest companies and the Alliance are all one. You might guess that I am perplexed that Jack Munro is the President.

Sincerely,

JIM FULTON, MP
Skeena

JF.cm
cc: A. McLaughlin



Affiliated with CLC

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April 26, 1991

Mr. Jim Fulton, M.P.
 Skeena
 House of Commons
 Ottawa, Ontario
 K1A 0A6

APR 30 1991

Dear Jim:

The NDP and IWA-CANADA both represent Canadian working people. It is in the best interest of those people that we find ways to work together and present to them a set of common facts. I believe that many of the facts which you have stated in your letter to me are incorrect. I also contend that it is wrong of you to constantly compare B.C. Forest Practices with those in the Brazilian rainforest. It is wrong for a number of reasons but primarily it is wrong because the people of British Columbia will pay too high a price for a situation that does not actually exist.

Let me list a few facts from your letter with which I disagree:

1. You state that the AAC was over 100 million m³ (you don't state the year). Last year's AAC was 80 million m³ for Crown and other forest lands - the actual harvest was 78 million m³.
2. You compare employment in the California forest industry with our own. You must realize that in many cases you are arguing apples and oranges. Land ownership, wage scales, import levels are all factors which must be taken into account when comparing employment to cubic metres of harvested timber.
3. The Ministry of Forests states that 7% of B.C. land is reserved. Given the forest profile of this province, the majority of that forest land is mature.

What you also fail to mention are the many concurrent initiatives which will set even more tracts of mature and immature forests aside for parks and wilderness. However, if certain sectors of society are successful in affecting the demand side of our industry you can be sure that these proposals will have to be revisited. A country or a province must have fairly full coffers before it can afford to become only pristine wilderness.

Mr. Jim Fulton, M.P.
April 26, 1991
Page 2

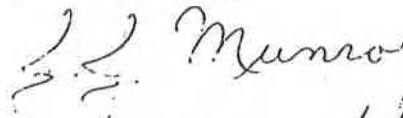
A primary objection that I have with your letter is its tone. You appear to assume that simply quoting numbers, as in size or rate of harvest, proves beyond a shadow of a doubt that damage is being caused. Numbers and size do not in-and-of-themselves mean environmental degradation. This sets a dangerous stage for public debate. It would be infinitely more valuable to the working people of this country if you would analyze the figures rather than simply quote them (after having ensured that they are correct of course).

The remainder of your letter is so filled with inconsistencies that I believe it is in each of our best interest for us to meet and discuss the material in detail.

Again, your fundamental premise that compares us to Brazil is wrong and could, in the wrong hands, create real hardships for the people of this country. Brazilian rainforests are burned, never to be replanted -- the land is used for cattle ranching. Canadian forests - rainforests or not - are logged, and the areas managed in such a way as to produce more forests as quickly as possible.

We should be fighting together to ensure that we increase employment, that we produce high quality forests on the lands that we harvest and that we continually improve our forest practices. We should not be spreading misinformation that confuses an already complex issue.

Yours truly,


J. J. Munro
President

CD/smj
oteu 15



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January 23, 1992
Ottawa, Ontario

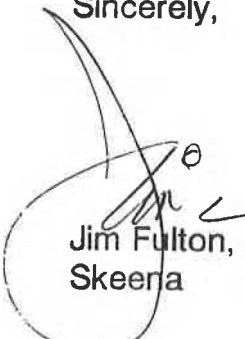
Dear Friends,

The Parliamentary Library last month completed an investigation of the connections of "Share" groups to corporate agendas and beyond.

Many residents of the Northwest have been encouraged to join the groups and they have not been told about the real agenda as exposed by the Parliamentary Library.

I urge you to read it.

Sincerely,



Jim Fulton, M.P.
Skeena



Robert E. Skelly, M.P.
Comox - Alberni



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January 7, 1992

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Dear Colleague,

I enclose a copy of a study entitled "Share Groups in British Columbia" recently completed by the Library of Parliament at my request. Included is an Executive Summary of the report prepared by my Parliamentary Staff.

The Parliamentary Library study documents the connections between Share Groups in B.C. and the "Wise Use Movement" in the United States which has links to numerous ultra-right wing, anti-labour organizations in the U.S. and elsewhere.

The founder of the so-called "wise use" movement, Ron Arnold of the Centre for the Defense of Free Enterprise in Bellevue, Washington, is an advocate of the creation of corporate-sponsored "citizen's groups" such as "Share" in British Columbia and "Northcare" in Temagami, Ontario.

All of these groups use language, rhetoric and propaganda styles which are similar to "wise use" groups in the States. They all depend in part on corporate funding and tend to support a corporate approach to forest management, which has come under intense criticism both in Canada and internationally in recent years.

The vast majority of British Columbians and Canadians want to see our forests managed to secure the maximum economic and employment benefits, not just for a few, but for all Canadians now and in the future. Canadians and British Columbians have also made it clear that they want to see sufficient areas of our natural environment set aside to ensure the survival of our planet and to guarantee a future for our children.

These two objectives can be achieved as the Bruntland Commission has stated, but only if those involved in the debate over management of our natural resources are honest, not only to the public, but also to their own members as to whom they represent and what their political and economic motives are.

.../2

"Share Groups in British Columbia" by the Library of Parliament

Executive Summary

THE PAPER CONCLUDES THAT grassroots movements and lobbying activity are legitimate and desirable in a democratic society, but they are open to criticism if deliberately misrepresenting either the identity of interests involved or their goals.

With respect to B.C. Share Groups, the forest companies have provided these "local citizens' coalitions" with much of their organizational impetus and financial backing. Their apparent objective has been to pit labour against environmentalists and environmentally-oriented persons. Their effect has been to divide communities and create animosity in the very places where honest communication and consensus should be encouraged.

While the rank and file membership of the Share movement may not be aware of its connection with the Wise Use movement, the tactics and language of the two movements indicate a common source of counselling and training, namely Ron Arnold and his associates.

Share organizers who chose to accept counsel and coaching from these sources were likely in a position to know about Wise Use and its advocates in the Centre for the Defence of Free Enterprise and the American Freedom Coalition.

A SITUATION WHERE FORESTLAND IS PUBLICLY OWNED and privately managed, as in British Columbia, causes political, social and economic conflicts over its use and benefits.

Ownership of the forest sector has become increasingly concentrated into the hands of a few multinational corporations.

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THE FORESTRY SECTOR IN NORTH AMERICA has a strikingly deep conviction that outside criticism is misguided, if not malevolent. Consequently, it has attempted to wage a public relations battle with environmentalists.

As Wise Use Movement founder Ron Arnold has advised B.C. forest executives on several occasions, it is hard for multinational corporations to be credible waging a media campaign against environmentalists, so they should fund other citizens' groups to defend them, and "get the hell out of the way".

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RON ARNOLD IS THE EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT of the Centre for the Defense of Free Enterprise, author of *Ecology Wars* and a preface to *The Wise Use Agenda*, and a consultant hired by pro-pesticide groups, the Ontario Forest Industries Association, and the Canadian Pulp and Paper Association.

Among his views are:

- that continued use of pesticides and agricultural chemicals by the free enterprise system would be facilitated by any constitutional change that would further weaken the central government in Canada
- that scientific evidence regarding the health risks of pesticides is false or exaggerated
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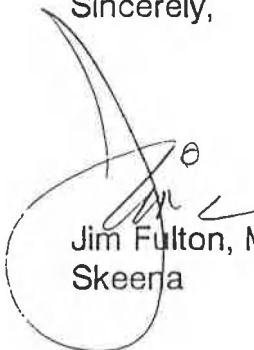
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January 7, 1992

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SHARE GROUPS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

Claude Emery
Political and Social Affairs Division

10 December 1991



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SHARE GROUPS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

BACKGROUND

A. Ownership of Forestlands

Forestry in North America is a natural resource-based industry subject to considerable controversy - the so-called "politics" of forest resources being determined to a large extent by who owns the land.

In the United States, the key to future western timber supply is said to be the National Forestland held by the federal government, which contains an estimated two-thirds of the western U.S. softwood inventory, almost all the country's virgin forest, but only a little over one-third of the region's annual cut. In Canada, most of the productive forest, or 91%, is owned by the Crown (i.e., the public).⁽¹⁾ The provinces are responsible for 80% of the productive forests. The federal government's 11% ownership consists mainly of the untapped forests of the Yukon and the Northwest Territories; about 9% of the national total is therefore privately owned. In British Columbia, where about 40% of Canada's growing stock volume is located, the provincial government controls about 95% of the province's forests; about 1% is federal Crown land.⁽²⁾ Thus, throughout Canada, the pattern of forestland ownership (i.e., public ownership)⁽³⁾ closely parallels that in the western United States.

(1) About 45% of Canada's total area is forested, but only 244 million hectares (or 54%) of the area is productive forest (i.e., land that is capable of producing a forest crop).

(2) Forestry Canada, *Forestry Facts*, Supply and Services Canada, Revised May 1990, p. 16-17.

(3) The only provinces with significant portions of their forests in private hands are Prince Edward Island (about 93% is privately owned), Nova Scotia (more than 70%) and New Brunswick (about 50%). Forestry Canada, *The State of Forestry in Canada: 1990 Report to Parliament*, Supply and Services Canada, 1991, p. 20.

Webster defines forestry both as "the science of developing, caring for, or cultivating forests" and "the management of growing timber," a rather ambiguous description. It should come as no surprise that opposing sides in the logging debate base their cases on quite different views of forests and forest management. Where forestlands are held principally by private individuals or industry, one may anticipate the emphasis tilting toward commercial management or growing timber. Also noteworthy is the tendency on the part of some foresters to interpret their responsibility to be the management of wildland resources, and not management of timber alone or even timber as a dominant objective.⁽⁷⁾

In Canada, the focus of forest management has historically been the production of timber and fibre for industrial use.⁽⁸⁾ By this standard, trees, whether in a virgin forest or in a planted one, are there for harvesting. Thus, the primary aim of forest management would be the long-term sustainability of production. As MacMillan Bloedel Ltd., B.C.'s largest forest products firm, explained in a recent internal memo, "the culture of the B.C. forest industry is rooted in pride of our efficient conquest of the forest resource. Our industry jargon is laden with terms such as extraction, liquidation, exploitation and denudation. We speak of a resource, not a forest; of fibre, not trees."⁽⁹⁾

More recently, however, society has come to recognize that forests are more than mere "fibre" producers. For example, it is widely acknowledged that recreational resources have emerged as the dominant resources on the public forestlands during the second half of the twentieth century.⁽¹⁰⁾ Wilderness and the wildlife that the forest supports are also valued for their own sake, and ecologists point to the importance of forests in maintaining a stable global ecosystem and in preserving biological diversity.

(7) Bowes and Krutilla (1989), p. 2.

(8) Forestry Canada, *The State of Forestry in Canada: 1990 Report to Parliament*, Supply and Services Canada, 1991, p. 18-19.

(9) Quoted in Joel Connely, "The Big Cut," *Sierra*, May/June 1991, p. 44.

(10) Bowes and Krutilla (1989), p. 337.

were created suddenly with large amounts of "outside" capital that was used to buy up a number of companies along with their timber rights.(15)

In British Columbia, the result over the past 40 years has been that timber rights have become concentrated in a few corporate hands. Perhaps a more significant feature of the industry's structure is its domination by large transnational corporations, though for the most part it is concentrated into a continental framework. According to a recent B.C. Central Credit Union newsletter, slightly more than two-thirds of B.C.'s forest industry assets are now controlled by shareholders outside the province.(16) For some, the situation leads to potential conflict of interest between absentee shareholders and the people of B.C.; the concern is that the national pursuit of profit may conflict with environmental and community priorities such as maintaining employment levels. The ultimate objective of forest companies in becoming diversified multinational corporations, or in becoming part of larger corporate enterprises, was to acquire financial stability.(17)

Current operating conditions in the industry have been well publicized. These are characterized by sluggish markets and falling prices for pulp and newsprint, and lower demand in North America and overseas for solid wood products. For example, MacMillan Bloedel of Vancouver and Canadian Pacific Forest Products of Montreal, two of Canada's leading pulp and paper and lumber firms, lost a combined \$154.5 million in the first nine months of 1991. In fact, virtually all of B.C.'s more than 100 forestry companies have reported dramatic decreases (or losses) in their

(15) Drushka (1985), p. 205-206.

(16) See Richard Watts, "Foreigners Controlling B.C. Forests," *Times Colonist*, 15 December 1990; "Who Controls B.C.'s Forest Industry?" *Forest Planning Canada*, Vol. 7, No. 2, March/April 1991, p. 15; Patrick Durrant, "Our Trees in Foreign Hands," *The Province*, 14 December 1990. Eastern Canadian corporations reportedly control 27.1% of the assets of the province's 25 largest corporations, which account for 97% of industry revenues. Foreign corporations control 43.2% of industry assets. "Control" is defined as ownership in excess of 50%; this probably understates the number of companies actually controlled from outside the province since effective control can often be achieved with less than half ownership.

(17) Drushka (1985), p. 199-202.



and less intensely harvested areas), according to a recent report tabled in the House of Commons, Canada's productive forest decreased by some 4.7 million hectares between 1976 and 1986 (latest available statistics).⁽²¹⁾ According to a national survey of 2,362 professional foresters undertaken in 1990, 60% of respondents stated that the government allowed too much timber to be cut annually; more than 75% indicated a growing scarcity of wood in their province. In B.C., almost half of those who took part in the survey rated the prospects of sustaining the current supply of harvestable wood as "poor."⁽²²⁾

THE SHARE GROUP PHENOMENON

A. Objectives

A striking feature of the forestry sector is its deep conviction that criticism of the industry from environmentalists and the public is, to put it mildly, misguided, if not purely malevolent. Within the industry, "politics" is generally understood to include all the influences on the industry from the "outside," and these are considered to be "irrational." Environmental groups are accused of waging an insidious campaign of lies, of having an "unfinishable" agenda, and of trying to cripple the provincial economy. These groups have been pictured as part of a sinister, well organized and powerful international network. Increasingly, the two components of the forest industry - management and labour - have resorted to media campaigns to convince the public of the soundness of current forest management practices. Environmentalists and their allies, for their part, claim that the logging versus conservation debate is a false polarization, one that has been fostered by the logging industry to cover up its profligate ways.

(21) Forestry Canada, *The State of Forestry in Canada*, 1991, p. 59.

(22) Omnifacts Research Limited, Environics Research Group Limited, CROP Inc., *Survey of Professional Foresters in Canada: Executive Summary from the Final Report to Forestry Canada*, Supply and Services Canada, 1991, p. 1-2.

citizens' groups - 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.⁽²⁴⁾ Typically, a Share group presents itself to the public as reasonable, objective, conciliatory, neutral and "middle-of-the-road." Spokespersons go to considerable lengths to emphasize that their activities come from community participation - that they are "grassroots" organizations of loggers, their families and other townspeople from resource-based communities. Stated goals include the maintenance of jobs in the forestry sector and the way of life in rural areas. The Share movement advocates a "shared-use" approach to forest management, rather than having areas dedicated 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.

Billing itself as an independent citizens' organization, the newest group, officially launched in April 1991 and initially funded by business (13 forest companies) and labour, is the B.C. Forest Alliance (BCFA). The organization "of concerned British Columbians" is said to be directed by a 30-member Citizens' Advisory Board whose members include trade unionists, forest company executives and others such as mayors and ex-mayors in the province. The following excerpts from a letter by the President and Chief Executive Officer of MacMillan Bloedel Limited, circulated to its employees on 10 April 1991, summarizes the BCFA's stated mandate and objectives as follows:

The Alliance will focus its efforts on B.C.'s forest-land use and forest practices debate. Its goal is to show the people of B.C. that it is not necessary to choose between the economy and the environment - we can and must have both. With time, we hope it will become the public's most trusted source of information on the

(24) There have also been similar community groups in Ontario; for example, Share the Temagami, Northcare or Northern Community Advocates for Resource Equity.



campaign, the same firm that managed the responses to the Bhopal poison gas disaster in India and the Tylenol deaths in the United States. (26)

Although the rank-and-file of Share groups may be a cross-section of local populations in resource-dependent communities (e.g., loggers and their families who fear losing their jobs), much of their personnel and funding can be traced to resource industry corporations and concerns which have a stake in maintaining the status quo, or in pushing for an agenda of commercial development. (27) Industry-sponsored consultants have also been instrumental in organizing the Share movement.

B. The Ron Arnold Philosophy

One such expert is Ron Arnold, a self-styled "consumerist," "sage," and chief ideologue and strategist of the burgeoning "Wise Use Movement" in the United States. He has spent several years travelling 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. (28) Ron Arnold has advised the B.C. forestry industry and various Share Groups, and reportedly has a network of

(26) Anne Fletcher, "PR Link for Forest Firms and Unions," *The Financial Post*, 11 April 1991; Blake Desaulniers, "Environmentalists and the Big (Green) Lie," *Logging and Sawmilling Journal*, May/June 1991; Deborah Wilson, "Alliance Challenged by Environmentalists," *The Globe and Mail*, 8 July 1991; Ben Parfitt, "PR Giant in Forestry Drive Linked to World's Hotspots," *The Vancouver Sun*, 8 July 1991. Burson-Marsteller has also been credited with recommending the establishment of the B.C. Forest Alliance. See Allan Fotheringham, "Class Warfare Enters B.C. Logging Debate," *Financial Post*, 25 July 1991.

(27) Purcell (1989), p. 25; Howard Goldenthal, "Polarizing the Public Debate to Subvert Ecology Activism," *Now*, 13-19 July 1989, p. 13; "Industry Versus the Environment Via the 'People'," in *Deforestation and Development in Canada and the Tropics*, Aaron Schneider, ed., Centre for International Studies, University College of Cape Breton, N.S., 1989, p. 129; Bob Nixon, "Multiple-Use Lobby Off to Shaky Start: Comment," *Forest Planning Canada*, Vol. 4, No. 6, November/December 1988, p. 4.

(28) Noel McNaughton, "Propaganda," CBC Radio, Noon, 21 July 1989; Carol Latter and Juaneta Haddad, "Sharing with the Share Groups," *The Leaflet*, Vol. 26, No. 1, January 1989, p. 1.



quoting a length for its revelations about the speaker's ideology and belief system.

A small but vociferous minority in North America is effectively stopping the use of vital agrichemicals, not on the basis of scientifically sound health and safety concerns, but to forward the lifestyle, world view and political goals of anti-pesticide activists, thereby diverting precious time, money and the public interest from legitimate questions of safe and beneficial pesticide use...

I began to study these groups in 1978 as part of my 10-year investigation of all environmentalist organizations... I was struck by something about the anti-pesticide advocates I was investigating that didn't ring quite true. In public, I kept hearing them talk only about the scientific health and safety concerns over pesticides, but in private I kept hearing snatches of conversation and seeing notes on bulletin boards about citizen power, about building a counter-culture with clout, about the elimination of capitalism, about revolutionary social change, and other political rhetoric of the far left...

But in my investigation of CATH [Citizens Against Toxic Herbicides], I found something far more insidious and far more threatening to the future of industrial civilization. I found a number of scientists who were doing for the anti-pesticide movement what anti-pesticide advocates have accused industry scientists of doing: altering their findings to make a point: exaggerate the dangers of pesticides. With the world food supply the way it is, that to me amounts to shouting "Fire!" in a crowded theatre...

Your nation [Canada] has certain advantages over the U.S. in maintaining the right to use agrichemicals, for example, you have a relatively weak federal government and strong provincial rights, whereas the U.S. has a very strong central government and relatively weak states rights. You seem about to bring your Constitution home in order to amend it. To all those who are interested in the continued use of agrichemicals by the free enterprise system, I would suggest a hard look at retaining strong provincial power and relatively weak federal power. I can tell you from experience that you

scientific quarrel" but "a social and political quarrel about how forests should be managed";

- said he believed that the philosophy of environmental movements was provided by Marxist-Leninists who were using environmental concerns as a way of furthering the Marxist struggle;
 - said he had proof that the Soviets were financing the Environmental Party (Greens) in West Germany and that the Soviet Union saw the environmental movement as a "vehicle by which the USSR [could] encourage the 'free world to voluntarily cripple its own economy";
 - stated that in an activist society, no industry could save itself by itself; and that industry should encourage the development of citizen activist groups supportive of the need to produce goods and supply basic needs; and
 - argued that private property, free enterprise and the ability to produce food for a hungry world were important causes for such citizen groups to champion, and that there were market solutions to every problem. (35)
3. Speech Given to a Conference Sponsored by the Canadian Pulp and Paper Association, March 1985

In relating his experiences in "studying" and "fighting" the anti-pesticide movement, Ron Arnold told his audience that:

- a "small but vociferous minority in North America" had been effectively opposing "the use of vital agri-chemicals," a minority associated with the wider environmental movement which constituted "less than 2% of the entire North American population";
- although the development of environmentalism in Canada and the U.S. closely parallel each other, the Canadian form of government promoted "far more rational deliberation of environmentalism" because of the

(35) Tom McKegney, New Brunswick Natural Resources, Forest Extension Service, Operational Note, 25 October 1984. Other speakers included Maurice Tugwell, Director of the Centre for Conflict Studies at the University of New Brunswick and identified as an expert on the use of propaganda in so-called "low-level" conflicts, and Dave Dietz, a lawyer/lobbyist whose firm had been involved in an organization called Oregonians for Food and Shelter, which had been working against the anti-pesticide movement in Oregon.

free enterprise throughout the world. It currently has 100,000 supporters whose small contributions from \$10 to \$25 make up a substantial portion of its annual budget. It accepts foundation and corporate grants for both general operating support or for specially designated projects such as battle books. It accepts anonymous gifts and bequests. Donations and gifts are 100% tax deductible under U.S. law. The Center is legally permitted to lobby in the U.S. with up to 20% of its income. The Center's legal defence fund is able to bring lawsuits in defence of free enterprise, even if that involves suing environmental groups for publishing lies. It is another voice in the growing pro-industry movement. (38)

The Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise was said to operate three "fascinating departments" that received his "special attention."

The first is the American Broadcasting Network whose weekly public service radio program "economics 101 on the air" is heard on some U.S. radio stations, reaching 25 million listeners with messages in defence of free enterprise...

The second department is the American Press Syndicate that provides news feeds to 400 U.S. newspapers including both opinion columns and hard news feature stories on free enterprise issues.

The third department is the Free Enterprise Press, a publishing house capable of producing books rapidly and at substantially lowered cost because of its fully computerized typesetting program and competitive production jobbing methods. (39)

Ron Arnold concluded his speech by saying that environmentalists were "not likely to abandon their ideology because they hold their misguided beliefs with religious fervour." (40)

(38) *Ibid.*

(39) *Ibid.*

(40) *Ibid.* That year (1985), Ron Arnold suggested that Union Carbide was not to blame for the methyl isocyanate disaster in Bhopal, India. He wrote: "Sabotage is not far-fetched. The Soviets were certainly the propaganda beneficiaries. What really happened? We may never know. It may be another failure of human technology. But it could also be another Soviet mass murder. Will investigators explore that possibility?" Quoted in "Industry Versus the Environment...", 1989, p. 129.

mentalists count on the public not being too well informed on technical timber issues...

They also know that the human personality contains much more than the intellect which responds to rational argument. They know that a much more fundamental part of human personality is emotion and intuition. Environmental leaders are excellent political psychologists. They know that most ordinary people vote their feelings, not their intellectual information. They know that most ordinary people make decisions based on intuition, beliefs and gut feel, not on qualified expert opinion... They get people to support wilderness preservation and all their other issues, not by providing information, but instead by evoking archetypes and great symbols that touch the collective unconscious - such things as lashing out against oppressive authority figures and father figures, symbolized by big business; such things as the urge to return to paradise, the urge to return to the womb, as symbolized by the wilderness; such things as primal guilt for disrupting the life web of mother earth, which in the unconscious evokes all sorts of powerful links to the listener's actual biological mother. (43)

The so-called "unconscious archetypes" employed by environmentalism, although never discussed openly, were said to be always present as a silent sub-text. Ron Arnold told his audience that the environmental movement, as such, was a type of cult, engaged in "genuine psychological warfare" aimed at gathering recruits and manipulating the masses.

And once newly committed people have joined an environmental group, they became True Believers who will fight and die for the cause. Their sincerity and lack of selfish interest are intuitively obvious to the public. They make perfect shills for movement leaders who are well aware that they're manipulating people. (44)

Arnold also warned that all attempts by the timber industry to turn public opinion against environmentalists with a public relations campaign were bound to fail.

(43) *Ibid.*, p. 131.

(44) *Ibid.*, p. 132.



coordinate whatever information resources may be needed to deal with developing issues...

Must publish books, articles and other media features designed to gradually shift the intellectual climate toward approval of the forest products industry in Canada. It must take every opportunity to recruit opinion leaders to write and speak in favour of permanent multiple use policies and find outlets for their messages...

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 50 years. (47)

C. Share Groups and the Wise Use Connection

A discussion of Share Groups in B.C. invariably leads to Ron Arnold. It would also appear that Share tactics have their origins not in rural British Columbia, but in the so-called "Wise Use" movement in the United States - a movement formed on the reasoning that the only way to battle a "grassroots" movement (like environmentalism) is with another such movement. (48)

Although resistance to wilderness and environmental regulation in the United States has existed for many years, the Wise Use movement only began organizing in earnest in 1988, (49) at the first of many conferences sponsored by the Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise, an organization headed by Ron Arnold (as previously mentioned). Share groups in B.C., at least in part, 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

(47) *Ibid.*

(48) Jeff Keller, "Hard Sell: Mind Games," *Equity*, Vol. 8, 6 September 1990, p. 24.

(49) Dan Baum, "Wise Guise," *Sierra*, May/June 1991, p. 72.



- What is the proper place of mankind and industrial civilization in the natural world?(53)

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 the following as affiliates from British Columbia:

- Cariboo Lumber Manufacturers Association, Williams Lake
- Council of Forest Industries, Vancouver
- Furney Distributing Ltd., Port McNeill
- MacMillan Bloedel Ltd., Vancouver
- Mining Association of British Columbia, Vancouver
- Jack Mitchell, Alderman, City of Port Alberni
- Share Our Forest Society, Cobble Hill
- Share the Stein Committee, Lytton
- Truck Loggers Association, Vancouver
- Western Forest Products Ltd., Port McNeill(54)

The Agenda's top 25 goals include:

- clear-cutting old growth on national forestlands (old-growth stands are termed "decaying and oxygen-using forest growth" and young ones are called "oxygen-producing, carbon dioxide absorbing trees" which "help ameliorate the rate of global warming and prevent the greenhouse effect");
- rewriting the *Endangered Species Act* to remove protection for such "non-adaptive species" as 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 in the interest of national security");

(53) Alan M. Gottlieb, ed., *The Wise Use Agenda: The Citizen's Policy Guide to Environmental Resource Issues*, Task Force Report Sponsored by the Wise Use Movement, Introduction by Ron Arnold, The Free Enterprise Press, Bellevue, Washington, 1989, p. viii.

(54) *Ibid.*, p. 158.



- You Have a Right to Be Here,
No Less Than the Trees and the Stars
- Don't Be Stingy - Share the Earth(57)

Gifford Pinchot, first chief of the U.S. Forest Service, reportedly gave Ron Arnold the idea for the movement's name in a 1907 quote "Conservation is the wise use of resources." (58) The concept of "wise" or "multiple use," however, as applied by activists in the Wise Use movement, can be categorized, to put it mildly, as "pro-industry" and "pro-development." (59) As one observer put it,

[Activists who] call themselves members of the "wise use" or "multiple use" movement ... are dedicated to keeping public and private land open to logging, mining, drilling, motorized recreation and all manner of commercial enterprise. In other words, they oppose designating any land "wilderness" and openly - even proudly - abhor the notion of preserving the habitats of endangered species. As they put it, land is to be used to benefit humanity, not preserved in a bubble. They resent the government telling them, in the name of the environment, what to do with privately owned marshes, apple orchards, factories or slag heaps. (60)

In brief, the Wise Use philosophy portrays environmentalists as extremists pursuing a hidden and "unfinishable agenda" aimed at ending all resource use "to destroy industrial civilization."

In the United States, dozens of Wise Use organizations similar to Share groups are said to have sprung up, mostly in the West. Through newsletters, rallies and conferences, Wise Use is said to be bringing together such disparate interests as the American Farm Bureau Federation and the Eastern Washington Dirt Riders, Oregonians for Food and Shelter and the National Rifle Association. Estimates of potential

(57) *Ibid.*, p. xi-xii.

(58) Knox (1990), p. 35; Jon Krakauer, "Brown Fellas," *Outside*, Vol. XVI, No. 12, December 1991, p. 71.

(59) Baum (1991), p. 72.

(60) Knox (1990), p. 31.

There is a great deal of background to each of those concerns, and I know you've been made aware of labour's views on the corporate involvement and the anti-labour agenda of some of the members of both your group and the Wise Use Movement, such as the Communities for a Great Northwest. (65)

In Montana, there are reportedly 18 chapters of People for the West, a "grassroots" campaign organized by the Western States Public Lands Coalition (headquartered in Pueblo, Colorado), which claims to represent 350 groups in 15 states in its fight for multiple use of all public lands. Both organizations are said to be dominated by oil and natural gas companies. (66) Corporate sponsors of the third annual Wise Use conference in April 1990 are said to have included such companies as Chevron, Exxon U.S.A., Shell Oil and Georgia-Pacific. (67) Wise Use activists are also said to have had certain legislative influence in the United States.

Three bills were introduced in Congress last year that appeared to have been taken straight from the [*Wise Use Agenda*]. The *Community Stability Act* would have placed the economic effects of timber policy above environmental effects; the *Recreational Trails Fund Act* would have diverted a portion of federal gasoline taxes to build motorized-vehicle recreation trails; and the *National Forest Plan Implementation Act* would have put production ahead of all other forest values.

... Another *Agenda* item was written into the *Americans with Disabilities Act* of 1990, designed to eliminate discrimination against the disabled. One provision of the new law requires a study to see if the *Wilderness Act* of 1964 - which bars any mechanical vehicles from designated wilderness - should be amended to admit motorized wheelchairs. That sounds innocuous, but Blue Ribbon Coalition president Clark Collins, who helped

(65) James W. Murry, Executive Secretary, Montana State AFL-CIO, Letter to Clark L. Collins, Executive Director, Blue Ribbon Coalition Inc., 9 August 1989.

(66) Donald R. Judge, Executive Secretary, Montana State AFL-CIO, Letter to the Honourable Robert Skelly, 19 March 1991; "Groups Arise from Land Dispute," 1991.

(67) Baum (1991), p. 92.



warped and clouded over by extremists we sometimes call "preservationists" or "environmentalists."

A goal of old environmentalism is to destroy or at least badly cripple industrialized capitalism. Old environmentalism has imposed regulations on industry and recreation that are too costly and unnecessary. In his book, *Ecology Wars*, author Ron Arnold says experts estimate 50% of all America's known energy reserves (oil, coal, natural gas) lies under public lands, lands that overzealous preservationists wish sealed off in the name of "Wilderness."

Wise use means loving the earth and life without hating technology, and without destroying industrial civilization.

Wise use means placing the future of natural resource management back on a firm foundation of scientific research.

Wise use philosophy has enjoyed support from the silent majority in North America. We're no longer silent. (72)

Patrick Armstrong, who is Director of Moresby Consulting Ltd., is also the publisher of *Envisage*, (73) a monthly B.C. "Share" publication.

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,"

(72) "The Voice of the Commons - Share B.C.," *Envisage: Environment and Land Use Perspectives*, Vol. 1, No. 11, Published by Moresby Consulting Ltd., December 1989.

(73) *Ibid.* At a Share B.C. Conference in 1989, Patrick Armstrong is quoted as saying: "The way we have done things in the past is changing. There is a new order that is taking place in terms of these natural resources debates. And I think this is a really good example, a little snapshot of the kind of things that happen." "Share B.C.: Community Stability and Land Use in the '90s," Conference Transcript, Chilliwack, B.C., 17-19 November 1989, p. 57.



And at MacMillan Bloedel, we understand that not only must we make ourselves heard: we must also deliver on our promises to protect and share our forests.(75)

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 British Columbia Environmental Information Institute founded and chaired by Gerry Furney, mayor of the B.C. logging town of Port MacNeill. 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,"(76) and has had the objective of encouraging "responsible, multiple use of public land and resources."(77) The Institute's founder has stated that the organization received its impetus from the 1988 Wise Use conference (previously mentioned).(78)

D. Wise Use and the Unification Church

Much of the evidence linking the Wise Use movement to the Unification Church comes largely from speculative newspaper accounts (by investigative journalists) published during the past four years. As mentioned, the Wise Use Conference held in Reno in 1988 was sponsored by Ron Arnold and the Centre for the Defence of Free Enterprise. The Bellevue Washington-based Centre shares offices and directors with the American Freedom Coalition (AFC),(79) a group identified by the *Seattle Times*,

(75) H. Williams, Assistant Chief Forester, MacMillan Bloedel Limited, "The Unfinishable Agenda," Speech to the Vancouver Rotary Club, Hotel Vancouver, 2 August 1988, p. 3-8.

(76) British Columbia Environmental Information Institute, "Our Challenge for the Nineties," A Presentation, undated.

(77) British Columbia Environmental Information Institute, "Environment Matters," Spring 1990, p. 1.

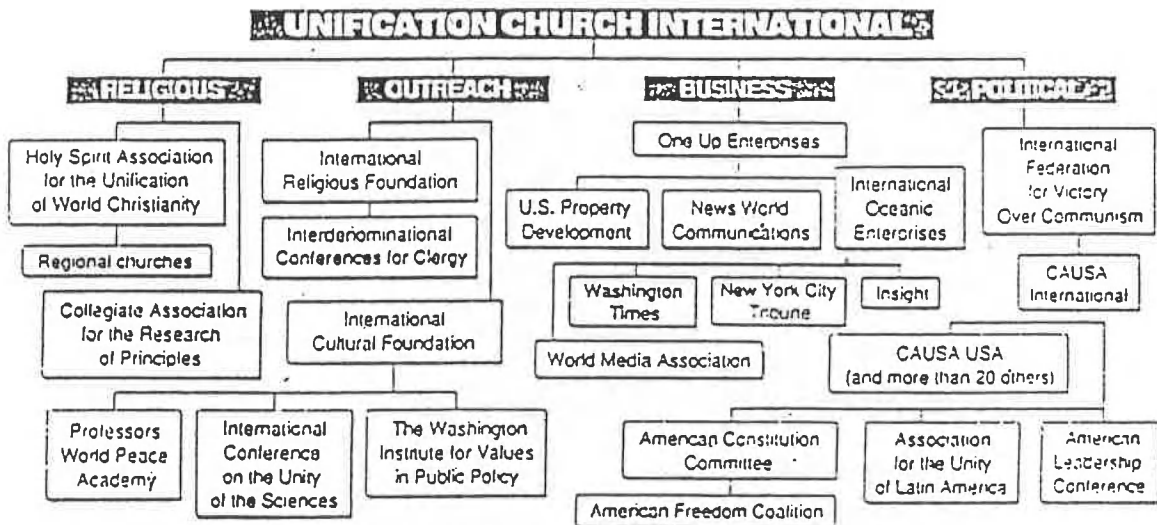
(78) "Share B.C.: Community Stability and Land Use in the '90s," Transcript, 17-19 November 1989, p. 21.

(79) Hume (1989), p. 6; Cameron (1989), p. 15; Goldenthal (1989), p. 13; Krakauer (1991), p. 114.



Figure 1

The American Freedom Coalition, the Confederation of Associations for the Unification of the Societies of the Americas, and Their Ties to the Unification Church



Information for this chart was pieced together from church publications. It does not include all church operations.

Source: Walter Hatch, "Big Names Lend Luster to Group's Causes: Church Leader Gains Legitimacy Among U.S. Conservatives," *The Seattle Times*, 13 February 1989.

funding from the Church.⁽⁸⁶⁾ It is noteworthy that the AFC and CAUSA are said to have been principal supporters of the contras in Nicaragua,⁽⁸⁷⁾ and backers of right-wing regimes in South America.⁽⁸⁸⁾ Alan Gottlieb, editor of the *Wise Use Agenda*, President and founder of the Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise, and organizer of the Wise Use movement, has been identified as a convicted tax felon,⁽⁸⁹⁾ a director of the AFC and fundraiser for that group in Washington state.⁽⁹⁰⁾

Some members of the B.C. contingent sent to Reno in 1988 have stated that they were unaware that the Unification Church had any links to the Conference.⁽⁹¹⁾ Ron Arnold has denied having any ties to the Church,⁽⁹²⁾ but is said to have confirmed that the Centre for the Defence of Free Enterprise was allied with a movement with the Church.⁽⁹³⁾ An investigative study conducted in 1989 and which appeared in the *Portland Free Press* (Oregon), shows the alleged connections between the Wise Use movement in the United States and an array of front groups, the Unification Church and certain corporations (Figure 2).

(86) Purcell (1989), p. 25; Hume (1989), p. 6; Cameron (1989), p. 15; Walter Hatch, "Big Names Lend Luster to Group's Causes: Church Leader Gains Legitimacy Among U.S. Conservatives," *The Seattle Times*, 13 February 1989, p. 4.

(87) Hatch (1989), p. 4; Clift (1988), p. 31; Fred Clarkson, "Privatizing the War," *Covert Action*, No. 22, Fall 1984, p. 30-31.

(88) Hatch (1989), p. 4; Mark Clifford, "Messianic Mission: Moon Driven by Efforts to Reunify Divided Peninsula," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 1 November 1990, p. 5-6. See also Scott Anderson and Jon Lee Anderson, *Inside the League*, Dodd, Mead and Company, New York, 1986, p. 129-130, 181, 232-234, 239 and 272.

(89) Baum (1991), p. 72; Krakauer (1991), p. 114.

(90) James W. Murry, Executive Secretary, Montana State AFL-CIO, 9 August 1989. *The Wise Use Agenda* contains a congratulatory telegram from George Bush and features a back-cover photo of the U.S. President alongside the President of the Centre for the Defence of Free Enterprise, Alan Gottlieb.

(91) Hume (1989), p. 6; Hume (1990), p. 9.

(92) Hume (1989), p. 6; Baum (1991), p. 92; Goldenthal (1989), p. 13.

(93) Purcell (1989), p. 25.

The Rev. Sun Myung Moon, the staunchly anti-communist head of the Unification Church, reportedly came to the United States from South Korea in 1971 with the objective of pursuing his vision of a worldwide theocracy with himself as the central figure. In brief, the Church's doctrine is based on the beliefs that:

- its founder and leader, Sun Myung Moon, is the earthly incarnation of God;
- its aim is to set up a world government in which church and state would be united, under Moon's leadership;
- "to win heaven one has to be powerful on earth" (a much repeated slogan);
- the world is divided into two systems - dictatorships of the "Cain-type" (communist states) and "Abel-type" democracies (capitalist countries).⁽⁹⁴⁾

A major focus of the Unification Church today is said to be "politics," "influence" and "credibility." International seminars and trips sponsored by the Church are said to be part of a public relations campaign to sell a new image of the Church.⁽⁹⁵⁾ Moon, who served almost 12 months in federal prison for tax evasion in the United States from 1984-1985, is said to have used several tools to achieve this goal, including the Unification Church and its followers, CAUSA and the AFC, to

(94) Maria Laura Avignolo, "After U.S. Jail Term, Moon Picks Uruguay as Investment Haven," *Latinamerica Press*, 12 December 1985, p. 6. The Church's *Commentary on the Divine Principle* claims that because Jesus Christ - the second Adam - failed in his mission to restore the Kingdom of Heaven on earth, a third Adam - the Lord of the Second Advent - born in Korea between 1917 and 1930, will complete this mission. Although the *Divine Principle* does not mention the Rev. Moon by name, it is said that his followers are encouraged to believe that Moon is this messiah. The Unification Church's brand of christianity has been disclaimed by established churches. Daniel Junas, "Rising Moon: The Unification Church's Japan Connection," Institute for Global Security Studies, Seattle, Washington, 1989, p. 13-14.

(95) Hume (1989), p. 6; Clifford (1990), p. 24-28; Mark Clifford, "Holy Business: Grandiose Schemes Funded by Donations, Borrowings," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 1 November 1990, p. 30; Frank Gibney, "A Panda of a Different Sort," *Newsweek*, 13 August 1990, p. 45; Roberta Clare, "Why we Need to Question the Moonies' 'Free' Trips," *The Presbyterian Record*, March 1990, p. 20-21.



brochures, mailings, fact sheets, speeches or conference transcripts put out by the movements in question. For example, the following are selected passages from a transcript of a Share B.C. conference held in November 1989:

Party politics of whatever stripe and whatever particular philosophy we may have as individuals has no place in what we are trying to do here... The reason politicians make such strange bedfellows is that they all like the same bunk. So that's the reason we are going to stay non-partisan - just the straight goods here...

There is a small group of people [environmentalists], I believe, that have very skilfully manipulated circumstances so that they are really controlling the agenda in this province. ... Somehow we must wrest power from their hands...

I think we have turned the corner in a real sense. ... First of all, politicians are beginning to listen in Victoria, and in Ottawa. And, of course, the municipal politicians have been listening for a long time and they are your strongest allies and supporters. Number two, the judges are beginning to listen...

It was Eric Hoffer, the San Francisco longshoreman philosopher, who said, "The very survival of the human species depends on a much grander sense of compassion than we see in society today." The human species, not the Suzuki species, but the human species. There is now a terrible tendency on the part of some writers to deal with the human race with contempt. It's a tragic, upside down way to look at the world. And I deplore it constantly...

The comparison photographs ... dispel the myth that moonscape and permanent deforestation are appropriate words spoken by our friend David Suzuki, the Jimmy Swagart of wilderness advocacy...

In fact, senior staff of the federal Environment Minister did, in my opinion, break the law, by continually communicating sensitive negotiations between the governments to leading preservationists in B.C. The community support from those supporting multiple use was slowly building. Some of the real warriors that led the battle to protect communities included R.L. Smith, who edited an immensely popular *Red Neck News* and, of course, our own Patrick



proclaimed as such by the wilderness groups, it seems nothing will stop them in their quest. The leaders of this movement manipulate their followers, the media and the public...

The way we have done things in the past is changing. There is a new order that is taking place in terms of these natural resources debates. And I think this is a really good example, a little snapshot of the kind of thing that happens...

You have got to understand that. They don't care! ... And there I was in the evening and here were the Sierra Clubbers. I looked at them and they looked at me and I said, my God! City folks, wearing salty clothes that they ordered from Abercrombie and Fitch. And funny little hats. I didn't have anything in common with them. I was a logger and a forester. And I pleaded with them to show an ounce of humanity. I said to them in effect, don't let your love of wilderness blind you to the needs of your fellowman. And I was met with blank and uncomprehending stares. They never heard a word of it, they couldn't relate at all. They came from a different planet. I didn't like them and I don't think they liked me very much. What's the point? We didn't have anything to talk about...

How innocent we were, how trusting, how believing in our fellowman, and in simple truth and justice. I am not bitter. I am being candid. I think you will progress beyond that. I think you will get hard-nosed. I think you will get businesslike, I think you'll get tough. And I think you are going to get there. But you've got to move quickly. Hold them to account! Make them responsible!...

Preservationist propaganda is blatantly deceptive and one-sided. You may ask, how can seemingly decent, altruistic people be parties to such dishonesty? ... Unless they have some reason to take a personal interest in forestry, they are unlikely to look deeply into such distortion and they easily equate the cutting of forests with environmental destruction. As to the preservationist leadership, the people responsible for the lies, they are zealots. Zealots are characterized by their enthusiasm, fanaticism, and radical approach to pursuing their goals. Zealots so deeply and sincerely believe in the righteousness of their cause that they assume that any means necessary to achieve their goals is justified. ... I suggest that much of the slick preservationist propaganda comes from a



that produces a consistent message throughout its structure. (105)

By themselves, spurious words and phrases like "multiple use," "wise use," "care" or "shared use" are draped with ambiguity and vagueness, reflect a positive image and seem inoffensive enough. The phrase "responsible forest management" seems intuitively worth pursuing, and even environmentalists would support the notion of "wise use" of natural resources (and "no use" only in special contexts). "Multiple use" in particular, the idea that a given land mass can support a number of activities, (106) is said to have been a powerful symbol in the lexicon of American forestry for many decades because, like all effective symbols, the phrase has many meanings. Its main appeal is that it has a demonstrable power to convey political legitimacy: people are for it, no matter what it means. Multiple use is thus used "in all of its grand ambiguity and symbolism to suggest something generally held to be central to wise use of forest resources." (107) In an economic context, multiple use, as applied to forests in North America, has been termed a disaster. (108)

Such catch-words and slogans become suspect when combined with warnings of future timber shortages (i.e., they do not acknowledge the limits to growth); rather, the key concept is "sustainability," or "sustainable development." A careful observer will note that the Share and Wise Use movements borrow from the language of "sustainable development," a phrase popularized by the 1987 Brundtland Commission Report, *Our Common Future*, (109) and a concept embraced by virtually all sectors of society,

(105) *Ibid.*, p. 34, 156-169, 213-216.

(106) Or that the various groups interested in a particular tract of forest sit down together to work out a resource plan that satisfies everyone to the greatest possible degree. The theory is an extension of the familiar utilitarian philosophy of the greatest good for the greatest number. Drushka (1985), p. 19.

(107) Bowes (1989), p. xv.

(108) Drushka (1985), p. 19-20.

(109) World Commission on Environment and Development, *Our Common Future*, Oxford University Press, 1987.

including all levels of government, business, labour, environmental groups and other diverse interests. The essence of the Brundtland Commission's argument referred to the use of natural resources guided by the science of practical economics and matched with the science of good land management so that today's needs can be met without impairing the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.⁽¹¹⁰⁾ However, the term, as used by the Wise Use movement, is interchangeable with "sustained economic development" and even "sustained development," as seen, for example, in the Wise Use Motto and Agenda.⁽¹¹¹⁾

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The present era has been called "the period of the great land grab" in the Pacific Northwest, a region where a large established timber industry depends on access to public lands.⁽¹¹²⁾ In British Columbia, the conflicting demands on the forest resource base are not likely to diminish. The region promises a continuing source of revenue that both industry and government will want to maintain or even increase; at the same time, a growing number of other interests, some whose objectives are compatible with timber harvesting and some whose objectives are not, will continue to lobby to have their requirements met from the same land.

Although grassroots movements, advocacy and lobbying are considered to be normal, legitimate and desirable in a democratic society, such activity is open to criticism if it deliberately misrepresents,

(110) See Robert Gibson, "Should Environmentalists Pursue 'Sustainable Development'?" *Probe Post*, Winter 1991, p. 22-24.

(111) In its stated aims and objectives, the British Columbia Environmental Information Institute ("Environment Matters," Spring 1990) lists 12 items (including understanding "the fact that no industry is immune to the pressures of the extremists, and all industry must stand together in this effort") which it claims are, in part, based on the Brundtland report.

(112) Drushka (1985), p. 19.

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- Parfitt, Ben. "Fletcher Challenge to Abandon Unmarked Mailings, Official Says." *The Vancouver Sun*, 26 October 1989.
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The goal of the Alliance is to become the public's most trusted source of information on the practices of the forest industry and the economic impact of dramatically altering those practices. The Alliance will not speak for the forest industry, but will -- sometimes -- speak in support of the industry. At times it may criticize the industry or our Company. It will criticize or praise the government or environmentalists. It will be a common sense citizens' organization made up of reasonable, moderate people who think we need both environmental protection and a healthy, forest industry. I hope and believe it will be a voice to which all British Columbians will listen with respect.

The Alliance's goal is to show the people of B.C. that it is not necessary to choose between the economy and the environment -- we can and must have both.

The Alliance will be the conscience of the forest industry. It is an effort put together by the forest industry, the business community and community leaders that will undertake specific activities to provide accurate, scientifically valid information on forest land use issues to those making critical decisions and to the people of B.C.

The Alliance is not a commission set up to write a one inch thick report that gathers dust in a library. It is an active movement that will create and implement a number of programs. The initial phase will include:

- the production of a monthly TV broadcast. THE FIRST IS SCHEDULED TO AIR APRIL 15TH AT 7:30 PM ON BCTV;
- sending a group to Sweden and other areas for a first-hand look at forest practices elsewhere;
- commissioning and publishing research on specific environmental or economic aspects of B.C.'s forest industry.

I am particularly excited by the Citizens' Advisory Board which will direct Alliance activities. Thirty British Columbians, from all walks of life and all areas of the province, will provide common sense direction to resolving our forest land use debate. Already such well regarded people as Jack Munro, Vancouver Mayor Gordon Campbell, Prince George physician Dr. Brian Taylor and Frank Ney, former mayor of Nanaimo, have joined the Board. Jack Munro of the IWA is Chairman of the CAB and will be the lead spokesman for the Alliance.

I am supporting the B.C. Forest Alliance, and I hope you will consider supporting it too.

Tom Beell

*Later updated issue
Aug 1991*

Multiple Use Gang and Share Groups

CORPORATE CONNECTION TO SHARE GROUPS

McMILLAN BLOEDEL
FLETCHER CHALLENGE
MINING ASSOCIATION OF BC
LOGGING AND SAWMILLING JOURNAL

Forest industry funds 'alliance'

By Steve Weatherbe
Sterling News Services

VICTORIA — The forest industry, alarmed by the rising environmentalist tide, has organized a so-called citizen's group to help the public make "wise environmental policies."

Jack Munro, Canadian president of the International Woodworkers of America, is the chairman of the citizen's advisory board of the new

organization, called the B.C. Forest Alliance.

At the press conference Wednesday to unveil the group, Munro said "we've got to find the common ground of a healthy natural environment and a healthy economic environment."

The conference was held at Vancouver's Stanley Park, because, stated the alliance's press material, much of the park's stately trees

were second-growth. "The park symbolizes the fact that logging, regrowth and parks can all be part of a successful resource-use system in B.C."

The group's first task, according to media relations director Barry Barlett, will be to draft an environmental code for the forest industry. It will also attempt to counter what it sees as unfair reports in the news media.

Proposed
Fri/After
Eve

Attention News Editors:

News release via Canada NewsWire, Vancouver 604-669-7764

B.C. FOREST ALLIANCE ANNOUNCES ECONOMIC IMPACT STUDY

VANCOUVER, April 22 /CNW/ - The B.C. Forest Alliance and the Vancouver Board of Trade are co-sponsoring a study of the economic impact of the forest industry on Vancouver.

The report should be completed in June.

Calling the study "long overdue", Board of Trade managing director Darcy Rezac said the study will "examine the importance of the forest industry and give us a better understanding of its economic impact" on Greater Vancouver and the province.

"People living in many areas of B.C., including 127 communities dependent on forest-related industries for their livelihood, see or work in forest operations regularly," says Jack Munro, chairman of the B.C. Forest Alliance Advisory Board.

"However, many people in the Vancouver area never see or experience a forestry operation. Our objective is to determine just what impact the industry does have on Vancouver."

The forest industry also employs 90,000 people in the province, many of whom are in the Greater Vancouver area.

The study will assess the economic impact on secondary industries such as manufacturing and transportation, the service sector as well as health care, education, social and community services.

Munro said the study exemplifies the Alliance's goal to provide British Columbians with "factual and complete information to consider in weighing the benefits and consequences of any decisions we make regarding the forest industry."

The independent study is being conducted by Western Management Consultants under the direction of Board of Trade Chairman Iain Harris, who is President and CEO of AirBC.

/Note to Reporters and Editors/

Referring to the B.C. Forest Alliance in the abbreviated form of "BCFA" is confusing the Alliance with the British Columbia Forestry Association who have long used "BCFA".

We ask that you use BCFA to refer to the Association and respectfully request that you use "Alliance" when a shorter name for the B.C. Forest Alliance is required. Thank you.

-0- 4/22/91

/For further information: Barry Bartlett, Director Media Relations (604) 685-7507 or Darcy Rezac, Managing Director, The Vancouver Board of Trade (604) 641-1255/

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We are now
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FORESTRY Continued from page C6

more than one issue (on which) this advisory board will be extremely critical of the industry, others where we will be praiseworthy."

Other board members include Vancouver Mayor Gordon Campbell; Ray Smith, chairman of the board of MacMillan Bloedel Ltd.; Les Reed, a forest economics professor at the University of B.C.; Hamish Kimmins, a UBC forest ecologist; John Kerr, chief executive officer of Linnam Ltd., and Abbie

Millavsky, a member of Canadian Women in Timber.

There are, as yet, no native Indians or environmental group representatives on the board. But Ley said he is confident there soon will be.

Ley said the BCFA is the brain-child of Burson-Marsteller. The company was hired by a group of forest companies, spearheaded by West Fraser Timber Co. Ltd. president, Hank Ketchum.

be done on public relations to augment the work already being done in high-profile, multi-million dollar industry association and company ad campaigns.

"It's very clear the public's perception of the industry is lousy, that industry practices are at a very low level. Now, in reality, they're at a level above what the public thinks they are," Ley said. "What we're trying to accomplish is make people understand what really is happen-

Q&A

IMAGE POLISHER: Jack Munro heads organization established to improve the image of B.C.'s forestry industry

Supporters of timber boycott guilty of treason, Munro says

By BEN PARFITT
Sun Forestry Reporter

JACK MUNRO was in no mood to mince words Wednesday. As head of an organization newly established to improve the image of B.C.'s forestry industry, he said local environmentalists who support a boycott of Canadian timber are guilty of "treason."

"I think that you can't minimize an act of treason," Munro said. "The boycott... could be a major stumbling block, a major down-fall, as far as increasing or maintaining our current standard of living B.C."

Munro was speaking at the launch of a campaign spearheaded by the public relations firm hired by Canada's Forestry Industry Image Polisher. The campaign, orchestrated by Burson-Marsteller Ltd., began Wednesday with press conferences in Vancouver, Nanaimo, Prince George and Kamloops, where the media were invited to learn more about the B.C. Forest Alliance, and its new citizens' advisory board headed by IWA-Canada president Munro. Gary Ley, a Burson-Marsteller employee and executive director of the newly formed alliance, refused to comment on the B.C.F.A.'s budget or how much

66 I think that you can't minimize an act of treason. The boycott... could be a major stumbling block, a major downfall, as far as increasing or maintaining our current standard of living (in) B.C.

Jack Munro

money B.C.'s forest companies have committed to it.

But the B.C.F.A. has spent a considerable amount of money already, renting office space in the Sun Life tower at 1100 Melville, hiring a full-time staff and producing the first in a series of half-hour television shows, the first of which airs Monday on BCTV.

The sole function of the B.C.F.A. and an advisory board that will eventually include 30 representatives from industry, labor, academia and industry lobby groups such as British Columbia Forestry will be to ensure B.C. forest industry continues to enjoy cutting rights on a set land base, Ley said. The B.C.F.A. will not deal with issues like automation in saw-

mills, high stumpage charges, or the corporate hold over public forest land in B.C., which might threaten jobs, Ley said.

"The number one concern is the threat to the forest industry. The economic benefits it brings to the province, through land-use decisions stemming from environmental factors," Ley said in an interview. "The alliance's role is on the forest land-use base, that's the end of the story."

Ley said he believes there is strong public support for such a group, given a new poll commissioned by the B.C.F.A. and conducted by Environics Research Group Ltd. That poll showed "what 90 per cent of the people in this province want is a healthy, clean environment and a strong positive forest

"This alliance that we've put together is a result of a lot of people asking what really do we have to do to make the forest industry a better understood industry," Munro said. "People of the province want and expect the forest industry to do a better job. And the people of the province have been saying if you don't start doing a better job, then we, the public, are not sure we are going to allow you to access our resource."

Munro said the committee will "monitor the industry's performance" through a set of guidelines and a code of ethics established by the B.C.F.A.

"This alliance and its board of directors will put pressure on segments of the industry if they're not living up to what we decide is a code of ethics and acceptable behaviour," Munro said.

John Borden, a Simon Fraser University entomologist and one of 16 people named so far to the advisory board, said he is confident the B.C.F.A.'s industry funding will not compromise the committee's work.

"What I expect we will be is a voice for rationality," Borden said. "I fully expect there will be Please see FORESTRY, C3

Protect Our Water

Join the Western Canada Watershed Committee - Society

Water. Essential for all life to survive and prosper.
One of our most precious resources.

Water quality should be a concern to all citizens in the Lower Mainland.

The three watersheds in the Lower Mainland provide water to almost half the population of B.C. It is absolutely essential that we do everything possible to make sure this valuable resource stays the finest quality possible.

The Western Canada Watershed Committee - Society is a group of concerned citizens dedicated to ensuring that the water we drink comes from well-tended forests. Only a healthy, managed forest can meet our water needs over the long term.

The Watershed Committee believes that the public has a right and a responsibility to all the information about the role that a managed forest plays in our water supply. One of our goals is to make this information available in an objective, accurate, and easily understood way.

Politicians, industry representatives, and environmentalists all have a role to play in making decisions about your watershed. So do you.

Our water is too precious to make hasty decisions based solely on half-truths and emotional positions. Please take the time to learn all the facts. It is your right for today and your responsibility for tomorrow.

The Greater Vancouver Watershed forests cover 58,000 hectares (about 224 square miles). They are managed to ensure the highest quality water possible. But Nature's power can lay man's efforts to waste.

In November 1990, more than five feet (1.495 metres) of rain fell in the Seymour watershed alone! That's equivalent to more than 340 pounds (155kg.) pressure per square foot.

During one 48-hour period, more than 200,600,000,000 litres of water fell in the three watersheds. In order to maintain that water, a river 20 metres wide and two metres deep would have to flow at more than 100 kilometres per hour for the entire two days!

Man can do nothing in the face of such power. No dam can control that flow, no forest cover can store the water.

During that month, the people of the Lower mainland found their taps running a murky brown. Many falsely blamed clear-cut logging and now call for a halt to forest management in our watershed.

We think that's wrong-headed and short sighted.

Let's talk.

Western Canada Watershed Committee - Society
PO Box 43103
4739 Willingdon Ave.
Burnaby V5G 4S2

Western Canada Watershed Committee - Society

Our objectives:

To encourage responsible management and use of our valuable watershed resources.

To provide accurate and objective information about our watershed resources to government and industry representatives as well as the general public.

To promote sound watershed management practices by all users.

To encourage an informed public to participate in watershed management decisions.

Our Mission: To ensure all watershed resources are managed in an ecologically sound manner for the benefit of all users.

For more information, contact:

Mike Alexander 661-5376

Peter Moonen 661-5256

Memberships:

Individual: \$5.00 Family: \$20.00 Corporate: \$100

In 1990, the company says the bottom line, not the public interest, takes priority. Does this mean, give us what we want or we'll dump toxic gunk as long as we can get away with it?



The linkage creates an interesting irony for an industry which throws around terms like environmental terrorism. MacMillan Bloedel's apparent policy now meets all the criteria for the political scientists' classic definition of terrorism: Group A seeks to coerce group B by threatening group C. Since when did good corporate citizens hold public health to ransom?

Just what is MacMillan Bloedel up to?

The Vancouver Sun, Friday, February 2, 1990

MACMILLAN BLOEDEL company with 25.3 billion in assets at the end of 1989, claims it faces such a "toxic threat" from environmental groups that it would be more cost-effective to shut down toxic operations than clean them up.

The two-page letter to supporters of its Port Alford mill lists 200 jobs and a multi-million dollar pollution abatement program as whether MacMillan Bloedel goes to log the Carmanah Valley according to its present management program.

The company claims its concern is not unique only to the Carmanah, but also to other old-growth timber in Alford Region. Three Forest Licenses 44, Environmental groups want one third of that timber preserved. If they get everything that will halve the annual harvest in the Alford Valley by almost 25 per cent. If it isn't preserved old growth forests would be cut down for the Port Alford mill, the company argues, why should it invest in pollution control? The answer is simple: "To avoid the spirit of a law designed to prevent public health conflicts."

• If discharge of harmful substances averages 1 kg per tonne of production in B.C. then MacMillan Bloedel's operations near the last decade suggest up to



STEPHEN HUME

25,000 tonnes of toxic chemicals would have been released. In 1988, MacMillan Bloedel volunteered its pollution abatement program because "the public interest to ensure that its production processes meet world standards." In 1989, the company says the bottom line, not the public interest, takes priority. Does this mean, give us what we want or we'll dump toxic gunk as long as we can get away with it?

The linkage creates an interesting irony for an industry which throws around terms like environmental terrorism. MacMillan Bloedel's apparent policy now meets all the criteria for the political scientists' classic definition of terrorism: Group A seeks to coerce group B by threatening group C. Since when did good corporate citizens hold public health to ransom?

and claims to which the subject is now political issues. The Carmanah has acquired a qualified consensus of its own to keep public and industry operations. A victory for environmentalists would serve better health to forest industry operations to keep them from a gradual decline. This helps to understand the timing and substance of the Port Alford letter.

MacMillan Bloedel's letter makes claims for the future of jobs in Port Alford, but the company's priority is not and has never been preservation of jobs. The company has used 8,131 jobs since 1980, a steady 25 per cent of its work force.

The company will argue, perhaps reasonably, that eliminating every third job was essential to remaining competitive in one of the world's most competitive industries. Indeed, the average yielded record earnings in two of the last three years. But when the company proposes closure over the future of 200 jobs in Port Alford, how is it that the record suggests it workers can be not and profits improved, those jobs will remain average.

The issue is this: how can jobs be not preserved if jobs are not more efficient expressions of available resources.

During the decade when MacMillan Bloedel closed its work force by 25 per cent, production (measured in tonnes of shipped pulp and newspaper) increased by

almost 50 per cent. Translating a third fewer people but production almost twice as many tons per job.

The question is simple: better plant than less manpower would produce more. Old-growth forest is used for one of the most efficient, least-cost sources of production resources in the industrial business. That, not concern for jobs, is why access to Vancouver Island and growth in Carmanah is essential.

MacMillan Bloedel's net income since 1984 totals \$1.1 billion — half the company's total net income since 1980. In 1989, income performance showed by 25 per cent. Fluctuations in the exchange rate are partly to blame, yet there is another worry. Eight new processing plants across North America will soon increase competition and increase production capacity by 15 per cent. Export and market and resource will shrink, particularly in pulp, less than \$100 million — the Port Alford mill.

What future questions? Was the Port Alford mill really more power plants, public relations by Allan the Hunt? Or was it a strategy to maximize shareholder value and a post-1987 government? Will more jobs and the company see in its future?

Stephen Hume writes for the paper every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday.

We ask, "How much is enough." We think you should be asking similar questions.

As I suggested, for us the potential impact is staggering. In our Alberni Tree Farm License alone groups are demanding over 28% of our volume. A rough estimate suggests that involves 800 MB employees in Alberni or 3,200 people if you include families.

Tough medicine for a town of 30,000 people. And perhaps equally tough for others who depend on our operations for much of their business.

MB, and other forest products companies, are engaged in a public debate on this issue. But, alone, we can't expect to raise awareness or influence public and political opinion. Most of the people of B.C. have a stake in the outcome and we are encouraging everyone to become informed and participate in the debate. To that end, we have prepared the first in a series of background papers on various forest management topics which I am enclosing for your information.

But, more importantly, I encourage you and your employees to become involved, to write to your MLA, cabinet ministers, the premier or whomever you feel appropriate, to voice your concern about the loss of the "working forest."

If you have questions or concerns, write me and I'll try to provide additional background information on specific topics. Or call our information hotline number. 1-800-972-WOOD.

We need your help.

Sincerely,



Ken Williams
Chief Forester

Enclosure

Miners 'need

By Patrick Durrant
Business Reporter

Multiple use of the land is the key to sustainable development in the mining industry, George Miller, president of the Mining Association of Canada, said yesterday.

And, he added, the industry's major concern as it enters the 1990s is that it can continue to have access to land for exploration and actual mining operations.

"We need a co-operative land-use approach," Miller said in a panel discussion

on mining's future at the Globe '90 conference.

"Prospectors need a lot of space to look for new mineral deposits, and no part of Canada can be totally set aside as having no significant mineralization."

He noted, however, that the mining industry was on record as acknowledging that certain areas should be out of bounds to mining, to be preserved for other uses.

Miller said it was a fallacy to conclude that sustainable development and the use of non-renewable resources were antithetical.

The Province Friday, March 23, 1990

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GLOBE '90

access to land'

"Fears about an impending scarcity of a mineral resource will spur the search for substitutes. For example, the birth of the petroleum industry 150 years ago came about through the dearth of whale oil as a fuel.

"Technology, too, can prevent the depletion of a natural resource," he said.

Mining can be carried out with no long-term disturbance to the environment, he said. "If we persist in a partnership approach to land use, we can accommodate the needs of all groups."

Multiple use of Crown land was also endorsed by Judith Skidmore, executive vice-president of Northcare (Northern Community Advocates for Resource Activity), an organization that promotes the concept that multiple use is the best prescription for healthy communities and environment.

The North Bay, Ont., resident said it had been difficult to convince southern Ontario's urban dwellers of this. The region designated as northern Ontario contains 80 per cent of the province's land base, but has only eight per cent of its population.

*North care &
Multiple Abuse Gang
Propaganda!*

DEFORESTING ALBERTA CANADA

Shipping Pulp to Japan and Dumping Dioxins Into the Arctic

Huge new pulp mill considered

By DUNCAN THORNE
Journal Staff Writer

The world's largest pulp marketer is considering a major new mill in northwestern Alberta and a chemical plant serving mills across the province's north.

High Level Mayor Bob Walter says his town needs the jobs a mill would bring, but the environmental group Friends of the North calls the idea of another bleach-kraft project "asinine."

New York-based Parsons & Whittemore Inc. is investigating if forests near High Level have enough wood to feed a mill producing more than 1,000 tonnes of pulp a day.

P & W's contemplated production level puts it at least on the scale of the \$300-million Daishowa mill at Peace River.

The company, through a low-profile Calgary-based subsidiary, has already held talks with Forestry Minister LeRoy Fjordbotten, a representative said Friday.

Vince Reed of Parsons & Whittemore Athabasca Enterprises Ltd. said subsidiary vice-president Ken Stewart was in the High Level region the same day, to discuss the project and job prospects with Indian bands.

The mill would probably be on the Peace River southeast of High Level, if it goes ahead, Reed said in a phone interview from Calgary.

He said the mill would be viable only if it were large — making the bleach kraft process the only choice. But he insisted it would meet the highest standards, using sodium chlorate instead of the more controversial chlorine.

P & W already has pulp and chemical operations in Canada, largely with its St. Anne Industries



arm in New Brunswick. It has built about 60 mills throughout the world, including the Prince Albert, Sask.

Reed said P & W — after looking at the High Level area for a year — has yet to decide whether to go beyond checking wood availability, to doing a technical feasibility study.

It has concerns about the cost of shipping air-dried pulp from the remote muskeg area, and about the limits of a four-month logging season, he said. "The logistics of the project are difficult."

P & W is also considering a plant to make sodium chlorate for Alberta's bleach kraft mills, he said.

"Dow has one at Fort Saskatchewan but there will be a marked increase in demand for sodium chlorate," he said. "All mills are being forced to go to sodium chlorate."

Minister under fire over shares in firm



LeRoy Fjordbotten

... owns 6,000 shares in AEC

By BRIAN LAGHI
Journal Staff Writer

Forestry Minister LeRoy Fjordbotten owns more than \$100,000 of stock in a forestry firm awarded a \$96-million government loan guarantee while he was minister.

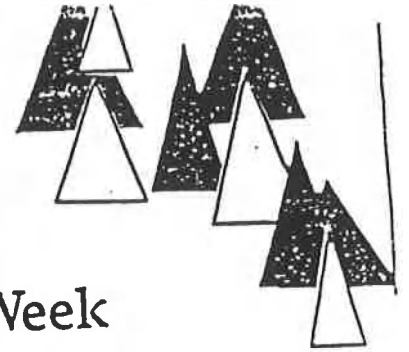
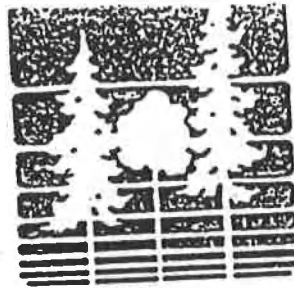
Fjordbotten confirmed Friday he owns 6,000 shares of Alberta Energy Company (AEC) which received the loan guarantee last December.

AEC, which is 37-per-cent government-owned, will use the guarantee to build a pulp mill near Slave Lake.

Fjordbotten said he is not in a conflict of interest and did not exempt himself from cabinet meetings where the guarantee was discussed.

THE EDMONTON JOURNAL

Saturday, July 8, 1989



National Forest Week May 7-13

Wednesday, May 10

Event: Tour of Cantor Sawmill
Time: 9:00 - 11:00 a.m.
1:00 - 3:00 p.m.

Come and see firsthand one of the largest and most productive sawmilling complexes in North America. Guided tours are available May 10-12 from 9:00 - 11:00 a.m. and from 1:00 - 3:00 p.m. daily. People wishing to see this interesting and informative tour should dress appropriately and wear suitable footwear. Canadian Forest Products regrets that, due to safety concerns, this tour is not available to children under the age of 9.

Event: Indoor Display
Time: 10:00 - 12:00 p.m.
3:30 - 7:00 p.m.
Location: Arena Lobby

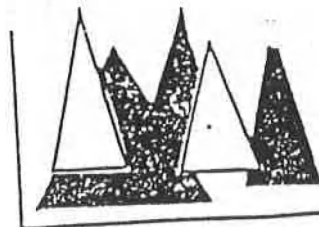
Event: Tree Identification Field Trip
Time: 10:00 - 3:00 p.m.
Location: Forestry Arboretum, Footner Lake Forest Headquarters

This trip is for grades 1-4, may be rescheduled for Thursday or Friday in case of bad weather. The Alberta Forest Service has an ongoing project that, when finished, will acquaint the public with various tree species in a self-guided tour.

Event: Forestry Arboretum self-guided tour
Time: Open daily; any time
Location: Footner Lake Forest Headquarters

Thursday, May 11

Event: Tour of Cantor Sawmill
Time: 9:00 - 11:00 a.m.
1:00 - 3:00 p.m.



Event: Indoor Display
Time: 10:00 - 12:00 noon
3:30 - 7:00 p.m.
Location: Arena Lobby

Event: Forestry Arboretum self-guided tour
Time: Open daily; any time

Friday, May 12

Event: Tour of Cantor Sawmill
Time: 9:00 - 11:00 a.m.
1:00 - 3:00 p.m.

Event: Indoor Display
Time: 10:00 - 12:00 noon
3:30 - 7:00 p.m.
Location: Arena Lobby

Event: Forestry Arboretum self-guided tour
Time: Open daily; any time
Location: Footner Lake Forest Headquarters

Event: Sidewalk Sale
Location: Downtown
Participating downtown merchants are staging a sidewalk sale from Friday and Saturday to commemorate National Forest Week.

Event: Children's Evening
Time: 6:00 - 9:00 p.m.
Location: Florence MacDougall

The High Level schools and the community youth worker have collaborated to provide an evening of activity for local children. Beginning at 8:00 with a winner feast, the evening will include a craft workshop (which recycles various paper products), cartoons, games, a street dance, and other events. The grand finale will be a 20-minute fireworks presentation. This evening is open to all youngsters, and parents are asked to be with their children during the fireworks (there will be a small charge for the meal).

Saturday, May 13

Event: Pancake Breakfast
Time: 9:00 - 11:00 a.m.
Location: Old Rodeo Grounds

There will be a free pancake breakfast hosted by local businessmen. At the breakfast, there will be an opportunity to enter a draw for a free helicopter ride. The Canadian Delta and Highland Helicopters have each donated four flights, for a total of 12, for lucky contestants and three guests each. The flights will leave from the High Level Airport later in the day.

Event: Waterbomber Demonstration
Time: 11:30 - 12:30 p.m.
Location: Old Rodeo Grounds

The local office of Alberta Forest Service has arranged a demonstration of aerial firefighting techniques to take place immediately following the breakfast, featuring an Alberta Forest Service waterbomber and possibly a helicopter with water buckets. The demonstration will be visible from the Old Rodeo grounds.

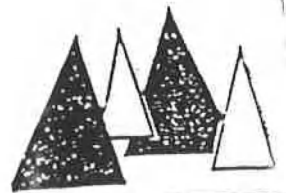
Event: Tour of Watt Mountain
Time: 1:00 - 4:00 p.m.
Location: Meet at Arena Parking Lot

The Alberta Forest Service will be conducting a guided bus tour of recent logging and scarification in the Watt Mountain area. Participants will learn about forest management and the efforts made by loggers and foresters in ensuring that our forests remain a great renewable resource.

Event: Indoor Display
Time: 10:00 - 12:00 p.m.
1:00 - 4:00 p.m.
Location: Arena Lobby

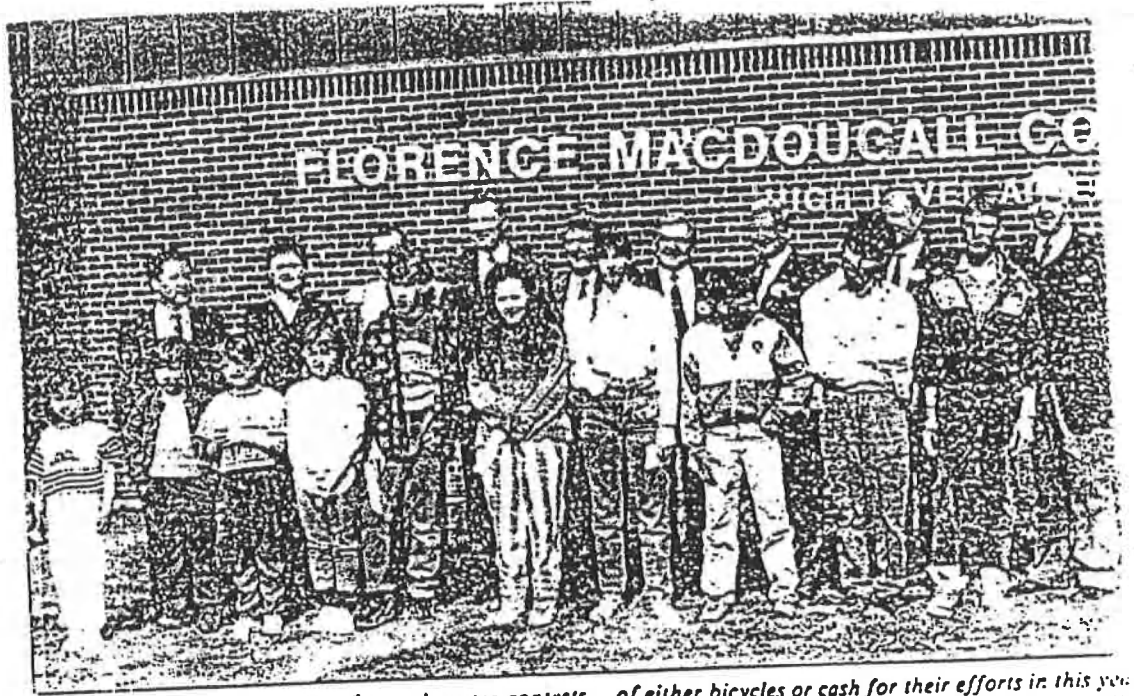
Event: Wind-up Dance
Time: 9:00 p.m. - 1:00 a.m.
Location: Arena

This dance will feature "Rock'n' Roll" and there will be a midnight lunch served. Tickets are \$15.00.



High Level has special Celebrations during National Forest Week. High level was chosen as the PROVINCIAL FOREST CENTRE for 1989.

This means that high priority is being given to development of the forest in the High Level area. Already, Parsons and Whitmore, a U.S. based company is exploring the possibility of a pulp mill in the area. Things are moving very fast. Will the people of Assumption be left behind again as they were with the oil developments, farming and logging industries? Or will it be a new new opportunity for us?



Above, winners of the colouring and poster contests pose with the special guests in town for the opening of National Forest Week. Students were awarded prizes of either bicycles or cash for their efforts in this year's contests. (See next week's National Forest Week coverage for a complete list of winners and sponsors.)



Kindergarten student Brandi Evans didn't care who was handing the bike over . . . She just couldn't believe it was hers!



The mood was infectious on Friday night, with music filling the air and people dancing and playing and laughing everywhere you looked. This mom and son were caught up in the spirit, sharing a dance together.

Time to fight environmentalists

IT'S time for the forest industry to defend itself against the onslaught of the environmentalists. Pacific Logging Congress president Wil Heath charged at the organization's recent conference in Portland, Oregon.

"This is the year for the industry to decide that time is up; that it is time to act, time to defend ourselves and protect the future," he said in a tough, sometimes bitter address to the congress, an influential group representing forestry in the Pacific Northwest of the US, in BC and in New Zealand.

"We must present to the public the issues that affect our industry; educate the children, the public and especially our leaders," he said.

Heath charged that some environmental groups are wearing on the nerves of the public and their demonstrations are becoming old news.

"That makes now the time for the forest industry to tell people how we protect streams, wildlife, the soil and how we plan to work so that another forest can be grown.

"My advice is let's ignore the environmentalists, let's get out and tell our story, our positive story. Let's get the public on our side because I believe we are right, we're protecting the environment and providing jobs."

But he said that message is not getting to legislators. Environmentalists, he said, "are filling their boxes with letters" while the forest industry's letters trickle in.

"Are we presenting ourselves as a group that is not taken seriously?" he asked. "If so, I think it's time we changed that image."

Opinion polls show the public want the environment protected, but Heath said what the public doesn't know is that the environment is already being well protected. "We must tell our story; we must educate them," he said, touching on the conference's theme, Education: The Only Way to Grow.

Heath said the consequences of not telling the industry's side of the story are being felt now, with millions of acres of prime forest land being locked up in wilderness. He had no complaint with unique areas being preserved, but other areas would be of more use developed for other purposes such as recreation.

He wondered how it could be possible that small groups of people could tie the



WIL HEATH

hands of a great and powerful industry.

He said that if only 10 per cent of the people in the forest industry (and he used Oregon as the example) became active in telling the industry's story, it would far outweigh "the extremists" on the other side.

"It's time to step forward and make ourselves heard."

He said it was important to educate the children who would be tomorrow's decision-makers, and to deal with the people who would put the industry out of business now.

"Nothing is accomplished by talk among ourselves. We talk about what a terrible state our industry is in, how bad things are; we must get our newsletters out, we must get our information out to all the groups. If we do that I think we could effectively create some changes. We need to take full advantage of all the resources we have available."

"Our land base is threatened and endangered; reforestation will not be a problem if we have no land to plant trees on."

"Many of us ask, 'what can I do?' There are many things we can do, but we're all out there trying to get our logs out, trying to get them to the mill, and it all takes up our time. This is one area where environmentalists have an advantage. They don't seem to have jobs and they have lots of time and that's what's really killing us. But we can do things, we can write letters, we can consolidate our efforts to include a whole bunch of different things like each of us, once a month, could go to different schools with videos, talk to the students, take them on field trips, take their teachers on field trips, visit mills, go to the woods. These are fantastic ways to get our message out."

"We must educate our employees and their families so that they will know and realize what the industry means to them."

New facilities for BCFS

BC Forest Service will get new office-warehouse facilities in the Clearwater and Lillooet forest districts. The buildings will be put up by private companies and leased by the forest service for 10 years.

Construction wood down

Less than half of the softwood lumber used in the US in 1987 went into new construction. According to figures compiled by the Western Wood Products Assn, only 48.6 per cent of the 50.6 billion board feet consumed was for new construction, down from 51.7 per cent in 1986 and 60.6 per cent in 1977.



Clearcutting

Canadian Pacific Forest Products Limited

Tahsis Pacific Regio

CLEARCUTTING: Debunking the myths

Canadian Pacific Forest Products is very aware of the public perception of clearcutting. It is of great concern to us because we cut timber to satisfy the demands of our customers. Our goal is to sustain the local economy and the environment. Both are possible through sound forest management which includes clearcutting and prompt reforestation. This approach provides our manufacturing plants with an economical fibre supply, maintains jobs, provides competitively priced products and is environmentally sound.

Why do British Columbians oppose clearcutting? Here are the perceptions according to a recent industry-wide survey. Canadian Pacific Forest Products responds to each point.

Clearcutting ruins the forests

If clearcut logging destroyed the forest, we would not clearcut. Our business is totally dependent on healthy forests now and in the future. It is in our best interest to look after our resource.

Canadian Pacific Forest Products has been clearcutting on private and Crown land for over 30 years. Our second growth forests are healthy and flourishing thanks to a sound forest management program. Our private forests and Crown land are open to the public and are used extensively for recreational purposes by people from all walks of life.

Clearcutting wastes wood

We leave less than 25 cubic metres of solid wood residue on logging sites. The rest is branches, rotten and broken wood, and stumps — material not currently used in either our sawmills or pulp mill.

It is impossible to log everything in old, first-growth forests. In fact, it is biologically incorrect to remove all material.

The debris, especially branches and needles, returns nutrients to the soil for the next generation of trees and prevents erosion.

Clearcut greened up: our legacy is a healthy forest.

Clearcutting interferes with nature

Clearcutting is actually one of nature's own tools. She uses uncontrolled wildfire, insects and disease to clear the way for new growth. It is part of the natural forest cycle.

Yet nature is an indiscriminate and wasteful clearcutter. Every year in B.C., we lose the equivalent of one-half of our provincial harvest to fire, insects and disease.

Applied scientifically, clearcutting is ecologically sound. It allows us to:

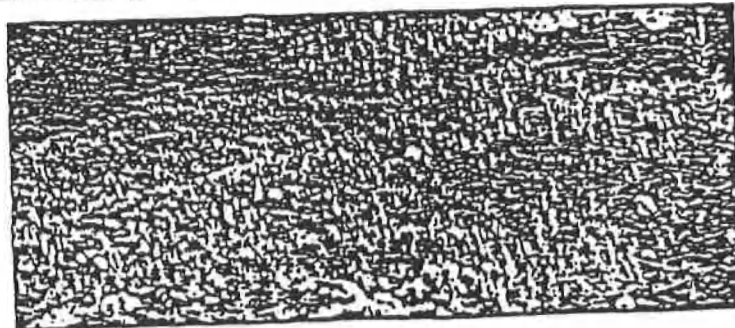
- effectively combat destructive insect infestations and the spread of disease;
- salvage dead and dying timber stands;
- perpetuate specific tree species;
- provide habitat for wildlife;
- create manageable and diverse forest landscapes.

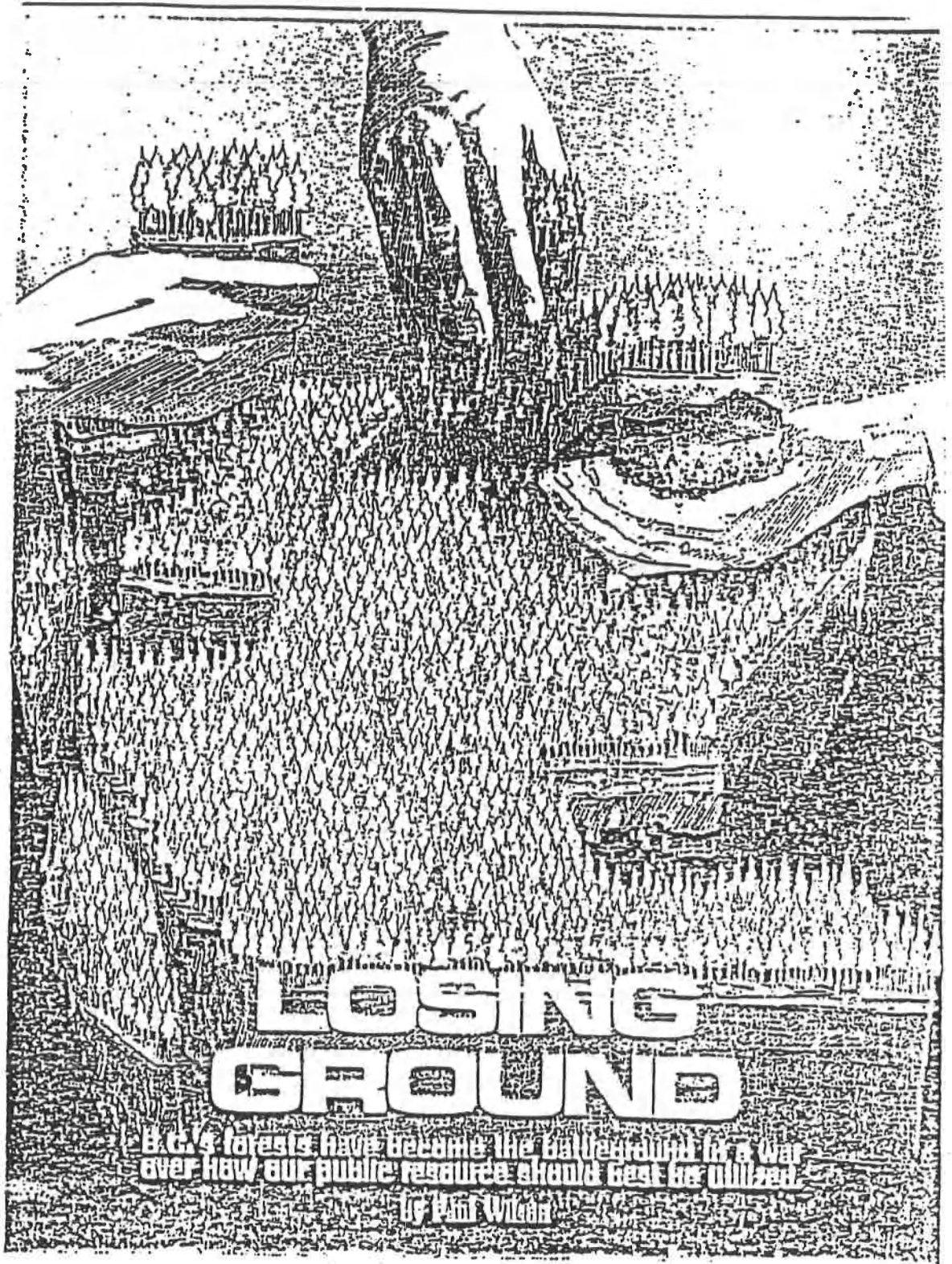
Clearcutting results in soil erosion

Canadian Pacific Forest Products' foresters and engineers are well trained in all aspects of forestry. They understand the relationship between harvesting, soil stability and erosion.

Every harvest block is surveyed and assessed

before we cut a single tree. We know the soil conditions, the microclimates, the mix of species and tailor our harvesting techniques to each site according to these factors. Before logging,





LOSING GROUND

B.C.'s forests have become the battleground in a war
over how our public resource should best be utilized

by Paul Wilson

sibly hundreds, of other unused watersheds, which will never be used."

The problem is not a shortage of wilderness. B.C. has plenty of it. Forestlands which are not economical to harvest are too far from markets and mills or are simply inaccessible. Areas whose ecology, wildlife or scenic value is too precious to be tampered with.

As environmentalists put it, the problem is a shortage of protected

wilderness. Wilderness areas which are guaranteed never to have logging and mining, and sometimes recreation, within their boundaries. Environmentalists feared that resource industries wanted access to everything. The forest and mining industries feared that wilderness advocates were trying to tie up too much of the wilderness. It was hoped the WAC would provide a solution.

Initially, the WAC was accused of having a pro-industry bias. However,

its hearings throughout B.C. were extremely well attended by all sides and its final report, The Wilderness Mosaic, was viewed as a fair and balanced document by most observers. All sides criticized its recommendations equally, but still, when backed into a corner, used the report to defend their own causes.

Besides making recommendations on the 24 specific sites within its mandate, the WAC also commented on the system of designating and protecting wilderness areas. It determined that the decision-making process was under a number of strains. First, the lack of a "clear and consistent wilderness policy" caused confusion and inaction in terms of resolving disputes and making decisions. Second, decisions were affected by conflicts between government agencies, increasing pressure on resources, changes in societal values toward the environment and delays in the system caused by non-routine issues. Third, the absence of plans and land use strategies resulted in ad hoc decision making. And fourth, the public lacked sufficient input in identifying problems and determining solutions.

To improve the state of planning and protection of wilderness the WAC made a number of recommendations.

Among the recommendations were that a draft park system plan be publicly reviewed and that an integrated wilderness plan be produced. These plans would clearly outline the limits to growth of parks and wilderness, and be a step towards protecting wilderness through legislation.

WAC also recommended that information about all resource values be obtained before making any final commitments to total wilderness protection of an area.

In areas of high conservation value the committee recommended the government either purchase, compensate tenure holders or permit careful development. In cases where compensation was required it was recommended that affected communities be compensated as well as tenure holders.

WAC also recognized that while wilderness might be a priority to Jay, society might require that resource

change. I told them to commit yourself to renew these contracts (TFLs) up to 90%.

"I told the industry to allow this flexibility to avoid having the government abrogate a contract sometime because they have overcommitted the resource."

Unfortunately neither government nor industry listened to Pearse. Now that a crisis has developed the government has little flexibility. The system makes compensation expen-

sive and finding alternative forestland almost impossible.

The 3% cuts in license renewals now being proposed will increase competition and get some flexibility into the system. But not only does it come a bit late to deal with today's land use problem, it is also being strongly resisted by the license holders.

Unlike the issue of single use versus multiple use, which unites the forest

industry: the issue of licensing divides the industry between big license holders and small operators. But in the mind of the public the forest industry is one, mostly represented by Mac-Millan Bloedel and the other big companies. Few people even seem to realize that small operators exist.

In recent years public attitudes towards the environment and the forest industry have changed and it is an important reason the wilderness issue has become so big. Throughout North America attitudes toward the environment have changed. Public opinion polls consistently find the environment is one of today's dominant issues. Twenty years ago that would not have been the case. Despite attempts by some to dismiss environmentalists as flakes and dinosaurs from the sixties, the environmentalists have had a big impact.

People may live in cities but they are concerned about clean air and clean water, about acid rain and toxic waste.

In British Columbia they care about their forests. Most British Columbians live in or around cities and know nothing about logging. They do know that a freshly logged area is not a pretty sight. To many people logging provokes a negative emotional response. The logger becomes the man who shot Bambi's mother.

When it comes to issues such as Lyell Island environmentalists can count on that emotional support. The extent of that support is reported to have even caught politicians by surprise.

That support also shows through in media coverage. One environmental group monitored the media during the South Moresby dispute to ensure that events were reported fairly. The events were reported fairly in most cases, but it is apparent that environmentalists were more effective in presenting their side of the story. The bad side of the forest industry — mountains clear-cut logged and never reforested — was often mentioned, but a good side was rarely presented. The public, through the media, understood and sympathized with the environmentalists while they lost patience with the forest industry.

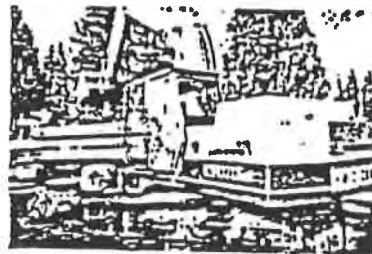
Jack Webster was one who contin-



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state the land claims and find a solution to what is a political problem."

Negotiate is what the B.C. government refuses to do despite legal comment from judges, as well as lawyers, that they are being asked to rule on what are essentially political differences.

The forest industry has always opposed negotiating land claims out of fear of losing commercial timber. There may have to be some softening of that position before the courts do it.

In the Stein, as on Lyell and Meares, Indians have been involved in logging. Their interests, goals and culture are far from identical with environmentalists. Most native are only a few generations removed from living solely off the land and many still derive a great deal of their existence from hunting, fishing and the culture built around it. These people, and the others more integrated into white society, are probably more accepting of the concept of multiple use than is recognized. Their alliance with environmentalists is a political alliance to acquire some land.

Environmentalists' view of native society is different. It is often a romantic view which values nature for its beauty and spiritual qualities as opposed to a resource to be exploited. To be fair many environmentalists have superb scientific credentials and understanding of ecology. But too many others dwell on an emotional level and despise any sort of natural resource exploitation. These are the people who refer to the logging of 9% of the Stein Valley over a 30-year period as removing its "heart and lungs."

One person in particular who bothers Les Reed is media superstar David Suzuki. A recent column by Suzuki in the Globe and Mail was described by Reed as an incantation. It contains a number of statements, such as "there has never been an inventory of forests," which are simply not factually correct.

"It is this sort of distortion," says Reed, "which makes these issues so difficult. This is one of the most outrageous pieces I have seen for a long time. You have to conclude that people who say things like that are

The Truck Logger December/January 1988.

misinformed or dishonest."

With the exception of discussions with the Lytton Indian Band the government has followed the recommendations of the WAC in the Stein Valley. Archeological sites and most wilderness and recreation areas will be protected. Whether or not talks with the Indian band could have taken place is a disputed point.

The solutions to the environmental and native land claims issues are separate but are a part of the same process. The land use issue is the

most important issue in B.C. and the process of resolving conflicts will have to be open respect all possible uses: forestry; tourism; native; and wild.

As for now the battle over the Stein Valley continues. Jack Webster believes it will end up the same as Island and logging will not be allowed. If he is correct then Lytton and Boston Bar mills close, the concept of multiple use suffer another blow and land conflict will continue.



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careless of the facts, it is necessary to make the public is entitled to more facts and the Fraser about the Stein. They did not get facts in the Mail column. It is time to demand higher standards of accuracy, both from the advocates of wilderness and from the media.

We might start off by recognizing this basic British Columbia has the finest park system in Canada. In the richness of natural values and in terms of accessibility to the population.

F.L.C. Reed
 Professor of Forest Policy
 University of British Columbia
 November 16/87

and Mount Currie Indian bands... Most of the native land claims assert that the land is sacred. Does that make virtually all of B.C. sacred, since it is blanketed with claims? Moreover, the Lytton band seems to have preferred the Potemkin valley for their annual festivals. The majority of the Lytton band have seen little of the Stein. We should be on guard against the invention of history just to support a cause.

7. "The most recent government committee on wilderness recognized the importance of the Stein to native people by recommending that no development be allowed in the watershed without their approval."

Read it again. The Wilderness Advisory Committee.

are south of a line drawn east and west through Prince George. This is a source of pride for informed British Columbians, not of embarrassment as suggested by Mr. Suzuki. Moreover, five lines the area in the park system is regarded as "de facto" wilderness. In fact, half of our forested land is classified as not available and suitable for industrial use.

3. British Columbia lacks a coherent policy on reforestation.

This statement may have been true two or three years ago. It is certainly not true today. The province has recently made far-reaching changes, partly in response to the Wilderness Advisory Committee recommendations released in early 1986. This progress deserves acknowledgement.

Stein multi-use proposal gaining public support

Most British Columbians do not share the no-compromise, no-development position adopted by environmental groups sharing the Stein Valley.

Speaking to a forum on the future of the Stein, sponsored by the UBC Environmental Law Society, IBCF spokesman Ted Matlice pointed out the multi-use plan approved by the provincial government for the Stein calls for nine per cent of the watershed to be forested over a 30 year period.

Ted, who is manager of IBCF's Boston Bar Logging Division, was joined on the stage by Dr. R.M. McGinnis of the Institute for New Economics, Simon Fraser University; Mr. John McCandless of the UBC Forest Council and Jim Buchanan, assistant chief forester with the

Ted added. He advised the forum that an access road into the Stein will also help in dealing with a major insect infestation in the valley, where 17 percent of the mature timber is already under attack by mountain pine beetles.

Ted reviewed the proven economics of harvesting the Stein, and noted that it will produce 130 million per year in local economic activity. Over the 30-year harvesting program, that amounts to 3750 million in economic activity for the

Fraser Canyon region, he noted more than 300 direct and indirect jobs in the communities of Boston Bar, Lytton, Hope, Lillooet, and elsewhere in B.C. are linked to development of the Stein.

"Multiple use is a reasonable and sensible approach to sharing the Stein," Ted told his audience. "Ecological wilderness areas will be preserved, and so will major Native heritage sites. The public will gain access for outdoor recreation by campers, hikers, sportsmen, canoeists, kayakers, and families seeking a wilderness experience. Fish and wildlife habitat will be maintained or enhanced. And controlled harvesting will provide continued employment opportunities for hundreds of residents of the Fraser Canyon."

Ted concluded: "There's room for everyone in the Stein."

"Logging will be strictly controlled, and will be followed by a rigorous program of reforestation."

FRASER TIMBERLINE BCFF Newspaper Vol 14 # 6 Dec '87

Hewing wood doesn't cut it

Industry vs. environmentalists: debate is polarized and acrimonious. Both sides are missing the point

By BEN PARFITT
... of The Sun's staff.

TALK OF a European boycott of Canadian wood products is widening what was already a deep chasm between B.C.'s woodworkers and the environmental movement.

Recently the debate between the two camps grew even more acrimonious when IWA-Canada president Jack Munro accused environmental groups of "treason" for tacitly approving a boycott he says threatens union jobs.

Munro made the remark at a press conference in his new role as head of the B.C. Forest Alliance's "citizens' advisory board."

At the behest of a dozen large forest companies, Burson-Marsteller Ltd., a New York-based public relations firm specializing in corporate catastrophes, put the alliance together to fight withdrawals of forest land for parks.



PARFITT

Others sitting on the board with Munro include Ray Smith, chairman of the board of MacMillan Bloedel Ltd.; Vancouver Mayor Gordon Campbell; Port Alberni Mayor Gillian Trumper; and John Kerr, Lignum Ltd. chief executive officer.

The board is funded by B.C.'s forest companies and the IWA.

Munro accused B.C. environmental groups of treason for inviting Europeans to come here and judge for themselves whether current forest practices, including clear-cutting to the banks of salmon rivers, damage the environment.

No mention was made of the 1,000 union jobs lost in the Alberni valley in the 1980s due to mechanization, or the 900 more union jobs soon to be lost in the same region, few of which will result from any "environmental agenda."

Munro is no doubt concerned about B.C.'s burgeoning environmental movement.

Last month the Western Canada Wilderness Committee issued a press release saying its staff forester, Mark Wareing, was in Geneva talking about a European boycott of Canadian softwood lumber.

Later WCWC pussyfooted around its apparent support for the boycott. When The Vancouver Sun's environment reporter, Glenn

Bohn, contacted Wareing in Geneva to ask him about the press release, he claimed no knowledge of it. When Bohn pointed this out to WCWC director Arne Hanson, he was told, "Why don't you grow up and be an environment reporter? Sometimes you sound like you're working for bloody industry."

Such incidents fuel Munro's rage. But he's much less vocal when it comes to addressing what are the root causes of lost jobs in his own union.

Asked to comment on a report to Parliament on the state of Canada's forests — a report that included a survey saying 71 per cent of professional foresters in B.C. think the current annual harvest of trees is too high — Munro responded:

"I think there's a bit of an age disparity. We seem to have older foresters in B.C. and younger ones in Quebec. In Quebec you get quite a different picture out of the same survey."

So that's what is wrong. The guardians of B.C.'s forests are simply too old to realize there is no problem.

APPARENTLY, both woodworkers and environmentalists can't see the forest for the trees.

Perhaps it's time environmental groups started talking about jobs and Munro stopped talking treason and looked at the root causes of job losses.

Anyone who wades into this debate has to come to grips with one thing — our sawmills and pulp and paper mills consume 20 per cent more trees each year than B.C.'s ministry of forests says should be coming out of our forests.

In their continuing pursuit of trees, forest companies are, in the words of retired professional forester Hugh Goodman, embarked on a "liquidation program" on private forest lands to make up the shortfall between what the government sets as an annual tree harvest and what sawmills and pulp mills consume.

Just think what will happen if nothing is done to change the course we're on.

There are 83,000 people directly employed in the forest industry today. If the current overproduction is reduced 20 per cent, it could equate to the loss of 17,000 of those jobs.

You don't hear Munro talking much about that. Perhaps it's time he did.

The success of our industry, for the most part, derives from the

rapid output of a limited range of commodity lumber, pulp and paper products. Blessed with abundant softwood forests, we often seem content to turn our trees into (papyrus, bales of pulp, and sawprint.

Perhaps it's time for workers and environmentalists to ask whether it's in the best interests of B.C. to do so little with the trees we so readily cut.

Take as an example our Sitka spruce forests. By now, many of us have seen the breathtaking pictures of giant spruce trees in the lower Carmanah Valley. What many of us don't know is trees just like those are cut in B.C. and reduced to large pieces of lumber.

Shipped to Japan, those beautiful pieces of knot-free, golden lumber go to the Yamaha Corporation's Hamamatsu piano plant, where workers laminate them together to make sound boards for pianos for which we pay \$3,200 to \$75,000.

The Japanese will continue to reap the rewards of our commodity lumber and pulp if we don't wake up to the fact that in the late 20th century we are little more than hewers of wood.

IT'S NOT too late to change the path we're on. But it requires bravery and ingenuity on the part of B.C.'s working men and women and a forward-thinking provincial government.

Almost all the trees on public forest land in B.C. are held under long-term cutting licences by resource companies employing fewer and fewer workers. When sawmills close or pulp mills eliminate shifts, the people should ask why. If they don't get a reasonable answer, they have every right to take their wood resource back.

And before those trees go to anybody else, they should ask two simple questions: What do we want from this resource? If we want to cut trees down, what do we want to make from them?

Groups like the Truck Loggers' Association of B.C. say there are ways to get more value from the trees we cut by taking away some of the trees big forest companies enjoy exclusive rights to cut, and letting an open market dictate who gets the logs. That would force up the price of logs and compel those buying the wood to get the maximum value from it, the TLA says.

Adding more value to what we cut, choosing to be more than simple hewers of wood, holds the key to creating meaningful jobs. And by cutting fewer trees, we open the way to retaining natural expanses of forests for the benefit of all. □

Mining firms set up environmental body

TORONTO (CP) — Major mining companies, saying they want to promote environmental and health policies around the world, have banded together to form a new international council.

"I think one thing the council will do is raise environmental consciousness to the level of the CEO," said Gary Nash, who officially takes over as secretary general of the council May 1.

"That has not necessarily happened in all companies, in all countries. It has happened in some of our companies in Canada, but only a few," he said from Ottawa, home of the new International Council on Metals and the Environment.

But a spokesman for an environmental group wonders whether the new organization is just trying to "green a not-very-green" industry.

"The question I have is whether or not this council is just a window dressing or will they be looking at some tough questions," Paul Muldoon, a spokesman for Pollution Probe, said Monday.

But Nash said the organization must first try to find a common environmental policy among the companies involved.

And that task may not be easy considering the firms are either based or have operations in countries with different environmental guidelines, said Nash, a former vice-president of the Mining Association of Canada.

A task force has already been set up to look at guidelines for developing countries and Eastern Europe, which will be discussed at a conference in Berlin in June, Nash said.

Canada, France, Sweden, Australia, Germany, Mexico, Chile and the United States are represented on the council, which has just been formally announced after an initial meeting of major mining firms in London in October.

The companies involved include Cominco, Falconbridge and

“I think one thing the council will do is raise environmental consciousness to the level of the CEO.”

—Gary Nash
Secretary general, International Council on Metals and the Environment

Noranda Minerals, as well as Minorco USA Inc.

Muldoon, while commending the council for addressing environmental issues, suggested the group go even further and look at alternatives to mining, such as recycling.

"Will the mining and metals corporations . . . have recycling as a focus of their mandate, reusing and recycling the resources that are already out in the marketplace?"

"That's the toughest question," he said.

Brennain Lloyd, a spokesman for Northwatch, a Northern Ontario environmental group, said she wasn't too sure how a council made up solely of members of a particular industry would be able to represent the views of the public.

"It's good that they're paying more attention (to the environment)," Lloyd said. "But I would really question having something called an international council which is solely the domain of the mineral industry."

Nash said the council has specifically gone after big corporations as members because he said they can provide leadership to the industry.

He also said he'd like to see the council act as a consultant to regulatory agencies and international bodies such as the United Nations and the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development.

AND THE REAL CHALLENGE FOR ENVIRONMENTALISTS

Despite the immense popularity of the "having it both ways" concept of Sustainable Development, Canadian policy in the 1980s was hostile to environmentalism.

by Terrence J. Downey

ALTHOUGH ENVIRONMENTALISTS won important battles during the 1980s that had the cumulative effect of sensitizing the public to environmental abuses, thereby forcing government and industry alike to address some of the most serious of these, during the decade the war for environmental integrity was steadily being lost. While opinion polls reflected deepening public concern about the environment and while government and industry leaders pointed to specific "improvements" and solemnly invoked, by the late 1980s, the immensely popular, "having it both ways" concept of Sustainable Development, Canadian economic policy, devised and promoted by these same leaders, was effectively foreclosing the possibility of meaningful environmental advances in the foreseeable future.

This article suggests that Canadian economic policy in the 1980s was based on and in turn propagated values and priorities inherently hostile to environmentalism. It argues that if environmentalists are to move beyond the illusion of Sustainable Development to promote the rapid transformation of society requisite for solving the critical environmental conundrum in which we now find ourselves, they must broaden their horizons and work with those who adhere to fundamentally compatible principles to build a political coalition capable of challenging the values, priorities and interests championed by the prevailing order.

Policy in the 1980s

In a speech delivered at the University of Waterloo in May, 1990, Canadian scientist David Suzuki called for a radical reorganization of society and

redistribution of resources along with massive cutbacks in consumption and limits to growth as the only means to save our dying planet. In pointing out the folly of attempting to have it both ways in a finite world, the impossibility of protecting the environment and also pursuing the creed of apparently endless economic growth, he underscored the principles which must govern our public and private lives.

The notions at the core of Dr. Suzuki's plea for environmental sanity, a sense of community and posterity, a commitment to social justice and, in more general terms, a public morality which presumes social obligations and self-imposed limits to public and private behavior, are clearly inimical to those which inspired Canadian economic policy during the past decade. The 1980s was, above all, a decade when only dollars counted: GNP growth and wealth generation were the priorities and these were to be accomplished by promoting the ardent pursuit of individual self-interest and the unleashing of market forces.

The tone for Canadian economic policy in the 1980s was set by the Trudeau administration early in the decade, as it attempted to dampen inflation at the expense of employment.

As Canada's Catholic bishops noted in "Ethical Reflections on the Economic Crisis," one of the most cogent critiques of the Trudeau strategy, this was an industrial vision and economic model which "renewed emphasis on the 'survival of the fittest' as the supreme law of economics."

But this was only the beginning of the state restructuring which was to characterize the decade. This was also the period when we concluded what

Professor Robert A. Young has defined as an "economic integration agreement" with the United States, a free trade initiative which was part and parcel of a broader, growth-oriented economic strategy, which included privatizations, deregulation and the rationalization or elimination of social programs.

In its entirety, this New Right agenda represented a fundamental political/ideological orientation away from the collectivist thrust of the welfare state in favor of the individualization of the social sphere and a significantly greater degree of economic laissez-faire.

It was this understanding of the government's New Right initiatives which precipitated the emergence of its keystone, the Free Trade Agreement (FTA), as the dominant issue in the remarkably divisive 1988 federal election campaign. Proponents of the deal, the federal government, big business and their ideological supporters, heartily endorsed what Hugh Segal, an ardent supporter, described as the fundamental thrust of the agreement—a market-driven shift in balance toward a society that sees individual enterprise, innovation and competitiveness as the ultimate determining factor of our economic wealth.

Critics such as organized labor, Canadian nationalists and women's organizations who held to more collectivist, group-based conceptions which emphasized community and obligations to others in the form of commitments to share and to promote greater equality, fervently rejected the shift to an economic model in which rugged individualism and generally uninhibited market forces would predominate.

Given these fundamentally different values and priorities, it is not surprising

environmentalists.

First, their successes over the past two decades or so have been achieved mainly through the creation of various organizations which have attempted to draw public and government attention to specific environmental abuses. The cumulative impact of these isolated victories has raised public awareness of environmental issues and placed some major environmental concerns, albeit often precariously, on the public policy agenda.

This piecemeal strategy reflects, in part, the frustrations experienced by environmentalists in the early 1970s, when attempts to address environmental issues in broader terms, including challenging the individualism and materialism of the free enterprise consumer economy, were met with widespread political and bureaucratic inertia.

Environmentalists soon discovered that while government and its bureaucracies were apparently eager to align themselves with environmentalists' sentiments, they were just as quick to conclude that even very modest change was sufficient and that economic growth, after all, must be the overriding priority.

Second, many of the specific gains made by environmentalists, particularly those in the dark ages of the 1960s and early 1970s, when proponents were seen by many as urging us back to caves, were often achieved without the support of, and at times in the face of indifference or even hostility from, organizations which basically shared the environmentalists' distrust of individualism and the rampant materialism of the free enterprise economy.

This experience is reflected in the sometimes self-righteous tone adopted by environmentalists in more recent years and in their reluctance to cooperate either consistently or closely with organizations which they see as being somewhat less than altruistic.

As Robert Paehlke and Douglas Torgerson write in *Managing Leviathan: Environmental Politics and the Administrative State*, environmental politics "departs from the conventional framework of interest-group politics;" it is concerned, ultimately, with a universal human interest, future generations, other species, and not narrow, particular interest; "those devoted to environmental politics are not typically seeking economic advantages."

Third, there is little doubt that the seductive illusion of the concept of

The seductive illusion of the concept of Sustainable Development distracted environmentalists from the real problem.

Sustainable Development distracted environmentalists during the last third of the decade.

Heralded by politicians, bureaucrats and industrialists alike, this "acceptance" of Sustainable Development is seen by many environmentalists as a major breakthrough; a long-delayed recognition by both government and business that environmental considerations must inevitably constitute a legitimate component of all decision making.

Henceforth, environmentalists anticipate, there will be integrated consideration of environmental and economic factors when policies are made in either the public or private sector thereby tempering the hitherto single-minded, environmentally destructive drive for economic growth with a keen sense of responsibility for the scrupulous stewardship of nature.

But most political and business leaders have a different notion of the concept. For them, Sustainable Development implies that the environment can be preserved without compromising economic growth. Indeed, as suggested in the "Report of the National Task Force on Environment and Economy" (a report signed by the federal environment minister, six provincial and territorial ministers, the head of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, six senior business executives including the chairman of Noranda Forest Inc., the president of the Canadian Petroleum Association and the executive vice-president of Inco Ltd., as well as two environmentalists and an academic), "Ensuring environmentally sound and sustainable economic development requires the technology and wealth that is generated by continued economic growth."

Not surprisingly, government and business leaders find Sustainable Development, interpreted in this manner, to be virtually irresistible: it enables them to mirror persistent public concern about the environment without sacrific-

ing in any meaningful way either prevailing economic priorities or established interests.

For these leaders, Sustainable Development does not make "unreasonable" demands for "limits to growth" or for other fundamental shifts in attitude or actions which might effectively challenge the pursuit of continued economic expansion; it merely demands that economic objectives should be fashioned in an attempt to accommodate, whenever appropriate, environmental considerations.

And, there are times when the meeting of environmental objectives is entirely appropriate: the prudent use of energy and other resources and the adoption of more efficient, environmentally benign technologies sometimes enhance rather than impede the pursuit of economic growth and profits.

Thus, the "easy" economic/environmental accommodations are readily made, but fervent adherence to the creed of apparently endless economic growth remains comfortably intact.

A Strategy for the 1990s

To suggest that this is the decade in which we must, at long last, relentlessly confront the reality of the environmental calamity plaguing us, is understatement. The implications of measuring "progress" by looking mainly at growth in consumption, income and profits are brought home to us in strikingly depressing terms day after day, as the litany of environmental abuses and their consequences grows ever longer.

That the list of environmental "victories" pales in comparison calls into question not only the means and ends of our economic strategy but also the manner in which environmentalists have hitherto chosen to challenge the prevailing political and economic orthodoxy.

Environmentalists should make no mistake about it: a society prepared to condone and, in the name of a relentless drive for economic growth, even to

Clorox goes on offensive?

'Rejected' crisis plan recommended calling environmentalists terrorists

The Canadian Press

A crisis management plan prepared for the Clorox Co. recommends labelling environmentalists as terrorists and using journalists who write about the hazards of household liquid chlorine bleach.

The plan, leaked to the media by environmental group Greenpeace, says Clorox should enlist sympathetic scientists to cast doubts on any government study that might conclude chlorine can be a carcinogen.

It suggests the company should respond to a potential Greenpeace protest at one of its plants by promising an independent third-party review of the is-

ssues, without actually doing such a review, provided publicity stays local.

A spokesman for Clorox, in Oakland, Calif., said Monday the company had rejected the recommendations of the plan, prepared for the company by Ketchum Communications of Pittsburgh.

"The consulting firm's language and descriptive analysis detracts from its central theme," said the company.

The plan was prompted by fears that concern about the environmental effects of chlorine bleaching products could affect company sales.

It says the industry should "generate grassroots letters to legislators calling

on them to show restraint" before introducing new regulations on chlorine.

Greenpeace has an international campaign to end the use of chlorine in the pulp and paper industry. Byproducts of the chlorine-bleaching process include dioxins, implicated in a wide range of health disorders including birth defects.

The plan prepared for Clorox says the Greenpeace campaign, combined with a general interest in natural household cleansers, could affect sales of the company's products. It says chlorine bleach sales in Europe are falling.

The plan says the jury is still out on whether chlorine is an animal carcinogen, but warns that the dioxin issue has high potential to cause public relations damage.

Greenpeace spokesman Brian Killean said household bleach is not a big concern compared to industrial use of chlorine, but the Clorox plan is indicative of how some companies approach environmental issues.

The Canadian pulp and paper industry has promised to virtually eliminate dioxins from its effluent by 1994, but environmentalists would like to see the complete elimination of chlorine bleaching, which produces other persistent byproducts in addition to dioxins.

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Un plan voulait assimiler les écologistes à des terroristes

Presse Canadienne
OTTAWA

Un plan de gestion de crise préparé pour Clorox Co. recommandait à la compagnie de faire passer les écologistes pour des terroristes et d'essayer de poursuivre les journalistes qui écrivent sur les dangers des produits de blanchiment au chlore pour l'entretien ménager.

Ce plan, que le groupe écologiste Greenpeace a remis aux médias, dit que Clorox devrait s'assurer le concours de scientifiques pour semer le doute sur toute étude gouvernementale qui conclurait que le chlore peut être cancérigène.

On y suggère également que la compagnie réagisse à une éventuelle manifestation de Greenpeace devant l'une de ses usines en promettant de soumettre la question à l'examen d'une tierce

partie, sans réellement mettre sa promesse à exécution. Enfin, on y propose que l'industrie organise des envois de lettres aux législateurs leur demandant de faire preuve «de retenue» avant d'imposer de nouveaux règlements sur l'usage du chlore.

Un porte-parole de Clorox a déclaré hier que la compagnie avait rejeté les recommandations du plan, conçu par la firme Ketchum Communications de Pittsburgh. Le langage et l'analyse de la firme de consultants s'écartent du thème central du plan, a fait savoir la compagnie dans un communiqué lu par un de ses employés au téléphone, d'Oakland, en Californie.

La société a voulu se doter de ce plan parce qu'elle craint que l'attention portée aux effets des produits de blanchissage au chlore sur l'environnement ne nuise à ses ventes.