

**“THEY’VE GOT NO STAKE IN WHERE THEY’RE AT”:
RADICAL ECOLOGY, THE FOURTH WORLD AND LOCAL IDENTITY IN
THE BELLA COOLA REGION**

by

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Abstract

The Forest Action Network, a radical environmental group, began in 1995 a cooperative relationship with “the House of Smayusta”, a faction of the Nuxalk First Nation, geared toward ending industrial forestry on the Northwest Coast of Turtle Island (North America). The region has been exploited by trans-state (trans-national) corporations for several decades, resulting in a badly degraded environment and a weakened local economy. The relationship between these groups resulted in logging road blockades and other actions involving civil disobedience. Discourses invoked by the environmentalists had the effect of silencing large portions of the local population, and involved problematic representations of the Nuxalk Nation. This thesis evaluates the relationship between the Forest Action Network and the Nuxalk in context of other cooperative efforts between indigenous peoples and non-Native environmentalists, and in light of ideas underlying Fourth World and radical ecology theory, and discussions of community identity.

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My mother, and Mother Earth, without either of whom none of this would have been possible...

Any inadequacies in the final thesis are, of course, my responsibility and not theirs.

Dedication

To my daughter, Tao Lynn Patricia Mogan Hipwell. May you always have a community to sustain you and to call your own. Your love gives me the strength to see it all through.

and

To the people of the Bella Coola region. The Earth has entrusted you with Paradise. May the colonial governments follow her wise example.

Bill Hipwell

May 20, 1997
Ottawa

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Quotation from the transcript of an interview with I2, a Nuxalk woman.

I2: When the dog salmon came, he was laughing. He pulled into one of the bays, en-route here, and he pulled into one of the bays and he laughed and he laughed. Whatever he did to the other salmon, he thought was so funny. He ended up being the last one to come because of that, and that's why he got a big smile. You know when they tell us these stories you realize that they do have personalities.

BH: I had a dream last night of a smiling fish. But it was a strange looking fish, it didn't look like any fish that I had ever seen, but it had a big smile on its face. And I was asking somebody what kind of fish it was, and they were talking about a smiling fish.

I2: [laughter]

BH: That is very funny. That's very funny.

I2: Well it's a dog-salmon.

BH and I2: [laughter]

I2: The sense of humour they have!

1. Situating the Production

On the north-west coast of Turtle Island¹, hidden in the midst of Pacific fjords and surrounded by the towering peaks of the Coastal Mountain range, lies the Bella Coola valley and surrounding region, centre of the ancestral territory of the Nuxalk Nation. In addition to 1200 Nuxalkmc (Nuxalk nationals), the valley is home to almost the same number of non-Nuxalk Bella Coolans², primarily descendants of Norwegian settlers who arrived at the turn of the century, along with even more recent arrivals from Outside.³

¹ British Columbia, Canada, in the discourse of the colonizers.

² Bella Coolan is the term used throughout this paper to refer to non-indigenous, or "White" residents of the Bella Coola Region, including those from remote settlements such as Ocean Falls. The term, though once applied to the Nuxalk, is not the Nuxalk's self-appellation, and does not carry with it the racist undertones of "white" or "non-native", which are the predominant designations in local discourse. It reflects the centrality of the Bella Coola valley in regional geography and politics.

³ As with many small, geographically-isolated communities, local "geographs" (Dalby 1996a) in the Bella Coola valley contain a sharp distinction between "Inside" and "Outside", to the degree that these terms are frequently capitalized in local newspaper stories.

Geographically isolated, the Bella Coola valley is in many ways representative of resource-based communities in the boreal forest. (Brownson 1995) Its disconnection from the Outside world is such that one geographer familiar with the Northwest Coast remarked that visiting Bella Coola was like "entering another era". (Galois 1997: pers. comm.). Unemployment is catastrophically high among both the Nuxalkmc and the Bella Coolans, and local political-economic life is dominated by the decline of forestry and fisheries. Most significantly, the region is also "outside the treaty frontier", meaning that unlike in most of Canada, where treaties were signed with indigenous nations, or where indigenous lands were purchased by the government for settlements, Canada may not, under international law, have legal title to the region. Technically, Bella Coola may not, therefore, be a part of Canada, though local residents (both Nuxalkmc and Bella Coolan) are very much enmeshed in the Canadian political economy. In realpolitik terms, neither Canada nor B.C. appears willing to voluntarily give up power over this rich, resource-producing region.

Bella Coola and the surrounding Great Coast Forest were quietly exploited for their natural resources, otherwise largely ignored and unknown to the Outside world until the autumn of 1995. Then, starting on September 6, a series of urgent media releases from the ecological activist non-governmental organization (NGO) the Forest Action Network (FAN) and the Nuxalk sovereigntist faction the House of Smayusta (HoS)

appeared on the Internet⁴ and in the international media.⁵ These messages alerted concerned ecological and indigenous activists about the imminent clearcutting of “traditional territory”⁶ of the Nuxalk Nation by the trans-state corporation (TSC) International Forest Products Ltd. (Interfor).⁷ FAN activists were arrested alongside Nuxalk Hereditary Chiefs and elders blockading a logging road at Fog Creek, King Island, or Ista in the Nuxalk language.

While these media releases painted a stark picture of “good vs. evil”, field research conducted for this thesis last summer in the Bella Coola valley has revealed that the situation is far more complex than “ecological activists and a sovereign indigenous nation versus a TSC logging operation”. Invisible from FAN and HoS media releases and subsequent international media stories were the Bella Coolans, and a significant portion of the Nuxalk Nation not associated with the sovereigntist HoS. This invisibility, or inadvertent silencing of local voices, was the result of claims to legitimacy involving self-constructions of identity made by FAN and the HoS. FAN’s and the HoS’s claims to

⁴ Specifically through the “Sovernet-I” and “Native-L” e-mail list servers, Usenet newsgroups, and several World-Wide Web (Web) pages (see bibliography for specific URL addresses). Sovernet-I is one of a number of e-mail based lists available through the Internet. It carries postings relating to indigenous sovereignty issues, primarily in Canada, but internationally as well. Any message sent to the Sovernet is automatically copied to all subscribers. Interested readers may apply for a free subscription by e-mailing “majordomo@speakeasy.org” with a message stating “subscribe sovernet-I”. “Native-L” is similar but carries a geographically broader range of issues. Native-I archives can be accessed on the WEB.

⁵ No fewer than thirty messages on the issue of forestry in Nuxalk territory were sent out by FAN between Sept. 6, 1995 and June 27, 1996.

⁶ The area in question, King Island, is currently claimed by both the Heiltsuk and the Nuxalk Nations. See Appendix E.

⁷ For the reader’s convenience, a glossary of terms and abbreviations appears as Appendix A.

legitimacy launch important challenges to modernist conceptions of humanity's position in nature and the boundaries of the state system, yet by taking the form of "totalizing metanarratives" repeat the modernist error of tending to ignore difference. Competing, and tellingly modernist claims have similarly been made by opponents of FAN and the HoS. This has exacerbated pre-existing social divisions in the valley and, in some regards, reduced the ability of the local community to withstand external economic and environmental threats. Paradoxically, these claims may also have had the "instrumental effect" (Foucault in Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983: 187) of stimulating local discussions of ecosystem integrity, and perhaps increased the likelihood of local resistance to industrial forestry.

Given its immense resource wealth, abundant wildlife, unique cultural heritage, small human population, and geographic isolation, the B.C. Mid-Coast Forest could be an exemplar of the type of self-sufficient bioregional geopolitical entity called for by many indigenous and ecological activists. Yet while logging companies exported more than \$3 billion of timber from the Mid-Coast Forest (of which the Bella Coola valley is the core) between 1983 and 1994, they left behind less than \$35 million in wages and virtually no infrastructure or capital investments. This has meant the Bella Coola valley's three thousand residents, approximately half of whom are members of the indigenous Nuxalk nation, continue to face severe socio-economic hardship. Among non-indigenous residents, the unemployment rate is 50%. Alcoholism is common (and with it Foetal

Alcohol Syndrome), as is violence against women (particularly spousal abuse). The municipality is impoverished, and there are serious concerns about potable water supplies due to antiquated sewage and plumbing systems. Among the people of the Nuxalk nation, conditions are far worse. There, unemployment is 80%. Lack of adequate housing or paved streets contribute to deep poverty on the Nuxalk Reserve. For the non-human residents of the watershed, the situation equally grave. Timber has been drastically over-harvested (up to 140% above B.C. Ministry of Forests-recommended sustainable levels), resulting in a degraded local environment, and negative impacts on species such as grizzly bears, trout, and salmon.

This project was initiated to evaluate the potential of ecologist-indigenous co-operation to improve environmental security, the global context of which is outlined below. The primary research question: "Is the Nuxalk House of Smayusta/FAN 'alliance' a good example of ecologist-indigenous co-operation?" should be considered the underlying theme of the thesis. Rather than narrowly evaluating the House of Smayusta/FAN relationship on the basis of media reports, it was decided to conduct personal interviews with activists from both these groups, as well as with non-sovereignist Nuxalk and with Bella Coolans. Results of these interviews and related research have revealed a number of important additional questions, which are introduced for future consideration, but not exhaustively addressed as they lie beyond the scope of this thesis.

Without reference to two meta-plots - radical ecology and Fourth World Theory, which the various acts under discussion would be less comprehensible. These plots will be outlined below. Then the cast will be introduced as a conclusion to this introduction. The second chapter will provide the global context for the “dramatic” events in the Bella Coola region, situating the regional economy within what has been termed a “global environmental crisis”. The third, fourth, and fifth chapters explore more fully the meta-plots introduced below, showing how the intersection of radical ecology and Fourth World nationalism does have the potential to improve environmental security, though it is a path fraught with danger. Environmental activists’ tendencies to essentialize indigenous nationals as “ecologically noble savages”, and to silence large segments of local populations can have complex and potentially damaging effects on community solidarity. A recognition that it is precisely this community solidarity upon which biocentric, sustainable economies must rest is a precondition for any sustained engagement between Industrian⁸ ecology movements and small localities, especially those in Industria’s resource “vorderland.”⁹ Since the world has become in many ways a

⁸ “Industria” is a term used throughout this thesis to describe the industrial state system, including its TSC-dominated mode of production. “Industria” is preferable to “modernity” because it does not attempt to temporalize (make abstract) what is most significantly a spatial (physical) phenomenon. A detailed explanation of the term is given in Chapters three and four.

⁹ A Copernican reorientation is called for: this is truly a task for geographers. “*Hinter*” means “behind”, and carries with it whispered allegations of the comparative moral and technological progress (forward movement) of Industria. Yet the greatest potential for any forward thinking lies not within Industria’s stagnant crawl, with its digitized and exponentially increasing consumption, but rather, furthest from its deadly grasp, “*Vorderland*”, the “land ahead”, is a more appropriate and less disparaging term than “hinterland” to describe the jewels of biodiversity and human potential so vividly represented by the Bella Coola region.

stage. it is of little surprise that criticism has become a popular pastime. Chapter six will explore some of the philosophical debates surrounding this growing critique, arguing that a strong tension between idealism and realism lies at the core of current debates in geography, especially in light of so-called postmodernist or post-structuralist approaches. This is in many senses a false dichotomy. Geography must, by definition, be both realist and idealist. To escape this dichotomy a "biocentric realism", characterized (paradoxically) by its idealistic shift of vantage point from an anthropocentric to a "Gaian" position, is proposed. In light of these philosophical questions, "Ecological Action Research" was developed as a methodology for this study, combining feminist approaches to qualitative research and more traditional geographical research focused on the physical environment. This approach will be described, showing that "political ecology" is too narrow and ideologically burdened to serve a critical methodology for research into global human-Gaian interactions. Finally, some of the problems encountered during field research will be discussed.

With the stage set, the plots and critics introduced, it will be time to start the show. The drama of FAN, the Nuxalkmc, the Bella Coolans and Interfor will be written in two acts: first, the FAN/HoS "defence of Ista", and second, the Nuxalk Nation's subsequent (and unsuccessful) attempt to evict FAN from their territory. The juxtaposition of these two acts creates a paradox, one that, it will be argued, renders the FAN/Nuxalk relationship, deeply, and perhaps incurably problematic. Claims to

legitimacy, as well as representations and constructions of the Other have been used to political advantage by all sides in the divided Bella Coola community. These representations have a strong bearing on the primary research question regarding the “success” of the FAN/Nuxalk relationship. In Chapter eight the narratives of interview informants (see Appendix B for a full list of anonymous informant descriptions) are introduced to help answer this question. Further research is recommended into how a bioregional approach might help solve the looming ecological and economic crisis in the Bella Coola region. It is also ventured that such a solution might depend on a reconsideration of the categories operating in local discourse, upon a celebration of difference without Othering, and upon a collective and self-conscious self-construction of a local, ecological identity. Finally, the concluding chapter offers some tentative evaluations regarding the great drama of FAN, the Nuxalk House of Smayusta, and the politics of “saving the world”.

The Meta-Plots

In the wake of the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, the re-articulation and actuation of principles of bio-regional governance are now seen to be critical ingredients for the achievement of environmental and socio-economic sustainability. This is complicated in British Columbia, where the federal and provincial governments have recently entered into a costly and lengthy “Treaty Process”

with indigenous nations, intended to resolve the untidy and embarrassing issue of the province's lack of legal title to much of "its" territory. Concurrently, indigenous nations, environmental groups and transnational logging corporations are rolling up their sleeves for a protracted battle over the last remnants of the West Coast's old-growth forests. The potential of Fourth World theory to inform discussions of bioregionalism will be demonstrated by way of reference to Fourth World territoriality, which contains an implicit ecological ethic and fluid conceptions of boundaries. Contemporary challenges to nationalism will be answered by an acknowledgement that any equitable bioregional politics must be a multi-national phenomenon, one that could perhaps serve as the basis for a re-imagining of the state.

Fourth World Theory

Fourth World Theory views the world from the perspective of the world's roughly 5 000 indigenous nations. The modern state system was created by European colonial powers, in the absence of consultation with the nations whose territories were arbitrarily divided among what now number 192 modern states. For indigenous peoples, this "new world order" has meant marginalization and impoverishment, the destruction of millennia-old economies and systems of governance, and relationships of oppression by and forced dependence on state governments. For the people of the Fourth World, the wealth of Industria, and many of "its" political institutions (for example, the United

States constitution, which many hold is based on the Iroquois Confederacy¹⁰) have been made possible by the theft of indigenous resources and ideas. Recent work in geography (e.g. Blaut 1993) has discredited European “diffusionist” philosophies which have long held that most, if not all, cultural innovation has come from Europe. The new historical picture emerging shows sophisticated, comparatively advanced civilizations in North America prior to European contact. The arrival of European culture in North America resulted initially in an exchange between equals, solemnized in treaties and other diplomatic intercourse. By all accounts, North American indigenous civilizations taught the Europeans many of the political notions now taken for granted, including representative government. As noted earlier it is widely held that the Iroquois Confederacy served as the inspiration and model for the United States constitution at the end of the eighteenth century. (Johansen 1996) The subsequent economic and technological boom enjoyed by Europe (the “Industrial Revolution”) came about primarily as a result of the exploitation of resource wealth from North America. That this exploitation was facilitated by betrayal, broken treaties, and genocide is a fact that belies claims of European cultural and moral superiority. By deconstructing the “colonizers’ model of the world”, this research makes it clear that solutions to global problems of economy, environment, and human rights can not be found without input from the world’s indigenous nations, nor without a sincere engagement with indigenous demands

¹⁰ See Johansen (1996), an extensive annotated bibliography on this topic by a University of Nebraska Native American Studies professor.

for some form of sovereign control over the lands and resources upon which their cultures have always depended.

Environmental Activism

Global environmental problems have inspired the creation of myriad ecological NGOs. The approaches taken by these groups vary as widely as the environmental problems they were created to address. The most recent phenomenon has been the rise of “radical” ecology groups, those willing to advocate and undertake civil disobedience campaigns. They are typical of “left-libertarian” movements (Kitschelt 1989), usually have an urban Industrian genesis, and tend to view the environmental situation facing the Earth as urgent. Even within the radical end of the ENGO spectrum there is considerable variety. Groups such as Earth First! have advocated sabotage of industrial equipment being used to damage wilderness (Foreman 1991) while others, including the Forest Action Network, renounce such tactics, resorting instead to blockades, tree-sits, and high-tech information campaigns. The impact of these groups is difficult to judge, but they have at a minimum increased public awareness of environmental issues and made “reform” or “mainstream” groups appear more reasonable to industry and government. The radical ecology spectrum, and FAN’s position within it is looked at more closely in Chapter four below, along with the important ethical challenges it entails for Industria. Recent criticism of radical ecology (e.g. Lewis 1992) will also be addressed.

The "Alliance"

Radical ecologists and indigenous sovereigntists are equally fond of comparing Industria to a cancer eating away at the Body of a living Earth. The heuristic power of this "planetary oncology" metaphor will be examined, especially in light of Lovelock's (1988) "Gaia theory". In Chapter five, other conceptual commonalities underlying ecologist-indigenous co-operation are explored. The FAN/Nuxalk relationship is a specific example of a growing global phenomenon. Of particular interest are the cosmological similarities that render such a relationship "natural". However, it will be shown that limitations of such alliances include the problem of "external penetration" and the silencing of local narratives through problematic representations, as well as the danger of the "containing force of traditionalism" (Keen 1993), which can have the effect of "fixing"¹¹ indigenous peoples at some historical point and denying them the right or the discursive ability to evolve as they see fit.

It is at the intersection of the three global issues economy, environment, and indigenous rights that this study is situated. As stated at the outset, the Forest Action Network and the Nuxalk House of Smayusta have since early 1995 been engaged in a co-operative effort to end the exploitation of forest resources from Nuxalk traditional

¹¹ The sterility of such historically-reified cultural attributes gives the term "fixing" a veterinary sense as well.

territory by trans-state logging interests, especially Interfor. Can this relationship be characterized as successful? The answer to this, and many related questions, are to be found only with reference to intersecting plotlines of Fourth World nationalism, radical ecology, and local identity struggles.

Dramatis Personae

The Nuxalk Nation

With a population of approximately 1 200, the Nuxalk Nation exists at a small fraction of its historical size. The nineteenth century saw smallpox and other introduced diseases “devastate” the Nuxalk. (Barker 1992: xii) This was a local manifestation of a more general phenomenon on the Northwest coast. As Galois (1996) notes, “Disease was an integral and devastating component in the dialectic of contact.” (p. 39) Estimates of the Nuxalk population before contact with Europeans and their diseases range from ten to thirty thousand people. A succession of epidemics killed a horrifying 75-90% of the Nuxalk population. (Kirk 1986: 225)¹²

¹² This has quite understandably given rise to allegations that smallpox and measles were deliberately introduced by Europeans in an attempted genocide. However, although such a tactic was used at least once in the American mid-west, there is no evidence that this is what happened on the Northwest Coast. Indeed, for European colonial powers most interested in exploiting the region’s wealth through the fur trade, depopulating the region of indigenous trappers and hunters would have been counter-productive. (Galois 1997: pers. comm.)

The Bella Coola Indian Reserves total 20.24 km² today, a mere 0.13% of the approximately 15 600 km² occupied by Nuxalk family groups in 1850 (calculated from "Native Indians: Distribution of Ethnic Groups" map in Farley 1979) or 0.11% of the present-day Nuxalk territorial claim. (calculated from figures given in Nuxalk Nation 1986) The tiny area of the Reserves serves to severely limit the economic potential available to the Nuxalk Nation, and when compared to the area "owned" by Bella Coolans, or especially to the tenure granted to forestry companies, is obviously unequitable.

Traditionally, decisions in Nuxalk communities were made by consensus. Members of a village would meet to discuss possible courses of action on an issue of importance, "and if unanimity of opinion was reached, that course was decided on." (McIlwraith 1992: 340) Similarly, leadership, particularly of military expeditions, was decided on by the general public:

Public opinion alone selected the leader, usually a man who had given a number of potlatches, especially one whose position had been made stronger by previous validation... (ibid.)

Today, two distinct factions exist within the Nuxalk Nation. One faction is those involved with or in support of the Nuxalk House of Smayusta (HoS), the other is made up of supporters of the Nuxalk Nation Band Council (NNBC) and Chief-in-Council Archie Pootlass. According to respected ethnographer and adopted Nuxalkmc T.F. McIlwraith (1992), such political divisions are not new to the Nuxalk. Prior to the establishment of

British colonial rule. “lack of a strong government was a serious handicap to the [Nuxalk].” (ibid.: 340) Political divisions intensified just before, during, and after the FAN/HoS blockades at Ista. Once again, this does not appear to be without historical precedent: “The same lack of leadership shown during preparations for war was evident during hostilities... Frequently such divided leadership led to disaster...” (ibid.: 342)¹³ Because the divisions within the Nuxalk Nation are so central to the conflict in question, and because commonalities between the two factions were uncovered, and should, in the interests of peace, come to light, Nuxalk informants are identified in Appendix B, and frequently within the text, according to which faction they professed to support.

The House of Smayusta means literally “the house of stories”, and it serves as the headquarters of the self-proclaimed “Nuxalk Nation Government”. In September 1995 the NNG had the support of at least six out of seventeen Nuxalk Hereditary Chiefs, including Nuximlayc (Lawrence Pootlass), Qwatsinas (Edward Moody), Slicxwliqw’ (Charlie Nelson), Qwatsi (David Clelliman), Liciw7mutusayc (Taylor King), and Sats7alanlh (Peter Schooner). It is not immediately apparent as to whether all of these Chiefs still support the NNG at the time of writing. “Head” Hereditary Chief Nuximlayc, half-brother of Chief-in-Council Archie Pootlass, appears to provide primarily spiritual leadership. Nuximlayc has a long and respected history of involvement with the Fourth

¹³ The non-violent blockades at Ista can be considered a form of postmodern warfare, especially in light of Ed Moody’s comments recorded by the CMN: “Our people’s tactics have changed to nonviolence. Our wagon-burning days are over.” (Feinberg 1996a).

World movement and the late Shuswap Chief George Manuel (see Chapter three). Qwatsinas acts as a principal spokesperson and activist for the NNG. There are also several women who appear to play important “behind the scenes” rôles in the House of Smayusta. This was evident due to their constant presence in the HoS building itself, as well as a leadership rôle assumed when the male leadership was in Vancouver for their trial on charges stemming from the Ista blockades. A strong, and often behind-the-scenes political rôle for women is not uncommon in indigenous hereditary systems.

The Nuxalk Nation Band Council was established under the Indian Act of 1870. Chief-in-Council Archie Pootlass is currently serving his second consecutive term, having been re-elected in February 1997. At the time of field research in May-July 1996, of eleven elected councillors in addition to the Chief, six at least nominally supported the House of Smayusta and its sovereigntist stand at Ista. A measure of current community opinion is that in addition to re-electing Archie Pootlass, electors ousted several pro-House of Smayusta Councillors in the February 1997 election. The NNBC has recently begun holding public meetings with a quorum of 230 to decide on issues of importance to the Nuxalk Nation. Several informants noted that this is the most representative, participatory government the Nuxalk Nation has had in several generations, and one that in fact resembles the community participation that was intrinsic to the hereditary system in place before European contact.

Based on interview data collected, the divisions between these two groups over questions of environment, economy, and sovereignty are much smaller than indicated in FAN and HoS media releases and public statements. This fact will be explored more fully in the final Chapter.

The Bella Coolans

Of all the categories used in this thesis, this one is the least comfortable. The term “White”, common to local discourse, is not used as it renders invisible the small number of non-Nuxalk people of colour who live in the valley. The “Bella Coolans” are far from an undifferentiated group, and as such this is a “catch-all” category. Within this category informants are identified by self-described profession or vocation, such as “logging industry employee”, “commercial fisherman”, “business person”, etc.

The first Norwegian settlers arrived in the Bella Coola valley on October 31, 1894. “These early records tell of hardship in clearing land with tree trunks as big as a house, of how the Norwegians came to rely on native Indians for help, transportation and advice on living off the land.” (Nordic Times 1996) The spirit of goodwill shown to newcomers by the Nuxalk was remarked upon much earlier by Mackenzie. That their ancestors helped the settlers survive is common knowledge among the Nuxalk “[T]he people that came here - Norwegians came in and we helped them set their places up in the valley.” (Inf. I10)

The Forest Action Network (FAN)

There was a few boys that were way up in the trees. I seen a video of it and they were way up in a tree, and when the policemen come they were trying to tell them to come down. And I don't think they did. (Inf. 115)

FAN began as a loose collection of activists during the protests at Clayoquot Sound in the summer of 1993. In 1995 the group coalesced into a more permanent manifestation, dedicated to changing forest policy in British Columbia through public education and non-violent direct action. A FAN newsletter lists three primary goals:

1. Preserve the Great Coast Wild bioregion.
2. Reduce the AAC (annual allowable cut) in British Columbia.
3. Work toward ending clearcut logging, and promoting ecologically sustainable community-based ecoforestry. (Forest Action Network 1995)

The bottom line is that our industrial relationship with the forests has to change from one of ownership to one of stewardship... This is why we promote alternatives such as ecoforestry and value-added manufacturing. (Forest Action Network 1997: pers. comm.)

In the late spring of 1995, with an invitation from the Nuxalk House of Smayusta, FAN arrived in the Bella Coola valley. Among their first activities was assisting the Nuxalk in re-establishing a cultural and physical presence at the Tallheo Hot Springs, an area used by the Nuxalk for untold generations.

There is a great strength and purpose to the Nuxalk plans to reoccupy their land. We see our role as supporting them, by walking alongside them. and using our boat both as a supply ship and as a mobile base camp to explore the region with them. (Forest Action Network 1995)

As a radical ecology organization, FAN appears to fit very closely characteristics typical of grassroots organizations, namely a lack of formal requirements for or barriers to membership, a lack of formalized decision-making or participation procedures, and a lack of organizational statutes. (see Kitschelt 1989) As one informant, a FAN activist noted:

[W]e don't have an elective system in place within the Forest Action Network. I mean, that's one important similarity between us [and the HoS]. And, I mean, hereditary is not the right word. But the people who... stick around for a long time with FAN and end up taking up positions of responsibility are the people who put a lot of time and effort into volunteering and helping out and showing that commitment. (Inf. E6)

There does appear to be some continuity in the chief spokespeople for the group. Greg Higgs, author of most of the group's electronic communications¹⁴ and editor of their newsletter has played this role since early 1995. Simon Waters, founder of the group, has acted as the principal public spokesperson since the group's inception.

The Sierra Club of Western Canada

The Sierra Club is what Michael Zimmerman (1994) has described as a "reform" ecological group. As such, they take a primarily anthropocentric approach to

¹⁴ However, during the Ista blockades, FAN postings on the Internet came from numerous other authors.

environmental issues, are staffed primarily by salaried employees, and do not engage directly in civil disobedience or other “radical” actions. Their primary mode of effecting environmental change is through political lobbying and public education. In Bella Coola, the Sierra Club has focused on providing to the Band Council high-quality satellite images of deforestation in the region¹⁵, and plans multi-party stakeholder meetings on the future of forestry in the Mid-Coast Forest.

According to informants, individuals claiming to represent the Sierra Club came to Bella Coola in 1970 or 1972, and used the Sierra Club name to gain access to Nuxalk grave sites. Subsequently, they are alleged to have robbed graves of artifacts. As one Nuxalk woman and Band Council supporter put it: “[T]hey dragged the name Sierra through the mud... These guys really gave us a wrong impression about Sierra Club and a lot of us were turned off.” (Inf. II 1)

The local Sierra Club Chapter was started in 1996 under the direction of Irene Mack, a Maori activist, who had prior to this position worked for several months for the MoF - Mid Coast Forest District offices in Hagensborg. This has contributed to suspicions within the House of Smayusta.

¹⁵ It cannot be overlooked that these maps also reveal the locations of valuable stands of trees.

Well, I don't know where the Sierra - I think they're weak environmentalists that are bent to the BC treaty process. Try and get as much as we can out of that treaty process. And say that they've accomplished something. And I think that they've come here to try and neutralize the militant environmentalists that were coming in so that they can get the support from the public. And create a smoke screen, and blind the people with it. It's goody-goody light that they're bringing. It's to fill the agenda of the Ministry of Forest and companies like Interfor. And the treaty process. (Inf. 116)

During field research, Irene Mack asked me to sign a document which would give the Band Council and elected Chief-in-Council the right to edit this thesis before its publication. The request was ostensibly based on a desire to ensure that the thesis did not misrepresent the Nuxalk people, but because it was academically inappropriate, the request was declined.

The Ministry of Forests - Mid-Coast District (MoF)

"The Ministry of Forests deals primarily with forest management. We are beginning to look into harvest management of other forest products. Some wild plants are now being looked at. We are concerned with the assessment of impacts, and weighing them against the value of an industry." (Inf. C1)

The B.C. Ministry of Forests (MoF) is responsible for allocating tree cutting rights, setting Annual Allowable Cut (AAC) levels, overseeing tree-cutting operations, and recently, enforcing the Forest Practices Code and distributing Forest Renewal B.C. funds for silviculture, etc. The MoF also assists First Nations in setting up and implementing

forestry training programs, such as a recent co-operative effort with the Nuxalk in an orientation to forestry. In that initiative, the MoF loaned equipment to the Nuxalk for use in the program.

The MoF also tries to identify known indigenous traditional use areas so they can be excluded from cut blocks. However, when asked what "traditional uses" might include, a senior employee at the MoF Mid-Coast Forest District office said this was "a little hard to define", and that, for example, a mountain bike trail "wouldn't fall under traditional use, but it would be considered" after going through an approval process. (Inf. C1) This appears to be an example of the "containing force of traditionalism" spoken of by Keen (1993), whereby indigenous culture is reified at some historical point and denied the right to evolve.

International Forest Products Inc. (Interfor)

With 2800 employees, sales approaching \$1 billion, and a 1995 reported profit of \$19.9 million, Interfor is a significant force in North American forestry. (International Forest Products Inc. 1995) Interfor Chairman and CEO Bill Sauder earned \$722,167 in 1994. (Forest Action Network 1996c.) The B.C. government has granted Interfor cutting rights to the majority of the MCFD. The majority of Interfor employees involved in forestry operations in the MCFD come from outside the region, prompting one informant to comment that "They've got no stake in where they're at." (Inf. B6)

The Coast Mountain News

A glance at the classified section of the Coast Mountain News (CMN) reveals that the newspaper is very much dependent upon revenues from the logging industry for its survival. This impression is reinforced by its predominantly negative coverage of FAN/HoS activities. Of additional concern is the relative invisibility of the Nuxalk Nation in CMN coverage. For example, the Nuxalk Band Council election of February 1995 received absolutely no mention either before, during, or after, a remarkable fact since the Nuxalk make up at least half of the valley's residents and such an election happens only once every two years. Even after numerous allegations of election fraud became common in the community, not a word on the topic appeared in the CMN for a full year, and even then only in the form of an anonymous letter to the editor lambasting the Nuxalk HoS and Hereditary Chief Ed Moody. (CMN 1996) A more detailed analysis of problematic CMN representations of the valley is included in Chapter eight.

The LRUP Committee

The Local Resource Use Plan (LRUP) committee was formed from the Central Coast Environment Group to address the issue of unsustainable levels of tree cutting in the Bella Coola Valley. Its nineteen members were mandated to assess timber resources

in the planning area (see Appendix C) and recommend a sustainable timber harvest rate. (LRUP Committee 1996: 3) The committee released its report in August 1996. Overall, though numerous problems exist in the LRUP Committee's composition, mandate, and methodology, the principle of a locally created resource management plan is a good one, and such a plan is needed in the management of a regional economy undergoing fundamental changes.

The planning area is shown in the LRUP document in map form. (ibid.: 2; see Appendix C) In his discussion of geography's implication in the deterritorialization of the Nuxalk and Ts'ilhqot'in nations, Brealy (1995) has pointed out that subjectively,

“...maps ‘do’ a great deal. They effectively inscribe and transmit the terms of reference in which concepts of space and territory (and the cultures within them) are formulated, evaluated, rhetoricized, and ‘memorized’ for subsequent generations. ...[M]aps should be seen as part of a process of territorialization - as elementary, yet highly authoritative threads within... ‘sociospatial networks of power’.” (Brealy 1995: 141)

In this light, it is interesting to note that the LRUP maps do not show the Skowquiltz, or other areas identified by FAN and the Nuxalkmc as threatened by logging. Areas outside the planning area are coloured plain white, meaning the area is divorced from its geographical context and appears disembodied. Amputated from the surrounding Great Coast Forest, the map makes it difficult to visualize the context of other forestry activities being undertaken in the region by major logging companies. In addition, the Nuxalk and Heiltsuk territorial claims have been “written out” of the LRUP document. Fog Creek,

though mentioned explicitly in the text (ibid.: 25:), is not labelled on the map, perhaps because of its centrality in FAN/HoS protests.

The LRUP Committee had several specific objectives. The first was

- To develop a comprehensive plan that identifies the opportunities and potential for the harvesting of timber, establishment and tending of future forest crops, recreation, tourism, wildlife, fish, birds¹⁶, livestock grazing, botanical forest products, human settlement, and water; and defines [sic.] the forest practices required to ensure integrated resource management. (ibid.: 4)

Notice here the primacy of forestry. The second listed objective was

- To make every effort to include First Nations, whose asserted traditional territories fall within the planning area, in planning processes. (ibid.)

First Nations support for the Plan is non-existent. Though HoS Chief Ed Moody has been blamed for the lack of Nuxalk involvement in the process, it was in fact the present Chief-in-Council Archie Pootlass who wrote to the committee in 1990, outlining why his nation was not participating. He said that the Nuxalk felt the Ministry of Forests' chairing and setting a mandate for the committee had the effect of "mandating some form of harvesting" in all parts of the region. (Pootlass 1996) Arlene Wilson, Chair of the Heiltsuk Tribal Council in a letter outlining her nation's refusal to sign the draft or final LRUP documents said the Plan "completely omits any reference to consultation with first nations, first nation participation in management decisions or social and economic development in first nation communities" and "appears to be written by non-native

¹⁶ Fish and birds are actually included in the definition of wildlife provided in the LRUP Glossary.

communities for the benefit of non-native people.” (Wilson 1996) A neat discursive manoeuvre of geographical containment is accomplished in referring to First Nations “asserted” territories as falling “within the planning area”. In fact, the planning area falls within Nuxalk and Heiltsuk territorial claims, not the other way around. The Committee’s third objective was

- To ensure that the Protection of Aboriginal Rights Policy is used in the development of lower level plans. (ibid.)

This appears to be the only mention of this policy, and it is unclear how this objective was incorporated into the overall Plan. See Arlene Wilson’s comments above. Certainly, the policy mentioned does not address the issue of territorial claims. To the contrary, the LRUP document makes specific reference to further development and settlement of lands within the Nuxalk territorial claim. The fourth objective was:

- To consider the views of the licensed resource users, all the members of the communities within the planning area, and the general public: in the development of the plan. (ibid.)

Lack of Nuxalk involvement means that at least one community’s views were not considered. The final objective was

- To develop procedures for development, in the Bella Coola planning area, that are consistent with the Forest Practices Code of British Columbia [FPC], Regulations, and Guidebooks. (ibid.)

Yet the Plan makes explicit reference to enabling a “higher level of alteration” than permitted by FPC Visual Quality Objectives. (ibid. 12)

The final draft of the Plan was not signed by the following Committee members: Jim Newkirk (Bella Coola Small Logging Operators' Association - BCSLOA), Chief Arlene Wilson (Heiltsuk Tribal Council) and Gilbert Brennenstuhl (Timberwest Forest Limited). No reason is given for the lack of a signature from the BCSLOA, but it can be assumed that the plan failed to address the needs of small loggers in the area. Heiltsuk concerns are indicated above. Timberwest, for its part, felt that the Plan ignored "economic realities" which allegedly mean that local manufacturing of value-added products is not "in the overall public interest". (Brennenstuhl 1996). This invocation of the "overall public" is of course a privileging of people outside planning area communities, precisely the problem the Committee was formed to address. Timberwest further claimed that the Plan "flies in the face of the intent of the Timber License form of tenure which is to enable the areas to be logged opportunistically when markets are good..." (ibid.. emphasis added) The B.C. Ministry of Environment stated it had signed the LRUP document only to preserve consensus, but did not agree with the recommended harvest levels because they are in excess of sustainability models and there will therefore "be a fairly heavy impact to the community with in [sic.] the next 5 years." (B.C. Ministry of the Environment 1996)

The actors introduced above all played important rôles in the ecological conflicts under investigation. A detailed assessment of representations engaged in by these actors forms the core of the second last chapter. What follows is the eco-geographical context, or stage(s) upon which these actors played.

2. **Setting the Stage: The Eco-Geographical Context**

Centre of the Universe

People come here and they stay here, even like you have come in here and seen this place, you know you pick up on a vibration of the place perhaps. Its got a lot of generosity. There are two or three thousand people here.
(Inf. B6)

The Bella Coola valley lies 432 km north of the Industrian metropolis of Vancouver (straight line distance), situated at 52°22'N, 126°44'W (Sheet 93D7, Universal Transverse Mercator Projection). The valley is a centre from a variety of perspectives. To the British Columbia Ministry of Regional Development, it is the centre of the resource-based economy of the 25 000 km² "Central Coast Regional District" (CCRD). (B.C. Ministry of Regional Development 1995: 67) To the B.C. Ministry of Forests and to trans-state logging corporations, it is the centre of the tree-rich "Mid-Coast Forest

District". To volunteers and staff of the Forest Action Network, the valley is the centre of the Great Coast Rainforest, one of the last great old-growth temperate rainforests on Earth. From the perspective of the Nuxalk Nation, the Bella Coola valley lies at the centre of a 18000 km² territory, far larger than the CCRD, created for them untold generations ago by Tatau, the Creator. Finally, to both Nuxalk and Bella Coolans, the Bella Coola valley is "the centre of their universe." (Inf. M1) This is not some naïve pre-Copernican orientation, but rather a positioning related to the area's physical, aesthetic, and spiritual importance. In this study, the area is generally referred to as the "Bella Coola region".¹⁷

By road, the journey from Vancouver is 1100 km, the final 460 km of which is primarily gravel. From the top of the Ts'ilhqot'in plateau, in a stretch known in local parlance as "the Hill", the road narrows to one lane and descends almost 1500 m in less than 19 linear kilometres of switchbacks, with grades reaching 18% . The severity of the road is underscored by the fact that in the 1950s, B.C. provincial engineers deemed its construction impossible. Valley residents then undertook to construct it by themselves, eventually succeeding in September 1953. (Cariboo Tourism Association 1995: Inf. B6) Before the construction of the road up the Hill, the only way into or out of the Valley was on foot, by air or by boat.

¹⁷ When statistical data is specific to the slightly different areas denoted by different labels, then those labels are used. For example, employment figures are given for the Central Coast Regional District, whereas tree cutting rates are given for the Mid-Coast Forest District.

The east-west oriented Bella Coola River, with a total drainage area of 3729 km² (Farley 1979: 39), begins seventy-five kilometres east of Bella Coola village, near the foot of the Hill at the confluence of the Talchako and Atnarko Rivers. The glacier-fed Talchako gives the Bella Coola its creamy colour and frigid temperatures, which reach a numbing summer high of only 10.9°C (ibid.: 47). All but the hardiest local residents are forced as a result to use a municipal pool for swimming. The river's maximum (late June) average streamflow is approximately 240 m³s⁻¹; the minimum (February) is approximately 30 m³s⁻¹. (ibid.: 39) The village of Bella Coola (originally "Q'umk'uts" in the Nuxalk language), at the west end of the valley, is situated on the shore of the North Bentinck Arm of the salt-water Burke Channel, where the rich Bella Coola River estuary drains into the sea.

The Bella Coola River valley is at most four to five kilometres across, hemmed in by the towering peaks of the Coastal Mountain Range, which rises straight up from the valley floor to a maximum elevation of 2908m (Mount Saugstad) Other peaks beside the valley reach similar heights, creating an impressive topography. These mountains also have the effect of severely limiting direct sunlight in winter. A total of ten tributary river valleys branch out of the Bella Coola valley, which is presently the only settled valley in the watershed. The valley's climate, like much of the Bella Coola region, is temperate. Cool and moist, the valley receives a drenching 250 cm of rainfall annually. In July the

maximum mean daily temperature is 18°C. Winters are relatively mild, with the mean daily temperature in January hovering around -5°C.

Silent witnesses to the human passion play being performed in the Bella Coola region abound. The temperate Great Coast Forest provides homes for myriad nonhumans, from the smallest insect to the Grizzly Bear. At least twenty-three "rare or uncommon" animals are found in the region. (G.E. Bridges and Associates 1994: 15) Large mammals, or "charismatic megafauna" include the Grizzly, Black-Tailed Deer, Moose, Cougar, Timber Wolf and Mountain Goat. Wildlife encounters are common, and it is no coincidence that most local hardware stores stock Bearguard™ or other forms of pepper spray. The forest home of these animals is itself a treasure-trove of biodiversity. Principal trees include the Western Red Cedar (primary building material used in traditional Nuxalk culture), Western Hemlock, Sitka Spruce, Douglas Fir, Amabilis Fir, Yellow Cypress, Mountain Hemlock, Alpine Fir, and Black Cottonwood. Innumerable food and medicinal plants in the forests, including berries, lupine roots and hemlock bark have been used by the Nuxalkmc for centuries.

The tidal estuary and saltwater channels are similarly abundant in life. The legendary Eulichan fish (the source of the name of the Nuxalk-Carrier "Grease Trail" used by Mackenzie on his first trip to the Pacific) Abalone, Clams, Sea Urchins and numerous other commercial fish species as well as Seals are all found near the estuary. Overhead the sky is dotted with hunting Bald Eagles. The streams which run throughout

the region provide some of the most important salmon habitat in North America.

Salmonids include Spring (Chinook), Coho, Chum, Sockeye, and Pink (Humpback)

Salmon, as well as Steelhead (sea-run rainbow trout) and Cut-throat Trout.

Bella Coola and the World

The valley is the background, its the foreground, its everything. The seasons. Everything here is seasonal. What fish is running, things like that. Or "we can't log" or "we can log". Everything is related to the environment here. There is no downtown core business section. There are no manufacturing industries. Everything is resource based. "[Pine] Mushrooms are out! They're good this year!" Everything is resource-based here. (Inf. B6)

...this monetary economy that has been placed on us doesn't sustain our people. 80% of our people are unemployed and 60% of the non-Native people in this valley are unemployed. That's just in this valley. 3000 people in this valley and the monetary economy cannot even sustain 3000 people. Our traditional economy.... [w]ith our salmon and our forests, the foods from our forest, and in the waters, you know, it sustained 30 000 people and we didn't have to destroy it. (Inf. I4)

It is by now clear to most social science researchers that nothing takes place that is divorced from its geo-political and historical context, and this is most certainly the case in the Bella Coola valley. The situation unfolding there and in the surrounding Bella Coola region is a microcosm of larger, intersecting global issues. To begin with, shifts in the global economy have marginalized resource vorderlands, causing rising unemployment, rural depopulation and urban growth. (Brownson 1995). In addition, the various resource extraction regimes in place in the Bella Coola region must themselves be situated in the

global ecological context of grave concerns regarding climatic stability, deforestation, and declining fish stocks. Moreover, FAN and the House of Smayusta are themselves local expressions of global social movements: “radical ecology” and “Fourth World Theory” respectively. While radical ecology and Fourth World Theory are dealt with extensively in later chapters it would be productive here to provide an overview of the ecological crisis faced by all species, a crisis which threatens to undermine the planet’s capacity to support mammalian life.

The global distribution of labour and jobs has shifted significantly, due especially to the automation of resource extraction in Industria and the globalization of manufacturing which has rendered resource extraction in the Third and Fourth worlds more economically feasible for TSCs. This has caused rising unemployment in the vorderlands exploited by Industrian states, leading to rural depopulation and urban growth. (Brownson 1995) It is becoming increasingly evident that this demographic trend is accompanied by increasing levels of resource extraction, particularly through forestry and commercial fishing, which in turn contribute to a growing, global environmental crisis.

That the world is presently facing such a crisis is no longer a matter of conjecture. A summary reading of geography texts, academic journals, or newspapers will quickly apprise the reader of the growing threats posed by global climate change, acid rain, and the depletion of fresh water, soil, and other natural resources. (see for example World

Resource Institute 1994; Kaufman and Franz 1993; Ottawa Citizen 1997) Underlying or exacerbating many of these issues is the increasing spectre of extinctions: the collapse of global biodiversity. It has been estimated that more than 270 species become extinct each day, 400 times the historic rate. At this rate, the Earth could lose as much as one quarter of all species within fifty years. (Kaufman and Franz 1993: 493-4)

An environmental problem is a situation in which the matrix of mutually dependent functional components comprising the biosphere ("Gaia") is drastically degraded by any action.¹⁸ Environmental problems are usually either global (biospheric), local (bioregional), or a combination of the two in scope. They are infrequently "state" problems, except where the state is the culprit in causing degradation. Environmental security is the continued functioning of Gaia, which depends in perhaps unknowable ways upon the continued existence of millions of inter-dependent species. Furthermore, the human species has psycho-physically evolved in the context of the present configuration of Gaia. That Gaia can support physically and psychically healthy humans is unquestionable. Thus, since changes to Gaia's biological makeup can have unpredictable consequences, and could result in a configuration unable to support human life, human environmental security depends upon Gaia's systems being maintained in their present form. (Galtung 1982: 16) This in turn entails minimizing or eliminating anthropogenic loss of biodiversity.

¹⁸ This is a combination of definitions from Lovelock (1988), Levy (1995: 40) and Callicott (1989: 193).

Given the Bella Coola region's abundance of natural wealth, coupled with its extreme isolation from Industria, it is hardly surprising that the informant quoted above should have chosen to describe the regional economy as "resource-based". However, unsustainable resource extraction in the past, coupled with the region's treatment as a resource extraction zone, has resulted in a local economic crisis. In order to provide an accurate picture of the valley's present economic situation, and its future potential, this section surveys and considers the geographical implications of the various current or potential economic activities in the region.

Forests

Francesca Binda, campaign director for the Canadian Endangered Species Coalition, identifies the loss of habitat, especially forests, as the primary cause of declining biodiversity.¹⁹ (McIlroy 1996) Forests are the highest concentrations of biodiversity in terrestrial ecosystems. The flora and fauna comprising tropical rainforests, for example, make up nearly half of all known species. (Kaufman and Franz 1993: 496) The preservation of forest ecosystems is the single most urgent task in reducing the global extinction rate and preserving remaining biodiversity. Forests interact with other global systems in complex and vital ways. They serve as "carbon sinks", helping to regulate

¹⁹ However, "habitat" is a strange word, as it implies a "space" or "place" that species live in. Little thought is given to the fact that the "habitat" is itself the species said to "inhabit" it. "Loss of habitat" does not cause a decline in biodiversity - it is a decline in biodiversity!

carbon levels in the atmosphere by “mining” the atmosphere for carbon, the fundamental building block of all life.²⁰ Forests also promote rainfall, their canopies provide protection from UV radiation (which has increased dramatically due to anthropogenic ozone depletion), and they contain a veritable treasure-trove of foods and medicines, many as yet undiscovered. Ecologists have just begun to chart the interdependencies of the different species comprising various forest ecosystems. Thom Kuehls, in his discussion of Daniel Botkin’s ideas on ecology, notes that a conception of life as essentially interrelated and interdependent renders practices such as clearcutting “terribly problematic” in that reforestation can not hope to mimic the complexity it is supposed to replace. (1996: 17) Herb Hammond has argued that the disappearance of a single mammal species (in the case he cites, flying squirrels) can lead to decreased soil fertility and subsequent declining health in trees because of the loss of microbes normally distributed via their faeces to the forest floor. (Hammond 1991) In short, threats to biodiversity are threats to forests, and vice versa. Continued deforestation will have profound implications for weather patterns, temperatures, and atmospheric chemical balances. (Canada Forest Accord 1992) All life forms, human and non-human alike, depend on these interacting systems for survival.

The long-term health of forests in British Columbia is vital for two reasons. On the economic side of the equation, logging in British Columbia accounted for 98 000

²⁰ Forest peoples are quite literally “created” by the forests of which they are a part, as they consume animals and plants built of this “mined” carbon.

direct jobs in 1994, and earned 11.8 billion export dollars. As such, numerous communities depend on sustainable logging for their long-term survival. Ecologically, British Columbia accounts for 50% of the world's temperate rainforest, and houses the greatest concentration of biodiversity in Canada. At current rates of harvest, it is estimated that within thirty years all commercially viable stands of old-growth forest will have been logged. From a biodiversity standpoint this is significant since as many as eighty different Canadian animal species may be dependent upon old-growth for survival. (Washington Free Press 1996)

Roughly 90% of all the logging in Canada is done by clearcutting. (McCrorry 1995) Each year in British Columbia more than 2 000 km² are deforested ("harvested") by logging. (Canadian Forest Service 1994) A disproportionate 94% of low and mid-elevation forests in British Columbia have been given to the logging industry, while only 6% has been protected in parks. (McCrorry 1995) Of this 94%, 85% has been allocated to large, integrated TSCs (M'Gonigle 1996), and a small fraction of 1% is under the control of First Nations, who collectively claim almost 100% of the province. Serious concerns exist regarding the ability of forests to regenerate after cutting. Loss of soil nutrients and seedlings due to erosion, "blow down" of adjacent forested areas, and the compacting of soil by industrial logging equipment all contribute to what could be termed a "reforestation deficit". In Canada between 1978 and 1992, there was a net increase of

11 000 km² of previously forested areas still not growing commercial species ten years after harvesting. In British Columbia 31% of harvested “Crown” land²¹ was deemed by the Canadian Forest Service to be “understocked”, or not adequately reforested. These statistics belie industry claims that reforestation programs make up for damage done by logging. They represent a cause for concern among communities whose economic futures depend largely on the sustainability of the forestry sector. From an ecological perspective, they indicate that the status quo in Canadian forestry is contributing to global environmental degradation. Ecologists have been warning for decades that global consumption of wood must stop increasing or the carrying capacity of the Earth’s forests will be exceeded. This has led to a growing demand for recycled paper, and the introduction of recycling programs in the wealthier Industrial states. Yet, even as demand in states such as Canada decreases, the timber industry seeks to develop foreign markets in order to remain “competitive”. That they are “competing” with the Japanese and Korean TSCs currently clearcutting Siberia at not even remotely sustainable rates is seldom considered. With the industrialization of the developing world, and spiralling world population growth (which will reach 10 billion by 2030), the logical outcome is obvious: ever-increasing demand for timber. To remain competitive (i.e. profitable) on the global market in the short-term (less than one generation ahead- which is how

²¹ Because most of British Columbia is beyond the treaty frontier, “Crown” land is the name given to what in most cases is in fact unceded First Nations territory.

shareholders usually think) will lead almost inescapably to the liquidation of Canada's forests.

Forestry in the Bella Coola Region

Who is the new owner of the logging company? I've been here for twelve years and it has changed hands four times. One sell-out to another. I've heard them threaten before "if we don't get what we want, if we can't make a go of it we are gonna leave" Well shit. I know a lot of people who will help them pack! The resource is still here. You can complain and cry and kick that you can't make a go of it, well somebody's gonna make a go of it! I would just as soon see that it was all small-business logging. Be more people working that way...then maybe we've got some control over the prices of our resource... Nobody around here is getting a fair shake from any of these groups. The bottom line is that the resource is still here. If you can't cut the mustard, if you can't follow the regulations, if you can't do it properly, then leave. Somebody else will figure out how to do it. They'll make a living out of it. There's never gonna be a vacuum. (Inf. B6)

Because logging in the Bella Coola region goes under a number of names²², and because language is an important part of conceptualization, in this section, the word "tree" is used rather than "timber". "Timber" is a purely instrumentalist term, and perhaps not coincidentally, the word one shouts when cutting down a tree. The definition of "timber" provided in the Local Resource Use Plan Glossary is: "In terms of industrial logging, any trees or stands of trees that are commercially valuable." This means that all

²² Names include "Timber License harvesting", "Tree- Farm License harvesting", "lumbering" "forestry", "eco-forestry", "hand-logging" and "small business forestry"

healthy, mature trees are “timber”. To paraphrase Hornborg (1994: 251): to turn a forest into lumber, one must first cut it down conceptually.

Industrial Forestry

It’s like a big beast that comes, a monster, and that monster is devouring everything. And all of a sudden they see our people in its path. (Inf. I16)

Busy monster eats dark holes in the spirit world.

- Bruce Cockburn - “If a Tree Falls.”

Now the logging company comes in. What do they do? They just move right in there. They don’t clean up after themselves. (Inf. I12)

Industrial forestry is characterized by the use of industrial machinery such as grapple-yarders, feller-bunchers, and helicopters. Given this level of automation, industrial forestry provides a significantly lower number of jobs per cubic metre of wood compared to other forms of forestry. Even in comparison to other Industrial states, industrial forestry in Canada creates relatively few jobs.

They’re pulling more and more logs off the hills, but cutting jobs, cutting jobs. Because of these huge machines that are labour deprived. And this is big business. (Inf. B1)

In British Columbia overall, approximately one forest job per 1000 m³ is created, which compares to 3.55 and 5.0 jobs per 1 000 m³ in the United States and New Zealand respectively. (Washington Free Press 1996) However, in the MCFD in 1992 the rate of

job creation was an astonishingly low 0.1 jobs per 1 000 m³, or 1 job per 9 400 m³ (calculated from G.E. Bridges 1994). In other words, more than nine times as many trees are cut down in the MCFD for each forest job than the provincial average.

‘Cause in those days it was just the cream of the pie. They just took fir and cedars. Today they are taking everything. And now, machines are taking man’s place because then there was twenty-eight men to one tree, now they got it down to eight, then five, and now three. Where the hell are they gonna work? (Inf. I9)

The harvest method used almost universally in industrial forestry is the clearcut, a method which causes massive damage to habitat including fish spawning streams (see below).

I couldn’t deny that...the trees flying out of [the MCFD] are...in crazy proportions to the level of employment... [M]ore jobs per cubic meter has to happen immediately... [O]f course it’s controlled by multinationals... (Inf. M1)

International Forest Products Limited (Interfor), Timberwest Forest Industries Limited (a subsidiary of Fletcher Challenge Canada Ltd.), MacMillan-Bloedel, and Dean Channel Forest Products Ltd., known locally as “the majors”, carry out most of the industrial forestry in the Bella Coola region. These companies have, individually and collectively, been logging at unsustainable levels throughout the Bella Coola region for at least 15 years. A “Timber Supply Analysis” undertaken by the Ministry of Forests for the Mid-Coast Forest District (MCFD) determined the sustainable long-term harvest level to be 680 300 m³ annually, whereas estimates of actual harvest rates between 1983 and 1993 range from 1 200 000 m³ to 1 547 776 m³ annually. (G.E. Bridges and Associates 1994:

ii. v; Central Coast Economic Development Commission 1995) At the District average volume of just over 2 m³/tree, and 250 trees/ha the maximum estimate represents the cutting of more than 750 000 trees, and the deforestation of 3000 ha of land every year.²³

In 1992 the harvest generated only 191 jobs, including harvesting, transportation, processing, silvaculture, and provincial government employees in the entire Mid-Coast District. (G.E. Bridges 1994: 7) This equates to roughly 11% of the experienced workforce in the entire Central Coast Regional District. (B.C. Ministry of Regional Development 1995: 69) It has been estimated that volumes billed between 1984 and 1993 earned forestry companies in excess of \$3 billion after costs. (CCEDC 1995) The workers who played a major rôle in producing this wealth for the companies earned a paltry total of roughly \$40 million. (G.E. Bridges and Associates 1994: v) To add insult to injury, \$50 million worth of supplies and services for the logging camps are brought in from southern British Columbia each year, with little or no economic accrual to the region. (CCEDC 1995)

I have a terrible feeling that in the upper echelons of forestry, there's something going on that allots all this clearcutting. Now what kind of alliance, or what kind of compensation, what kind it is, but I just have that feeling. And there we need change. We need the loggers themselves and the people themselves to have more voice in what's going on. Because they're out in the field and they see the devastation. People in board rooms don't; they make deals. They make deals on paper. (Inf. B1)

²³ Volumes and densities calculated from estimates kindly provided over the telephone by staff at the MoF Mid-Coast District office.

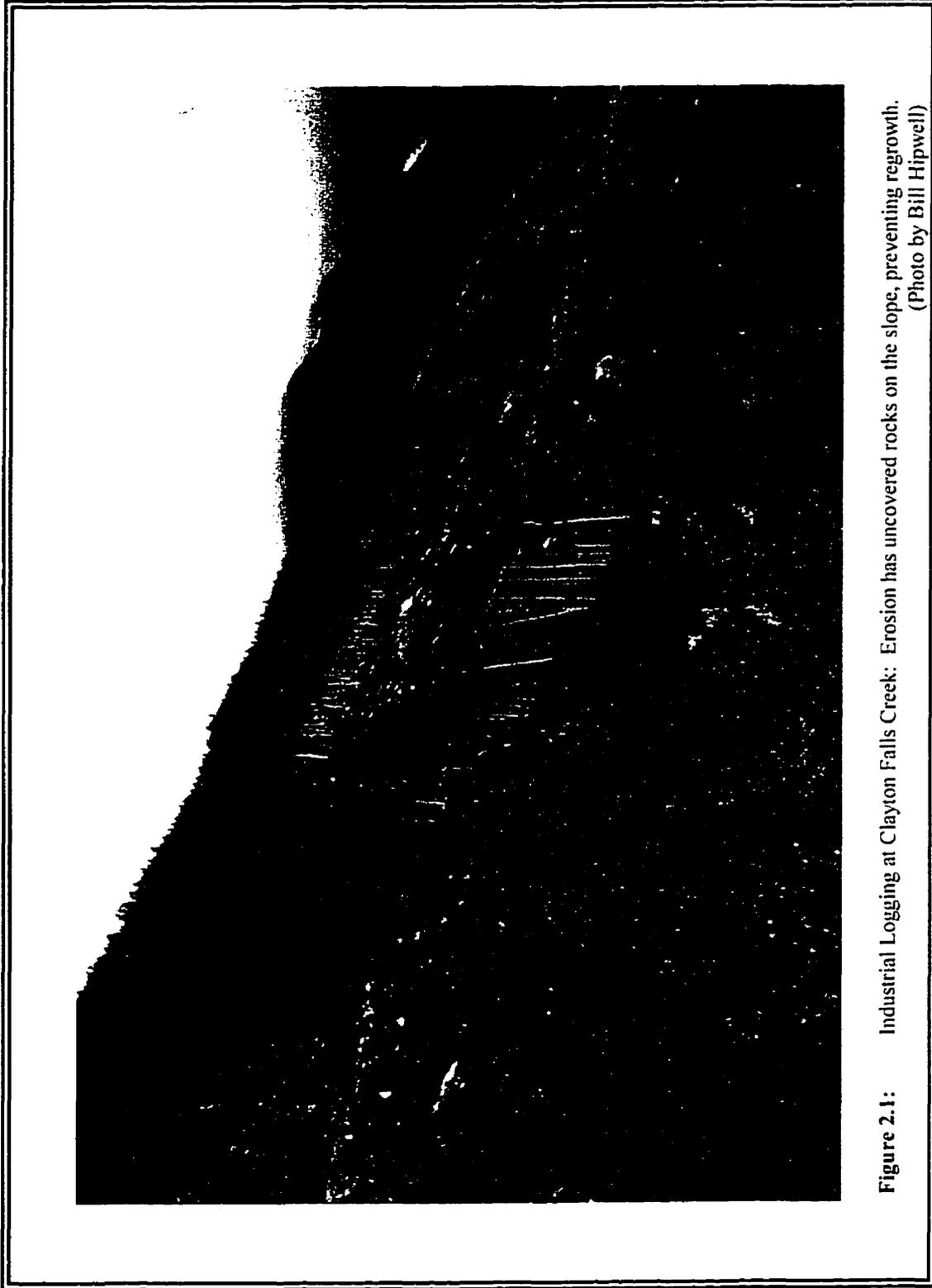


Figure 2.1: Industrial Logging at Clayton Falls Creek: Erosion has uncovered rocks on the slope, preventing regrowth. (Photo by Bill Hipwell)

Past logging practices, typified by what can only be termed the obliteration of Clayton Falls Creek valley by industrial logging in 1991, form an inescapable context for any assessment of industrial forestry in the Bella Coola region. Every single informant with whom there was any discussion of logging made reference to the damage to salmon streams caused by industrial forestry.

I was concerned about the needless clearcutting. It affects everything - most particularly the salmon. We aren't opposed to logging, but they don't take care. - its hurting the salmon. (Inf. I3)

There's been a major impact on the salmon resource in this valley also and it's mainly through loss of habitat. (Inf. B3)

Logging impacts salmon in three ways. First of all, direct destruction of spawning beds by logging machinery, road-building, and debris negatively impacts salmon reproduction. Secondly, clearcutting increases the run off of rainfall from forests into glacier-fed streams, which raises the water temperature, killing salmon fry. Finally, silt brought with the run-off fouls spawning beds. One Nuxalkmc former logger and House of Smayusta supporter paints a grim picture of the damage done to spawning grounds:

I never really thought about forestry destruction in the first place at all. When I went to this other, bigger camp I could see how much damage has really been done out there. Total clear-cuts in that whole valley... Flats, and there's a Salmon bearing river too. They've Eulichans like we have here in the Bella Coola river. Steelhead; I'm not too sure about Spring Salmon, but I imagine they had some there. Other species; Dog Salmon, Coho, Pinks... Those hills there are quite steep, so the damage is probably quite a bit there: silt run-off... When it runs off it into the river it - during their spawn - it covers their eggs and smothers them... And they just die - the eggs die, 'cause they're all covered up and they can't breathe. So, it must have quite a big effect on all the species in the rivers. And they're

logging right up to the creeks, right up to the rivers. So all the debris goes down there. And during the spawn - during the flood seasons when these stumps and logs go down the river, they drag on the bottom of the riverbed and dig up all the eggs...and they just wash out. Exposes them to other fish that eat 'em like Trout and the birds that feed on them. Seagulls - just destroys them - the mortality rate is a lot higher - there are all these eggs. (Inf. I6: Buddy Mack)

Such practices dismay and appall Nuxalk Elders:

Those shareholders at Interfor, or those workers at Interfor take the money and go. And leave the destruction and the damages behind. And we have to live through that. There's places I used to hunt, my brother used to hunt, it's all clearcuts, it's just a sea of stumps. That's Clayton Falls Creek. I took my mom in there in 1991 and she cried when we drove through there. "How come they're doing all this? Why are they doing it?" She got sick from it. I took her to a creek where we used to play all the time. She could hear it but she couldn't see it for all the logs and the stumps in the creek. It was down below, underneath all the stumps and logs. (Inf. I16)

The ecological impacts of logging continue even at a geographical distance from the site where trees are cut. Even after the logs are transported to the sea for assembly into booms for transport to southern mills, other valuable fish species, including halibut, are impacted. Bark falling off the logs in these log-booms fouls saltwater spawning beds.

As can be seen in Figure 2.2, the genetic composition of the Mid-Coast Forest District has been significantly altered as a result of unsustainable forestry practices. There has been a sharp decline in the percentage of the most commercially valuable species since 1974. The change in composition is partly due to the fact that when the major forestry companies were given power over where to concentrate operations in the MCFD, they chose, against MoF recommendations, to concentrate their felling operations

on valley bottoms, where the most and best Fir and Spruce grow. In addition to causing changes to the overall composition, the companies selected stands with the biggest, strongest trees, and thus caused a deterioration in the genetic pool. This has decreased the ability of the forest to support the traditional Nuxalk economy. As one observer commented: "They couldn't build long houses anymore, there's not enough good cedars anymore. They're gone." (Inf. E2) Moreover, there are growing concerns that the years of over-cutting have destroyed vital habitat and endangered large mammals. In the words of two Nuxalk Elders:

They're just going to run out of wood and then what are they gonna do next? What can we save? It's all cleaned out. The fish and all that. The animals in the woods. No place to hide now. Be all open there. (Inf. I14)

[W]e never used to see animals come around. But nowadays we are afraid of animals. Bears... Too much logging. I think that is why they come around. We never saw them near the houses years ago but now they come around. I guess it is too much logging. There has been huge logging. Since I was a child I saw logging trucks hauling logs. Since I was a child about eight or nine years old. And it still is today. And I think that's the reason the animals are nearby. (Inf. I15)

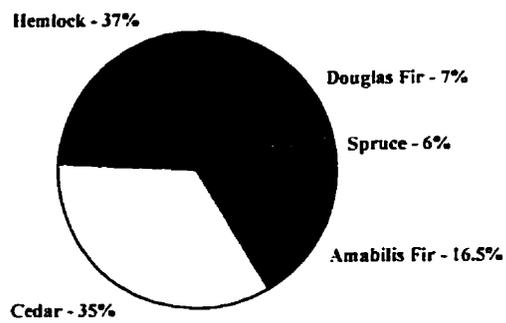
The damage to habitat and waste created by industrial logging in the vicinity of the Bella Coola valley is extensive:

This is right in our back door. Thorsen Creek Valley's been logged. Snootli Creek, Nusatsum - Noosgulch, Ape Creek Valley, Saloompt Valley, Talchako - that has been logged up in there, all the side valleys in there. That borderlines Tweedsmuir Provincial Park. And, the south side I guess. All the side valleys in there have been logged - and here they're as far back in the valley as they can go. I know I went back in there to ninety-two kilometres, last year, and they were logging fir and cedar. Big fir logs and they were all hollow, rotten wood. So they left them there. So

they cut them down, and they were too rotten and hollow, so they left them there. They hauled some down for firewood. They hauled it to a local mill, up in Salloompt. I think they only took something like twelve logging truck loads from up in the woods for locals to use as firewood. But when I went up there there was stacks and stacks of rotting wood there. If they weren't gonna use it, why didn't they just leave it alone? It doesn't make sense to me... Interfor. They're the ones that cut it down. That area you can see as you drive by there. They cut right down to the river. That area is Grizzly Bear habitat. It exposes the bears to hunters, poachers. (Inf. I6: Buddy Mack)

In addition to its ecological and economic impacts, industrial forestry has some (un)pronounced political effects. Foucault said "People know what they do; they frequently know why they do what they do; but what they don't know is what what they do does." (quoted in Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983: 187) While dominant actors may wield power to achieve certain objectives, they may be unaware of the instrumental effects of their actions. Ferguson (1990) argues that development projects can not be assessed purely in terms of the institutional objectives of their implementing and authorising agencies. He argues that the very visibility of a project's blueprints have had the effect of rendering nearly invisible "extremely sensitive political operations involving the entrenchment and expansion of state power..." which the project had instrumentalized. (Ferguson 1990: 256) Roads are built, government offices are deployed, and the power of the state is further entrenched in remote areas, all under cover (and no intention is necessarily implied here, though it may exist) of projects intended to 'merely' develop natural resources.

Mid-Coast Forest Composition - 1974



Mid-Coast Forest Composition - 1991

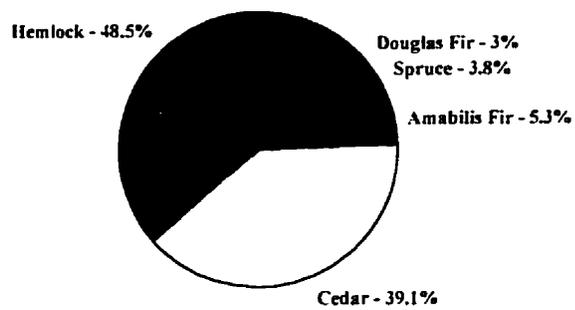


Figure 2.2: Mid-Coast Forest Composition: 1974 versus 1991. Based on statistics from CCEDC (1995)

The parallels with the Interfor logging in Nuxalk traditional territory are striking indeed. Here again, roads (for all intents and purposes permanent) are being cleared into the wilderness, which will open the land not only to logging but also to hunting (and poaching), and perhaps, eventually settlement (colonization) by non-natives. In addition, the geographical domain of state authority is expanded. The state has no effective authority within a wilderness area unless that area is officially so "designated" and conservation officers or rangers are sent there, or until it is opened to logging. Several informants, including Nuxalk Hereditary Chiefs and local residents reported that Interfor had in some areas cut right up to the banks of important salmon streams, a practice forbidden by federal fisheries laws and the B.C. Forest Practices Code (FPC). Here is the instrumental effect: in order to get the government to act against these ecologically damaging practices (by fining Interfor or revoking their permit), the Nuxalk would have to tacitly acknowledge the jurisdiction of the provincial government over lands that they (the Nuxalk) have never sold or ceded by treaty. Such an action could have a prejudicial effect on future legal settlement of their claims. Nevertheless, the FPC has had a mitigating effect on the impact of logging:

[I]t was not until the Forest Practices Code became law that they started to stay away from the creeks. Because then they were gonna get dinged big-time. Million dollar fines or lose your license. One or the other. Before that, it was just a code. It wasn't law. Not until last June. And they were just givin' `er shit in some of these valleys just before that, just to get it in under the wire. (Inf. B6)

For its part, Interfor claims to comply with stricter laws regarding forestry practices, as well as a more extensive consultation process.²⁴ The problem remains that when the MoF allocated (“charted”) 70 000 ha of pristine regional forest land to Interfor, they were assuming jurisdiction over unceded lands. For this reason, the Nuxalk refuse to attend these consultation meetings so as not to legitimize this assumed jurisdiction.

Hand-logging/Small Business Forestry

Small-business forestry is seen by many as an underdeveloped potential cornerstone of a prosperous, sustainable regional economy. One reason for this maldevelopment is the fact that in the Mid-Coast Forest District, the Small Business Forest Enterprise Program timber apportionment is one of the smallest in the province, at 11% in 1992, with the rest of available timber allotted to TSCs such as Interfor. (G.E. Bridges and Associates 1994) The instrumental effect of the past practices of the major forestry companies in the region has been to rob small-business of its most viable supply of trees. While industrial forestry firms can operate at higher and higher operability lines, for example through the use of heli-logging techniques, small-business loggers can not.

²⁴ There is some question as to how effective this public consultation process is. Late one Friday afternoon I attended the one-day public viewing of an Interfor Five Year Plan, which was held at a Bella Coola motel. The Interfor forester staffing the event told me I was only the second person to have come during the entire day.

I think there would be a little bit of logging. No, I think it would be more selective logging than clearcut. There is other ways of logging. Besides clearcutting. Until not too long ago, there was a small business, loggers would, they'd get a claim and they could take what they want of it. without cutting everything down. And now they want them to clearcut the whole thing. I don't know what the reason is behind that. I did a little bit of hand-logging at one time. Didn't get rich, but I think if we had control of. in our territory, wouldn't have a housing shortage for one. Now we're in a housing shortage for our people. We can't even go out there and cut any lumber for our own houses. (Inf. I6 - Buddy Mack)

Concerns have been expressed that selective cutting of the sort typically undertaken by small business forestry companies could not even approximate market demand for trees, nor generate sufficient income to sustain the region's present population. According to one former logger, "Probably less than three or four percent of the allowable cut or sustainable yield in the Central Coast could be fulfilled by hand-loggers. It is a good way of logging but it is limited." (Inf. B4) However, in 1992 the Small Business Forest Enterprise Program was allotted 110 000 m³ of wood, or 11% of the Annual Allowable Cut, and the Bella Coola Small Logging Operators' Association would like to see even larger allotments to meet their members' capacity. Small Business Forestry, when executed with a high level of respect for ecosystem and watershed integrity could be called "eco-forestry".²⁵ More research is needed into the maximum sustainable employment potential of small-business forestry in the Bella Coola region.

²⁵ Though this latter term, because of the association in rural culture of the prefix "eco" and the urban phenomenon of "tree-huggers", might be better avoided altogether.

Nuxalk Forestry Technology

Relatively little is known about the breadth or extent of Nuxalk forest management practices before contact with Europeans. Numerous "Culturally-Modified Trees" have been found in the Bella Coola region. These trees, bearing long, vertical scars up to a metre or more in width, were "living plank factories" (see Figure 2.3). An adze was used to make a notch high up on the trunk, then wedge-shaped rocks or pieces of wood were forced into the notch. The swaying of the tree in the wind caused a plank to peel neatly off the side of the tree, leaving the tree scarred but alive. With many such CMTs, a steady and virtually inexhaustible supply of planks was made available for housing, boardwalks, and other construction. Attempts are underway by the Nuxalk House of Smayusta to re-establish this harvesting practice as an alternative to killing trees for lumber.

Fish

Another growing aspect of the global environmental crisis is the collapse of fish populations due to over-fishing. According to the World Resources Institute (1994), between the 1979-81 and the 1989-91 periods, there was an increase of 15.64 million metric tons in the total catch by the world's fisheries. Fisheries in the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian Oceans, as well as the Mediterranean and Black Seas are all above, at or very

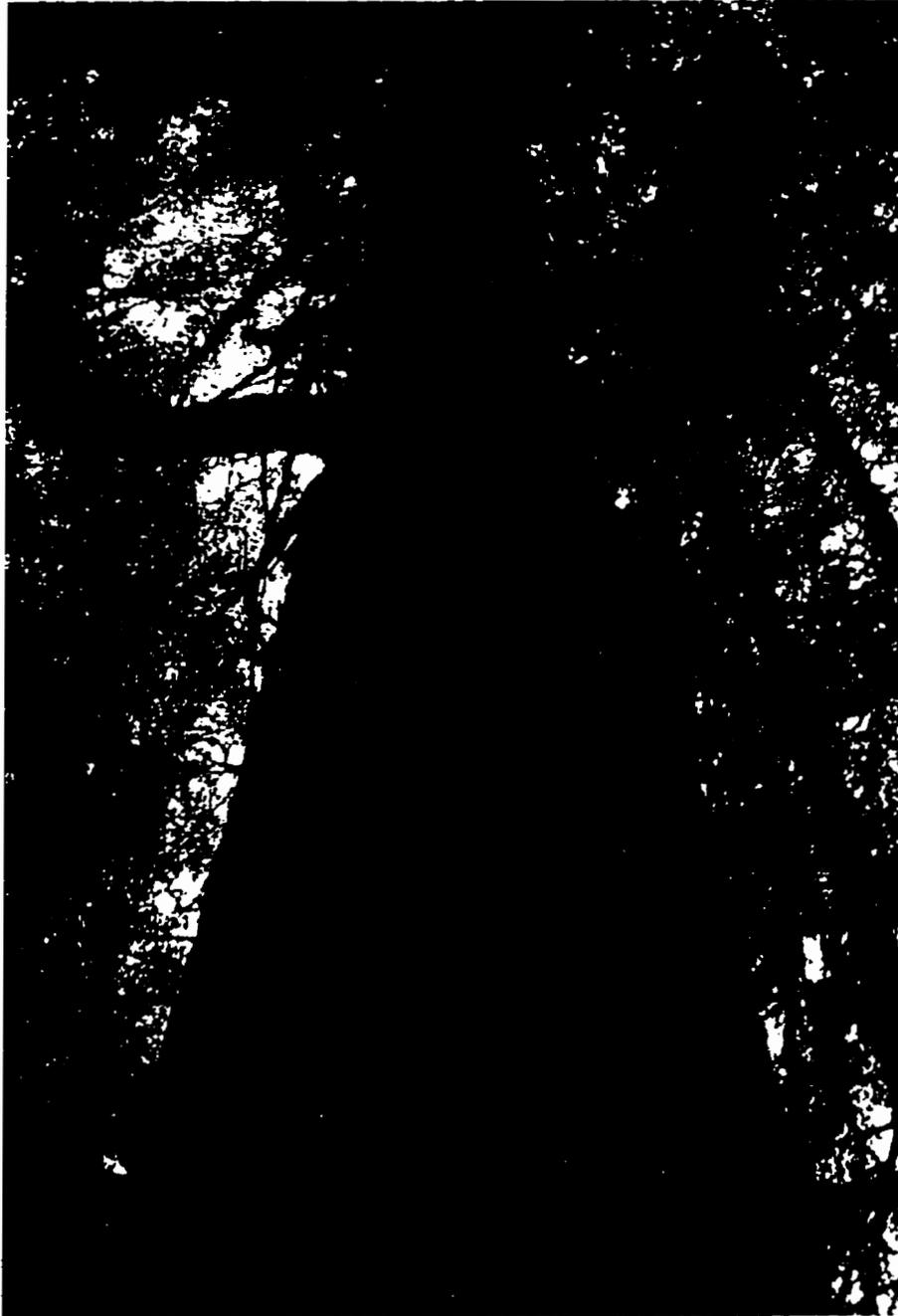


Figure 2.3 Culturally-Modified Tree: Sophisticated Nuxalk technology allows the harvest of lumber without killing trees. Adze marks are visible near the top of the scar. (Photo by B. Hipwell)

near the maximum estimated potential catch. European Fisheries Ministers recently concluded that it may be too late to save the North Sea fishery from collapse. (Ottawa Citizen 1997: A7) In the Pacific Ocean alone, the total catch of marine fish in 1989-91 was 44.99 million metric tons (mmt), only 0.11 mmt shy of the maximum potential catch. (World Resources Institute 1994: 351) Of particular concern are growing pressures by the global fishery on various species of Pacific salmon.

The wild-salmon fishery is worth \$400 million per year to the British Columbia economy (Williamson and Cernetig 1994: A1), and was described in 1969 (before the collapse of the Atlantic cod fishery) as “one of the most valuable fisheries in North America.” (Crutchfield and Pontecorvo 1969) In addition to fishing pressure, salmon are threatened by logging practices. Logging commonly pollutes or otherwise damages crucial salmon spawning areas (Peace and Environment News 1994; Washington Free Press 1996). However, the price of lumber does not reflect the additional economic cost of the destruction of the salmon resource. Calculating the real economic costs of this damage and setting fines accordingly is a difficult, if not impossible, task. There are too many “externalities” which can impact on the health and size of salmon stocks, including loss of habitat, pollution, climate change, natural population fluctuations, predation by non-humans, natural disease, and disease accidentally introduced from the aquaculture industry (McAllister 1989; Beamish and Bouillon 1993). Calculating or predicting the impact of any single factor is beyond the ability of biologists, and assigning that impact a

monetary value is likewise beyond the ability of economists. The logic of market capitalism, or “the law of supply and demand” means that the more endangered salmon become, the greater the economic rents for those who kill salmon efficiently. In both of Canada’s major coastal fisheries this has resulted in an intensification of pressure on the resource. Since fish resources are mobile and “open-access”, this can lead to economic conflict between companies or even states. (Wallace 1994, and recall the “Turbot War” of 1995)

The Bella Coola Fishery

The emerging global fisheries crisis affects the potential of the commercial fishery in the Bella Coola region. In the Central Coast Regional District, roughly 700 gill-netters and 150 seiners operate each July, for an estimated wholesale salmon catch of \$44 million. (G.E. Bridges and Associates 1994: 9) However, only 185 of these vessels are locally-based, providing seasonal employment for approximately 315 people. (B.C. Ministry of Regional Development 1995) The commercial fishery is the primary source of employment for the First Nations of the region. (G.E. Bridges and Associates 1994: i)

The spectre of a declining total catch has led to often vitriolic debate between First Nations and non-indigenous operators in the commercial fishing fleet. Generally, the commercial fleet has argued that: a) First Nations using traditional indigenous harvest methods take excessive numbers of fish; and b) that because the First Nations harvest is

unregulated, it renders ineffective management regimes which require accurate data both on the estimated total population of a given species, and of the total number of fish caught. With an unregulated aboriginal fishery, these estimates become less accurate. First Nations have typically argued that: a) the industrial harvest methods used by the commercial fleet take excessive numbers of fish; and b) that because information on the precise areas fished by commercial fleets is so difficult to obtain, it makes traditional management regimes based on local ecological knowledge less effective.²⁶ The parallel is ironic, but an afternoon spent watching the Nuxalk fishers rowing down the river drifting a tiny net and catching only one or two fish each day lends greater credence to the First Nations claims. Included as Appendix D is a partial transcript of a speech made by Simon Lucas, who at the time of the speech was co-chair of the B.C. Aboriginal Fisheries Commission and the Nuuchahnulth Tribal Council. He was speaking to the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union, and other participants at the Suzuki Foundation's Wild Salmon Conference held November 18th, 1988. Though concerned with Vancouver Island, Mr. Lucas' words should serve as a reassurance and an inspiration to the people of the Bella Coola region.

Conversations with informants and dozens of other Nuxalk, as well as participation in several Nuxalk social activities (barbecues, dinners, the Acwsalcta High

²⁶ In informal conversations with local residents and DFO staff, the most frequently-mentioned example of commercial fishery excess is a single net-set by a seiner that landed \$500,000 worth of herring in less than a day.

School graduation ceremony, etc.) impressed upon me the overwhelming centrality of the salmon in historic and contemporary Nuxalk culture. At one feast, the buffet table sported salmon in six different forms. (see Figure 2.5) Nuxalkmc informants mentioned salmon an impressive average of ten times per interview. Nuxalk cultural practices include throwing salmon offal into the river to feed wild salmon fry, and the burning of deadwood dams and log jams on the river in order to remove obstacles to salmon migration. The latter practice is now prohibited by provincial forest-fire prevention laws.

...there was a big log jam up the river. And he went up there and he started a fire. He started burning it and he sat back and he was watching his fire. And it was getting pretty big because it was a huge log jam in the river. And the Department of Fisheries and Oceans came by and the RCMP came by and they said, "what are you doing?" And he says, "I'm burning the log jam." They said, "Why?" And he said, "Because I want to let the fish go through instead of going all the way around. It's a lot easier for them to go straight through." And they says, "Do you know they could put you in jail for this." "Go ahead, go ahead. Put me in jail." he says. And he says after that, "Crazy white man. I don't know why they want to let the log jams build up and not let the salmon go through." (Inf. I4)

Nuxalkmc informants said this prohibition of their traditional management techniques is partially responsible for the decline of salmon populations.

Issues of community control are central to Nuxalk concerns over the fishery:

It would be good to sell our fish where it could be processed by our own people. It provides jobs for our people to make a product from our own people. And that way we see how much is going out. Whereas there are other buyers that come in and they take it elsewhere to be processed somewhere else, besides within our own territory. It doesn't help our people our and that means our people still face... unemployment. (Inf. I4)

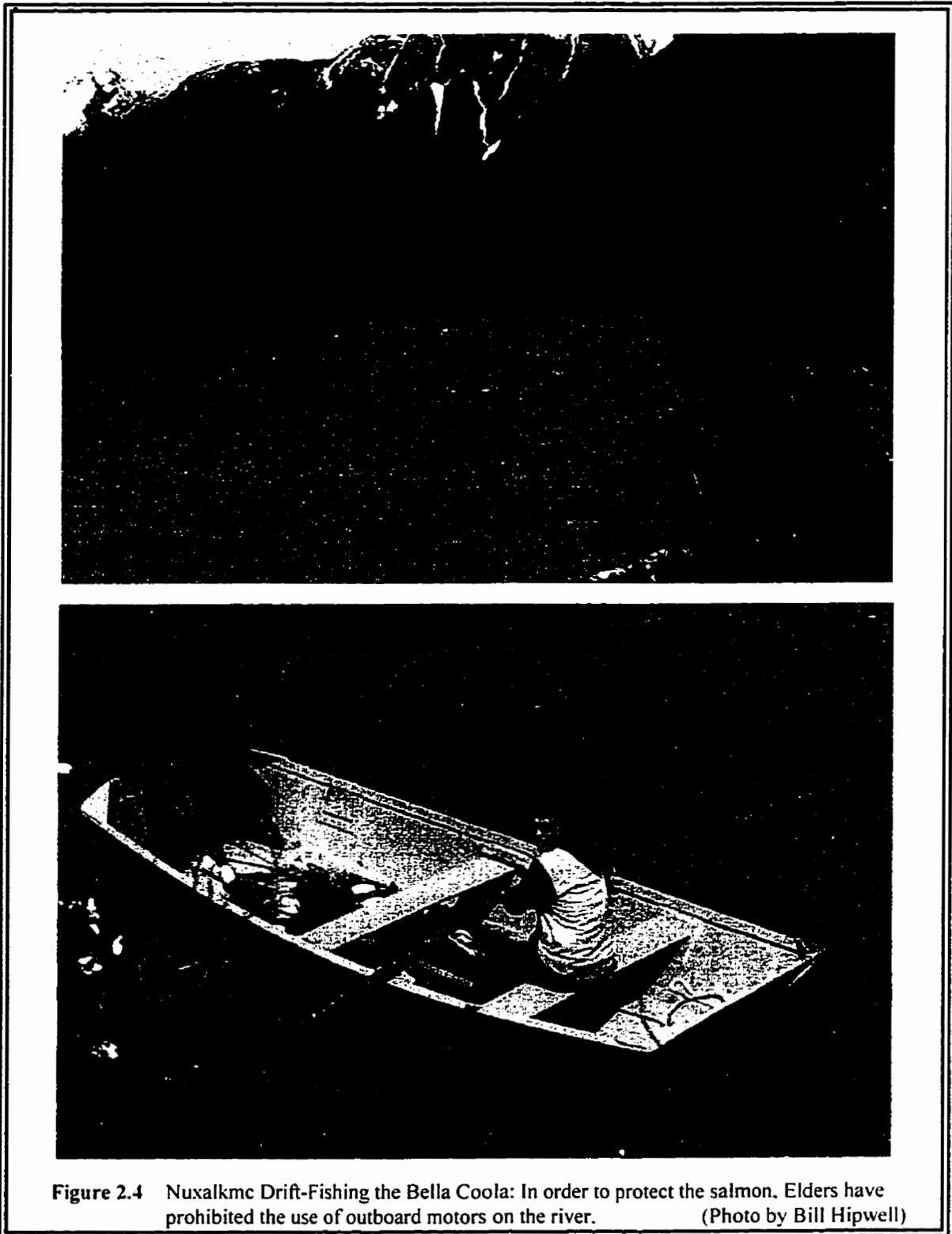




Figure 2.5 The Importance of Salmon: Six different salmon dishes were featured at this Nuxalk feast.
(Photo by Bill Hipwell)

A perceived threat to community control, according to Nuxalk informants, is pressure that has been put on the NNBC by the Department of Fisheries and Oceans to accept a "Communal Fishing License" (CFL) under the Aboriginal Fisheries Strategy, which was developed by the government in response to the 1990 Supreme Court "Sparrow" judgement. The CFL would restrict harvest levels and permitted times to fish, and has met with sharp resistance from a significant portion of the nation.

The management of our fisheries, too, the Department of Fisheries and Oceans. I don't think it's very good. They want to force a communal license on us. And yet they have no control over the sport fishery. (Inf. I6 - Buddy Mack)

Peter Usher has asked the key question in this regard:

Can fisheries authorities impose restrictions on aboriginal fishing if at the same time, through insufficient application or enforcement of law, fisheries stocks are being diminished...by forestry, mining, and other industrial activities? (1991: 20)

Some of the Nuxalk concerns regard the reduction of an important food supply for the community. Others regard the political implications and precedent-setting nature of the acceptance of such a scheme on Nuxalk sovereignty. The latter concerns seem to be especially justified. As Ferguson (1990: 19) notes: "Using a decentred conception of power a number of recent studies...have shown how the outcomes of planned social interventions can end up coming together into powerful constellations of control that were never intended and in some cases never even recognized." (Ferguson 1990: 19)

Finally, sport fishing is responsible for a significant percentage of tourist dollars spent in the region. Roughly \$2 million/year is spent by anglers in the region, providing approximately 20 person-years of employment. (estimates based on data in G.E. Bridges 1994) The activity is viewed with resentment by Nuxalk nationals of both affiliations due to concerns over its impact on the salmon, and perceptions that the economic benefits of the industry are not enjoyed by the Nuxalk:

[T]hey've taken it upon themselves for the best interest of their own government, because it looks like economic sense I guess, they've allowed sport fishing. So there's a lot of sport fishermen that come in and fish a lot in our area. And even when it's a catch and release, it's really hard on the salmon. Always going through that torture in that area, especially in their spawning grounds. The salmon can't take that much. (Inf. I4)

[T]he sportsfishermens... why should they-- we're only allowed to fish in the rivers from Sunday to Thursday. You go up to the valley on the weekends. You see all the sports fishermens with their rod and reel... Seven days a week. And this is why we feel resentful. (Inf. I12)

[The DFO] have no control over the sport fishery. The sport fishery goes and goes and goes. I don't think it does any good for our community. All it does is the fish go out of the valley. They say it brings money into the valley but it doesn't help the Nuxalk. They buy all their gear outside of here. All their fishing lures. Then they fish in the spawning grounds. The whole river. All the streams. Thorsen Creek. Saloompt. Atnarko. The Atnarko is one of the main spawning areas for spring Salmon, and they let them do sport fishing. There are guides, and boats. Right in there. Right at the Saloompt River there sometimes you go and there are twenty, thirty rods. Outside fishermen. If the Chiefs and elders had any say they would probably cut them right out. (Inf. I6 - Buddy Mack)

It does not seem advisable to allow the sport fishery to continue in the region at current levels without better enforcement (and improvement) of the regulations.

Gathering/Hunting

There is all kinds of other foods that we used to have. Clover roots, Indian rhubarb, skunk cabbage, ferns - two kinds. My grandson is always out hunting. Deer, mountain goat, geese, ducks, sea urchins... [Our children] need to know about the food that was traditional to our people. (Inf. I8)

Many Bella Coolans and Nuxalkmc depend to varying degrees on the harvest of wild foods and medicines aside from salmon. Informants from all sectors spoke of the need to protect natural food and medicine resources from encroachment by development and logging.

Tatau created a garden for us - on the mountains and in the inlets - clams, seals, deer and moose and our most precious resource - the salmon. The forest is like a bank for the Nuxalk people. It gives us moose, deer, food and medicine plants. Our resources are precious... Every family still hunts and fishes. (Inf. I3)

Most significant in dollar terms is the harvest of pine mushrooms, a crop exported to the gourmet market in Japan, where they fetch upwards of four hundred dollars a kilogram. (Welland 1997) Although the season is relatively short, an experienced harvester can earn as much as \$30,000 in two months work. (Clarke 1996: A4) Conflicts exist between forestry and pine mushrooms harvesting, because the mushrooms are dependent on healthy, relatively undisturbed forest ecosystems for survival. As a Bella Coola business person and Sierra Club member pointed out:

...it's not only the logs. It's our pine mushrooms. our pine mushrooms only grow under the pines. And it's a million and a half dollars it brings into our valley every fall. And if those forests are no longer, then there's gonna be no pine mushrooms because that's where they grow. And you know how delicate vegetation is. It's the same thing with the medicines that are going to be lost. I mean, we're facing flu epidemics and all kinds of diseases that have been dormant for generations and now they're spurring up again. Well, if we don't have access to the medicinal properties of our forests, we're bugged. Then of course, this affects our fish. It's all interconnected. We're not living on a bloody island. We're running out. (Inf. B1)

Careful protection and rehabilitation of pine mushroom habitat could result in a pine mushroom economy that eclipses logging as a source of local revenue. Such a result would not be without drawbacks, however. The pine mushroom "rush" has brought thousands of transient fortune-seekers into remote areas up and down the Northwest Coast: "It is not all wine and roses in the great mushroom hunt. Many residents resent the nomadic pickers and buyers who come each fall, benefit from the valley's resources, spend some money, and then disappear. While residents also join the harvest, it generates little other employment in the valley." (Welland 1997) Some concern was expressed by this study's informants as to whether pickers from outside the valley use appropriate care when picking, or damage the forest floor by raking. This is yet another example of the importance of local control over resource harvesting. Nass Valley Resources Inc. is the initiative of a Nisga'a woman who hopes to set up a local mushroom and fish processing plant to provide local employment in her area. (ibid.) First Nations could also play a key

rôle in developing a regulatory structure which would safeguard pine mushroom habitat and introduce quality control to maintain good prices on the international market:

It may be that the road to regulation will be blazed by the Nisga'a First Nation. A recent land claims settlement has given the Nisga'a First Nation ownership of all forest resources within some 2,000 square kilometres of the Nass valley. Much of this is prime mushroom country, and the Nisga'a, a people noted for their trading acumen for centuries past, are not expected to accept much longer the present state of near anarchy. This past season, several Nisga'a patrolled the valley ensuring that harvesters kept to the main camping centres rather than scattered throughout the region. (ibid.)

This is quite clearly an area where the Nuxalk could profit from further investigation, given their intimate knowledge of the area, including locations of prime pine mushroom habitat.

Both Nuxalkmc and Bella Coolans also engage in subsistence hunting activities. According to one Nuxalk Hereditary Chief, every Nuxalk family still hunts and fishes for food. (Inf. I3) Primary prey species are Mountain Goat, Deer, Moose, and Black Bear. It is apparent that commercial forestry and fishing pose potential conflicts with the hunting/gathering economy.

Conclusion

The economy of the Bella Coola valley is in transition. Past unsustainable logging practices, which have resulted in tremendous profits for TSCs such as Crown-Zellerbach, Fletcher-Challenge International and its subsidiary Timberwest Forest Industries Limited.

MacMillan-Bloedel, and Dean Channel Forest Products Ltd., have resulted in the impoverishment of the region and severely curtailed potential for future, sustainable forestry.

In addition, the disregard shown by forestry TSCs for the integrity of critical salmon habitat before the passing into law of the Forest Practices Code in 1994 has severely impacted the salmon in the region, undermining a critical part of the regional economy. Coupled with high-technology and increasing competition in the commercial salmon fleet, the salmon resource is in danger of collapse. Steelhead are already on the brink of extinction, primarily due to a poorly-regulated sport fishery. Logging also has the potential to severely damage the burgeoning pine mushroom industry. This is reflective of the impact of major developments elsewhere.

These issues become very clear in the struggle over jobs and the promises of employment that proponents of large projects invariably try to use to gain local support. Although some people in the community may be offered employment there is usually no guarantee that the impacts will not deleteriously affect existing economies. This is especially the case in rural areas where small-scale agricultural activities may be affected by industrial pollution or infrastructure disruptions, or in coastal locations where livelihoods based on fishing may be under threat. (Dalby and Mackenzie 1997)

The recent introduction of ferry service from Port Hardy, Vancouver Island to Bella Coola, though on a trial basis, has increased the potential for tourism as a contributor to the regional economy. Perhaps the greatest, and under-exploited potential tourism market is eco-tourism. As one Nuxalk Hereditary Chief said, "Tourism's a big

industry for us...a good thing that would be very big is eco-tourism.” (Inf. I4) Numerous potential sites for white-water rafting, rock and mountain climbing, hiking and biking exist in the vicinity of the Bella Coola valley. Interestingly, in a socio-economic assessment of the Mid-Coast Forest District commissioned by the Ministry of Forests, there is no mention of eco-tourism. (see G.E. Bridges 1994) It is unclear as to whether this is due to the conflicts between eco-tourism and industrial forestry. There is some cultural resistance even to eco-tourism:

It’s loggers and people in the community who are afraid that this all means constant, ecotourism, it’s the coinciding of supremely increased tourist flow with enviro-conscious people looking for the last wilderness. This is the frontier. And they’re afraid of this influx of tourists, I’ll say ecotourists because either they’re here for eco-reason or tourism reason... “eco” comes in the form of tree planters, tree huggers (Inf. M1)

This resistance notwithstanding, ecotourism is “in fact becoming a principal part of development strategies for peripheral regions in Canada and a growing force internationally.” (Jacobs and Mulvihill 1995: 13) Ecotourism “...fosters environmental understanding, appreciation and conservation and sustains the culture and well being of local communities.” (Oelrichs and Prosser 1992 cited in *ibid.*: 13)

The Local Resource Use Plan, while problematic in many regards, holds the promise of more local jobs per cubic metre in forestry, primarily through increased allotments to Small Business Forestry, and the development of more value-added industries in the area. Little Valley Forest Products, with its commitment to employment equity for Nuxalkmc and women, is a positive example of such initiatives.

The local mill that they're trying to get on line is gonna have a major impact-- 60 jobs... The Little Valley Mill... There's about 20 that are being generated now. And it's single women with kids. And they're targeting visual minorities, Native women, that group of people. In other words, they're targeting areas where jobs are much needed. (Inf. B3)

This type of positive initiative notwithstanding, any change in the regional economy must take place with the consent and involvement of the Nuxalk Nation. For a single plot line running through the drama of the Bella Coola region is centres on the fact that the region is unceded Nuxalk territory. The theoretical implications of this plot are examined next.

3. Plot 1: Fourth World Nationalism

The sin of property, we do disdain.
No man has any right to buy and sell the Earth for private gain.
By theft and murder, they took the land.
Now everywhere the walls spring up at their command.
Billy Bragg, The Diggers

Although Billy Bragg is English, and his song is concerned with the unsuccessful struggle of the Diggers, a seventeenth century anti-enclosure movement in England, the passage's resonance with the global "Fourth World" or indigenous experience is profound.²⁷ It also evokes an image of what might be called a Fourth World land ethic.

²⁷ The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights offers the following definition for "indigenous peoples":
"1. ...indigenous peoples are those who embody historical continuity with societies which existed prior to the conquest and settlement of their territories by Europeans... 2. Self identification as indigenous or tribal shall be regarded as a fundamental criterion for determining the groups to which the provisions of this Declaration apply." (IACHR 1995, Sect. 1, Art. 1) There are a multitude of alternate terms for indigenous peoples in current use, and all of them have varying degrees of acceptance among the people so-designated. Terms include: "Indians", "Natives", "Native peoples", "Native nations", "aboriginal peoples", "indigenous nations", "First Nations", "First Peoples", "Fourth World peoples", and "Fourth World nations". While many of these terms are used as adjectives, "indigenous" or "Fourth World" "peoples/nations" will be used

an idea hotly contested among state policy makers, academics, and environmentalists, indigenous and non-indigenous alike. A clearer understanding of such an indigenous land ethic is of critical importance to contemporary discussions of territoriality, nationalism, and sustainability. The notion of land ethics enables a reformulation of modern notions of territorial organization. Indigenous peoples in the Americas, and particularly Canada, embrace land ethics and territorial conceptions which could help wed environmental preservation, economic development, national determination and human rights under the rubric of a neo-territorial sovereignty.

Geography and geopolitics are at the centre of the problematic relationship between Industria and the biosphere. This relationship is so strained that arguments as bizarre as Lewis' (1994) proposed "decoupling" of humanity from nature have received serious attention. (e.g. Cutter 1994: 221) More considered analysis emphasizes the need to view the dominant mode of geo-political organization as central to environmental degradation, and to begin work on new configurations. (Nietschmann 1994; PRIO/UNEP 1989; Weyler 1992) Borders in the modern state are inscribed on the global biospheric Body with little or no consideration of bioregions (biological or eco-geographical regions) or Fourth World territories. This has exacerbated international conflict (Gleick 1991; Homer-Dixon 1994; PRIO/UNEP 1989; Ra'anana 1990), made preservation of ecosystems

to refer to the general category of indigenous nations, "First Nations" for Fourth World nations encapsulated within the Canadian state, and the nation's name for specific nations (i.e. Nuxalk Nation). For a full description of the term "Fourth World" please see Griggs (1992) or Stea and Wisner (1984).

more difficult, and presented a hurdle to international agreements on global issues such as climate change (in the sense that the ultimate eco-geographical “region” is the planet itself). By contrast, the borders of Fourth World territories tend to follow bioregional lines.

A Fourth World approach to territory is not an argument for yet another mutation of the nation-state. Indeed, the very idea of statehood is problematic. Nonetheless, the present existence of a robust state system constitutes a rather unavoidable context for any discussion of territorial sovereignty, and the Fourth World can, through its systemic interactions with states, help to reconfigure states in a deproblematizing manner. This Chapter begins by taking a look at Fourth World theory and the history of sovereign territorial states, and outlines a few of the arguments that have been made against their reification. Next, the importance of ethics from an ontological and epistemological perspective is examined, because what physical “territory” is considered to be, and how it can be defined or delineated it is very much bound up with an ethical stance toward the land. From there, the contrasting dominant philosophical positions held by Industria, on the one hand, and the various Fourth World nations in North America, on the other are contrasted, showing that the epistemology and ontology predominant in European civilization at the time of first sustained contact with North America all but precluded an ethical stance toward the land, whereas those of indigenous nations necessitated an ethical

stance. This has causal effects on territorial use, ideas of ownership, and the possibility of boundaries.

Fourth World Theory

It is not possible to adequately account for the current struggles between indigenous peoples and Industria without reference to Fourth World theory, which had its genesis in Sweden in 1972 at the United Nations Environmental Conference. At this conference, North American First Nations delegates found they had much more in common with the Saami of Finland/Sweden, the Bretons of France, and the Basques of France/Spain than they did with Third World delegates. These indigenous delegates saw that their individual struggles for self-determination shared substantial common ground. Subsequently, and under the strong leadership of Shuswap Chief George Manuel, Fourth World theory was born. Manuel and his associates founded several organizations including the World Council of Indigenous Peoples (presently based in Ottawa, Canada), and the Centre for World Indigenous Studies (which has recently launched an Internet-based "Fourth World Documentation Project"), and the Native Indian Brotherhood, forerunner of the Assembly of First Nations.

The Nuxalk Nation has long-standing connections to the Fourth World movement. Key Nuxalkmc political figures, including Hereditary Chief Lawrence Pootlass, knew and worked with George Manuel in the 1970s and early 1980s. Then in 1984, Saami activist

Nils Somby, accused of dynamiting a dam constructed on Saami territory by the state of Norway, escaped from a prison hospital and fled overseas to the Bella Coola valley. He and his family were granted political amnesty by and adopted into the Nuxalk Nation as an act of Fourth World solidarity. It may be indicative of the uncertainty of Canada's claim to sovereignty over Nuxalk territory that although the RCMP knew Somby was there for almost a year, they took no steps to arrest him until he left Nuxalk territory and flew to Lethbridge, Alberta. (Inf. I3)

Fourth World nations each have common ancestry, language and territory, and often consider themselves to be under occupation by the centralized political systems of modern states. By contrast, states are recent legal creations "whose authority derives from force...intimidation...and 'statespeak' [discourse]" imposed upon national groups. (Nietschmann 1994: 227-28) The formation of modern states coincides with the beginnings of industrial civilization. In essence, industrial technology, enlightenment philosophy (rational humanism), and state-based (but not requisitely democratic) political organization are the hallmarks of modernity. Fourth World theory provides a ground-up portrait of international conflicts, focused on the ancient national groups under state domination.

Jason Clay (1994) estimates that 5000 nations that exist within (or among) 192 modern (First, Second, or Third World) states. (p. 24) Nietschmann (1987) argues that this Fourth World is at war with modern states, whose discursive strategy is to deny their

existence as peoples, and characterize their resistance to territorial invasion (“national integration”) and occupation (“economic development”) as “terrorism” (p. 1). States and inter-national (state-created) organizations carefully avoid using the term ‘peoples’ in referring to indigenous nations, preferring the terms ‘ethnic groups’ or ‘minorities’ because “‘peoples’ carries with it the concept of self-determination.” (Hyndman 1991: 169)

The result of penetration of every state on earth by industrial civilization has been the hegemony of European peoples and their descendants. As Buchanan observed. “European languages dominate the commercial and financial organizations of the world, as they do world transport systems and international communications.” (1979: 120) This hegemony has not gone un-resisted. Seventy-five to eighty percent of wars being fought in 1993-4 involved Fourth World nations resisting state military forces (Clay 1994: 24; Nietschmann 1994: 237). In addition to territorial invasion, Fourth World cultures face the far more insidious penetration of communications, a trend which some fear will decrease global cultural diversity. Gregory (1994: 41) speaks of the disintegration and absorption of local cultures by modernity, but as will be seen below, modernity is a temporal term and therefore an unusual site for the attribution of agency. In fact, one of the main media of this disintegration and absorption is communications, the product of trans-state corporations which are “technologically oriented, commodity oriented.

materialistic, and hostile to nature.” (Mander 1991: 97) These communications are antithetical or even subversive to Fourth World cultures:

In many places where there are...not even roads, satellite communications has made it possible for people to ingest the dominant external society...The end result will be world-wide monoculture. (Mander 1991: 77).

Cindy Gilday of the Dene Native Women’s Association claims this electronic invasion glamorizes

“...behaviours and values that are poisonous to life up here. Our traditions have a lot to do with survival. Co-operation, sharing, and nonmaterialism are the only ways that people can live here...TV always seems to present values that are opposite to those.” (quoted in *ibid.*: 105).

Nonetheless, Nietschmann has pointed out that interactive communication technologies such as the Internet or the Web have become powerful tools for Fourth World activists (Nietschmann 1994: 225). Indeed, during the confrontations in Canada between Fourth World nationalists at Gustafsen Lake and Ipperwash, it was possible to access voluminous first-hand accounts of events “behind the lines”, through several Web sites.²⁸

For geographers evaluating the promises or dangers of nationalism, Fourth World theory is an important consideration. However, many Marxists seem to find the concept threatening, conflating as it does North and South into the rôle of oppressors, of thieves arguing over how to divide up loot stolen from indigenous peoples:

²⁸ There are considerable problems, however, involved in verifying these accounts.

The Fourth World representatives [at the Stockholm Conference] saw the tired left-right political discussions as all one Neo-European debate over who reaped the spoils of industrialization while the rights of indigenous people everywhere were ignored. The Neo-Europeans continued to colonize native people around the world and destroy the environment in the name of progress (Weyler 1992: 214).

Ortiz criticises Fourth World theory as the naive product of well-meaning (non-indigenous) bourgeoisie who do not realise that they are succumbing to “indigenism” which ultimately undermines indigenous struggles for (industrial, presumably) economic parity and emancipation (Ortiz 1984). In his dismissive analysis, he seems to have overlooked the fact that the term was coined and is used pre-eminently by indigenous peoples themselves. It appears that Marxist opposition to Fourth World theory is due to two factors. First, according to traditional Marxist thinking, in order to participate in a proletarian revolution, indigenous peoples must first modernize (i.e. industrialize), effectively abandoning their cultures. (Means in Bedford 1994: 103) This position has alienated many indigenous peoples, resulting in a rejection of Marxist ideas among many Fourth World nations. Secondly, Marxists have consistently under-theorized indigenous issues, leading many people in the Fourth World to conclude that Marxism is merely committed to “its own, destructive, version of modernity”. (Bedford 1994: 110)

Capitalism and Marxism alike exhibit the modernist tendencies of the ignorance or obfuscation of difference, the silencing of local voices, and the invocation of dialectical metanarratives. Both approaches to social organization are after all the intellectual spawn of Industria.

The Modern State System: The Birth and Growth of Industria

Peter Taylor (1994) pegs the beginning of the modern state system at 1648, with the Treaty of Westphalia which ended the Thirty Years War. As he points out, this is not coincidentally also the beginning of the mercantilist colonial era, and the genesis of the Capitalist World Economy. Walker (1993) agrees that The Treaty of Westphalia "serves as a crucial demarcation", but adds that other analysts would put the origins of the modern state system as early as antiquity or as recently as the twentieth century. (p. 90) He describes the principle of state sovereignty as expressing "an historically-specific articulation of the relationship between universality and particularity in space and time." (p. 176). The state system rapidly expanded through the colonial policies of the European powers, and by the 1950s, the last vestiges of empires were gone and virtually every square centimetre of the Earth was divided among what now number 192 states.

These states comprise collectively what is referred to in this thesis as "Industria". The cultural, political, and economic commonalities within these states are sufficient to differentiate them en masse from Fourth World nations. The term is more generally applicable and simpler to use than "Western European civilization" (which predates both the modern state system and the industrial -capitalist era), "the North" or "the West"(which are geographically inaccurate and tend to obfuscate the existence of Fourth World nations within states in both hemispheres), or "Modernity" (a temporal rather than

geo-political term).²⁹ The philosophical/political orientation of this global culture is Eurogenic, but has now been adopted by states on all continents. Industrial technology has been recognized as the defining characteristic of modern states. This fact is not altered by arguments that wealthier states, such as G7 members, are moving toward a “post-industrial” era where industrial facilities are being increasingly located offshore. Wherever produced, industrial technologies permeate all Industrian states:

...[Industrian] man has lost all touch with his natural framework and has to do only with the organized technical intermediary...Enclosed within his artificial creation, man finds that there is “no exit”; that he cannot pierce the shell of technology to find again the ancient milieu to which he was adapted for hundreds of thousands of years. (Ellul 1964: 428)

Technology can no longer be viewed as only one of many threads that form the texture of our civilization...it has become the prime source of material change and so determines the patterns of the total social fabric. (Forbes 1968: Preface)

If the shape of a geo-political entity is determined by a mapping of areas it controls, then Industria is matrix- or web-like in its spatial array. It is comprised only of areas it has penetrated (connected) by communications (including transportation) networks. Weapons of mass destruction or mass communications constitute power, but not control over geographic space. A forest is only under Industrian control where it is completely penetrated by access roads, or where its perimeter is sufficiently controlled as

²⁹ An effort has been made to avoid using state names or Eurogenic labels for regions and continents, agreeing with Shapiro that “to refer to any area in the geostrategic mode of representation...incorporates a form of silence [regarding indigenous nations].” (Shapiro 1992: 110)

to regulate all access. The problems that park “managers” face when protected animals wander out of parks into hunting areas (or onto highways) is evidence of a lack of control. If Industrian state control over the Earth were to be mapped in this spirit, then it would appear as a Web-like array, densest near cities, and extremely sparse in northern regions. The area of a forest under Industrian control is a “field of effect” radiating out from any access road. It is state leaders and resource “managers” who create the myth of absolute Industrian control over physical areas, by drawing borders around them on maps.

Industrian states assume that their technology is superior to non-industrial approaches. This results in a “drive to develop” that indigenous cultures most vehemently oppose. (Mander 1991: intro.) Forbes questions the assumptions underlying industrialization:

The Western Nations are proud of these [technological] achievements, and tend to parade them before the inhabitants of other parts of the globe, to whom we profess willingness to export our technology so that their standard of living might be raised to the level of our own. Employing this standard, we have come to refer to “backward” or... “underdeveloped” countries...but here a second question arises: Is our technology the only possible one, and should every nation on Earth go through the same stages of technological development? (Forbes 1968: 54)

The question is not merely technological, but pertains to the industrial mode of production (the “monetary economy”). In the above narratives there is an implicit criticism of the capitalist mode of production. Industrian states are all tied to a web of trans-state corporate interests which Wallerstein (1979) refers to as the “capitalist world-economy”. While it is beyond the scope of this paper to adequately deal with the

question of capitalism, certain aspects of the capitalist market economy, such as unlimited accumulation and concentration of wealth (though these are by no means unique to capitalism), are inherently destructive and wasteful. Ron Johnston, drawing strongly on David Harvey's work, provides a superb analysis of the capitalist mode of production (1989: 49-64). He concludes that the inevitable crises generated within a capitalist economy "...produce responses that are likely to have particularly severe consequences for the physical environment" (ibid.: 64). However, no ecologist who has considered the devastation of the ecosystems in the socialist states of eastern Europe believes that capitalism is unique in its ecologically destructive potential. For the nations of the Fourth World, the problem is Industria itself, no matter who owns the means of industrial production.

Blaut (1993), in an excellent treatment of the myth of European superiority, makes the case that the assumptions referred to by Forbes are the result of the nineteenth century doctrine of "diffusionism", which posits that Europe is the originator of most, if not all innovation. He rejects these assumptions, showing that they are founded on spurious binary oppositions between Inside and Outside, rationality and emotion, discipline and spontaneity etc., pairs which are eerily reminiscent of the construction of women in opposition to European "rational man". In the new "colonizers' model of the world", Outside is now, in effect, inside. That is to say, the qualities which European colonizers once projected onto distant lands are now projected collectively by Industria onto the

Fourth World nations contained within Industrian state boundaries. Thus, when alarmists issues warnings about “the coming anarchy”, a breakdown into “lawlessness” and the end of “rational” governance in places like Africa, (e.g. Kaplan 1994) their real concern is that Industrian state-based hegemony is threatened by Fourth World nationalism. Such heralds of doom overlook the fact that for members of Fourth World nations such as the Ogoni, “anarchy” would likely be a welcome respite from state-sanctioned terror.

The Question of Territory

This expansion of the state system was accomplished at the expense of territories traditionally occupied by Fourth World nations. Nietschmann characterises the process of state-building as “nation-destruction” (1994: 234)³⁰ The position of many First Nations in Canada, especially those beyond the “treaty frontier” such as the Nuxalk, has been that their sovereignty has not been voluntarily ceded. (Nuxalk Nation 1984)

Ra`anan suggests that, given the consolidation of “[]nation[]]-state” hegemony in the world history, investigations into nationalism should take place at the sub-state level. He notes that “in well over 90 percent of the independent countries existing today, the state is either considerably larger or much smaller than the area inhabited by the corresponding nation or Staatsvolk.” (Ra`anan 1990: 7) Falk (1992) has estimated that at

³⁰ However, it must be borne in mind that many nations voluntarily joined larger states, abandoning some degree of sovereignty in exchange for the benefits of a larger political community (however intangible these benefits may often seem today).

least 800 nationalist movements threaten 192 modern states. During the process of the expansion of the state system, the terms “nation” and “state” have been conflated. The state has been reified as the locus of political community (Magnusson 1990). Yet since states frequently comprise numerous nations (many of them under effective occupation), it became necessary to invent a new, state-based, national identity:

The circularity of [state] nationalist ideology is evident: the nation needs the state as its political embodiment, so the state has to create the nation to legitimate its own existence. Hence, nation-building is the most glorious of state activities. (ibid.: 49)

Contrast this with a Mohawk conception of Canada, which sees the Canadian state not as a nation at all, but as a legal-political framework for co-operation among nations. (Alfred 1995: 104) In this sense the Mohawk version of statehood resembles more multi-state communities such as the European Union than it does the parochial Industrian myth of the “nation-state”. The discussion will return to this idea toward the end.

Problematizing Territoriality: A Fourth World Perspective

On reflection though, the reason territoriality is taken for granted is not hard to guess. Samuel Beckett put it well in Endgame: “You’re on earth, there’s no cure for that.” (Ruggie 1993: 174)

Taylor argues that “...as we approach testing the fragility of the Earth’s ecology - anti-territoriality will have to be part of the solution with territoriality the problem.” (1994: 161) Certainly, Industrian approaches to territory have been (and are) intrinsically

hostile to nature. (Shapcott 1989: 57; Mander 1991: 97) This is due largely to mechanistic ontological presumptions which will be examined later. However, Taylor's conclusion is predicated upon the assumption that territory will continue to be administered by Industrian states, and ignores the possibility that a territorially bounded culture embracing a land ethic would not be as likely to jeopardize the "fragility of the Earth's ecology." One might be better off problematizing private property. Kratochwil, speaking to the case of the early Mongols, claims that "[t]he allocation of fixed property...led to the parcelling and repartitioning of tribal territory." (1986: 30) Such parcelling and partitioning results in the loss of a cultural and physical resource base traditionally relied upon by Fourth World nations. Problematizing territoriality is a Industrian indulgence which the nations of the Fourth World are utterly unable to afford.

Most First Nations in Canada today accept and use the Industrian principle of territorial nationalism for pragmatic reasons. The British government acquired geographically delineated areas of land from various First Nations through treaty or purchase. According to legal experts, lands not thus transferred to the Crown or private landowners belongs to the self-defined nation that occupied it at the time of colonization.

Referring to the Papal Bull Sublimus Deus of 1537, Bruce Clark points out that:

From inception it has bound all Europeans and their several governments in terms of settled international law. Furthermore, since those governments subsequently authored the several constitutions of the new countries of the Americas, those constitutions all reiterate the founding law. Ever since the enactment of Sublimus Deus existing law has remained straightforward: no purchase equals no non-native jurisdiction or possession. (Clark 1995)

Thus, it is necessary for First Nations to refer to something concrete when making territorial claims. Jurisdiction is the key. The experience has been that where Industria has had jurisdiction over lands which traditionally supported Fourth World economies and cultures, this jurisdiction has resulted in profound ecological degradation, most notably deforestation, damage to salmon streams, pollution of the water table from mining operations, flooding due to water diversion schemes, and depletion of game animals due to over-hunting. Needless to say, these impacts have undermined Fourth World economies and cultures. While there have been historic examples of ecological degradation under Fourth World "jurisdiction", they are exceptions, and pale in comparison to the impacts of Industria. In this light, "anti-territoriality" is of little use to the Fourth World.

Modernist thinkers such as Andrew Coyne react strongly to the idea of racially or ethnically defined states. (Coyne 1997) It might be argued that the mobility of peoples and the emergence of immigration-based states such as Australia has rendered untenable such an idea. For example it is taken for granted that there exists an obligation on the part of states to accept refugees displaced by environmental catastrophes or war. However, it is one thing to say that the people who control the governments of Industrian states, in Europe or Africa for example, have an obligation to the international community of states of which they are a part, and another thing altogether to argue that nations who have been invaded by Industrian states since the beginning of the colonial era are equally

obligated to share territory and resources with people of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds, especially when the cultural differences or sheer numbers of the newcomers result in accelerated ecological degradation. The state system has created these codes of conduct (e.g. allowing immigration) for reasons of mutual self-interest, and members of that system might reasonably be expected to comply. However, for those nations that did not participate in the formation of these codes, and who arguably have little to benefit from such an arrangement, the moral indignation one encounters when reading newspaper reports of ethno-nationalism in indigenous communities such as Kahnsetake, or in more general academic discussions, seems suspiciously imperialist.³¹

The trend in Indian communities themselves...is toward exclusivity. This reaction is due in equal parts to the perception of a continuing effort by non-Native governments to shape Native societies according to a White vision, to the desire to safe-guard what has been preserved thus far in terms of culture and racial distinctiveness... (Alfred 1995: 175)

In many re-emergent Fourth World nations, blood or kinship ties are a necessary, (but not sufficient - participation in community is also usually required) basis for national identity. As Nietschmann puts it:

³¹ For example, Walker counsels "a suspicion of ethnocentrism and modernist hubris of theories of international relations for these are precisely conditions under which it has been possible to read women - among others - right out of the script." (Walker 1993: 181, emphasis mine.) At the same time, abandoning ethnocentrism at such a fragile moment in the reconstruction of shattered communities would very likely lead to the full-scale deletion of First Nations from "the script".

A person is born into a specific nation by being born a Kurd, a Basque, or a Tibetan, for instance. An outsider cannot become a Tibetan by moving to Tibet. Nor can an outsider become Basque by learning to speak Basque, by moving to Euzkadi and becoming a citizen of Spain, or by being born in Euzkadi: To be Basque is to be born Basque. (Nietschmann 1994: 226)

Ra'anan points out that in most ancient societies, and in many contemporary "non-Western" communities, nationality was determined not through state citizenship but rather by reference to cultural, religious and historic identity; nationality is personal identity-dependent rather than territory-dependent. (1990:14) The complication Ra'anan overlooks is that for many indigenous people, personal identity is very much bound up with the land.

For the above reasons, to First Nations in Canada, postmodern discussions problematizing territoriality must be very threatening, and smack of intellectual neo-colonialism. Territoriality is the only way they have of gaining (or retaining) access as nations and communities to lands capable of nurturing their cultures, and a resource base capable of supporting their self-determination. To abandon a territorial understanding of Fourth World nationalism, given the ubiquitous distribution of ecologically destructive Industrian culture in Canada (and the very long reach of its resource exploitation industrial arms), is to ensure the destruction of Fourth World cultures closely linked to the land and its ecology. Prior to colonization Fourth World cultures could survive without an explicitly demarcated territorial base. Today they cannot.

The key to formulating a sustainable Fourth World territoriality in much of Canada will, however, require a flexibility atypical of Industrian territorial conceptions. First Nations will have to confront the reality of non-indigenous people who have lived for generations on unceded indigenous territory, and be prepared to accept compensation for such properties owned by non-indigenous people. The alternative would be forced eviction of non-indigenous people, an action which would almost certainly result in bloodshed. In Bella Coola, there appears to be a willingness even on the part of the sovereigntist House of Smayusta to accommodate Bella Coolans within the context of a Nuxalk territorial claim.

I don't think that's realistic to say that, "Well kick them out." It's very erratic, it's senseless that you would think that way. And that's a result of...fear-mongering. And, I think that the reason we come strong from our position is that- how do you negotiate? Do you give up half of what you're asking for before you negotiate? No, you have to go to your max. and then negotiate down. Because later on you'll say, Yeah, you know, third party interests are there. You know, like I've got no intention to kick all the farmers out, all the business men out. (Inf. 116)

Furthermore, it is essential that indigenous and non-indigenous communities work together on a local level to settle territorial issues. As one Bella Coolan informant, active in fish and wildlife and conservation issues, said:

I believe in the legal justice system, then I have to believe that they [the Nuxalk] have some claim for some legal redress for what's occurred in the past... [T]hat's only a logical conclusion from our system that tells us that yes that issue is not resolved so therefore we must resolve that issue, whether it's compensation, or a massive amount of land or whatever it is. But I think that on a local level, people could, committees could get together in a much better way than what the government is presently doing, you know. Cross sections of our societies or our local people could get together and do a better job than what these guys are doing... (Inf. B3)

With these considerations, it is now possible to explore the values underlying any discussion of territorial claims.

Weltanschauungen: The Ethics of Territoriality, and the Territoriality of Ethics

The predominant Industrian world-view is predicated upon Cartesian mechanistic ontological assumptions. (Rifkin 1991; Callicott 1989; Shapcott 1989) In Descartes' view, nature is a machine, and animals are devoid of reason, feeling, and emotion. (Callicott 1989: 181) His ambition was to use mathematical reasoning to make humanity "masters and possessors of nature" (Descartes in Rifkin 1991: 32) In addition to accepting the atomism of the ancient Greeks, Descartes' approach is also foundationalist. Imagine the reaction of Industrian scientists to the following anecdote, popular in indigenous/ecologist circles: A Native elder was asked to describe her world-view. She elaborated to some extent on ecological themes, and then pronounced that the world was resting on a turtle's back. A Industrian listener challenged her, saying, "That's

impossible. The turtle has to be resting on something.” To which the elder replied, “Oh, no. It’s turtles all the way down!”

The language used by Industrian policy makers reveals the persistence of this atomistic foundationalism, which Shapcott claims is both antithetical and hostile to indigenous values. (1989: 57) As she says, the words “‘resource’ and ‘management’ imply a human superiority incompatible with the holistic values expressed by many Native people.” (ibid.: 72) The most profound example of this is the tragically oxymoronic “wildlife management”, which has among other things led to the destruction of caribou herds and aerial mass-extirmination of timber wolves. (Hipwell 1994).

Industrian culture wed its mechanistic, atomistic ontology to Judeo-Christian environmental ethics predominant at the time of the Treaty of Westphalia (this temporal distinction is made because of recent “environmentalist” Christian theology, for example Rev. Michael Fox’s “Creation Theology”). This marriage of convenience transformed God from Caring Shepherd to Master Technician. In the resulting world-view, land and its non-human biotic inhabitants had utterly lost status as moral objects or agents.

M’Gonigle quotes from a background paper by the Tin-Wis Congress which articulates a Fourth World perception of some of the implications of this Industrian ontology:

“Most of the land use conflicts...are a reflection of a certain kind of political-economic system which encourages uncontrolled, widespread, and short-term exploitation of natural resources - a process carried out in British Columbia by large corporations... In economic terms it represents the wholesale liquidation of natural resources capitol [sic], and the diversion of profits into the hands of a few. (Tin-Wis Congress cited in M’Gonigle 1988: 122)

The political-economic system of Industria, with its ontological devaluation of the land, is inherently exploitative of the Earth. Contrast this to beliefs common among indigenous peoples, central to which is “[t]he concept of the Great Spirit and of the Earth Mother and the family-like relatedness of all creatures...and likewise the concept of a spiritual dimension or aspect to all natural things” (Callicott 1989: 186-7)³²

More controversial is the question of epistemology. Feminist scholars have argued convincingly that epistemological stances can have profound ethno- or gender-centric biases. (Khardaji 1995: 10-15) Epistemologies can also have significant effects on the way territory and non-humans are perceived. Yet epistemologies as divergent as those of most Industrians on the one hand, and the Fourth World on the other, are, to a large degree, mutually exclusive. There is little question that the base epistemology of Industria is empiricism. What can be said to exist, can be known through the senses and/or measured by instruments whose readings can be sensed. The scientific method demands evidence or proof which meets the epistemological criteria sketched out above. Note that in its extreme form, this epistemology makes very difficult any “spiritual” belief. Aside from the rich and lively debates in analytical philosophy surrounding the relative merits of empiricism as an epistemology is the thornier and more easily quantified question of physical capability. One can reject a purely empirical approach

³² Lovelock’s (1988) concept of Earth as “Gaia”, a single self-regulating organism, sounds remarkably similar to the indigenous conception of the environment as “Mother Earth”, a spiritually animated “matrix of mutually dependent functional components integrated systematically into an organic whole.” (Callicott 1989: 193)

because certain patterns, say those of large ecosystems, are too large and too interdependent to be apprehended by creatures with brains as small as ours and with our limited capacity to reason.³³

An indigenous North American epistemology would typically include non-empirical evidence for knowledge, such as information gleaned from dreams, or “conversations” with non-human animals or even plants and rocks.³⁴ British sociologist Hugh Brody provides some convincing narratives of such non-empiricist epistemologies from the Beaver Indians, especially those concerning “dream-hunting”. Dream hunting allows premonitions of the appearance and the location of game animals: real animals show themselves to hunters in dreams. (Brody 1988: 44-46) One First Nations informant to this study said: “An aboriginal worldview says all life forms are sacred and part of a universal one.” (Inf. 117) This is typical of what Callicott characterizes as a broad commonality among North American indigenous cultures:

The concept of the Great Spirit and of the Earth Mother and the family-like relatedness of all creatures seems, however, to have been very nearly a universal American Indian idea, and likewise the concept of a spiritual dimension or aspect to all natural things.” (Callicott 1989: 186-7)

This commonality forms the foundation of co-operation between ecologists and indigenous peoples.

³³ Computers, you say? Heck, we can't even teach a computer to play a decent game of chess!

³⁴ As an example of how divergent Industrian and indigenous epistemologies may be, Shapiro cites Barry Lopez's report of a conversation between an Inuit shaman and an anthropologist. When queried about “Eskimo” beliefs, the shaman replied “We do not believe, we fear.” (Shapiro 1992: 126)

Fourth World Nationalism and the Canadian Band Council System

...it has rarely escaped the notice of the more astute political commentators that the ability to construct a myth of origins signifies enormous political advantage. (Walker 1993: 90)

Walker's comment may well serve as a future eulogy for the Band Council system which currently administers the various First Nations in Canada. Imposed by the Federal government via the 1890 Indian Act, the Band Council system replaced (by threat of force) traditional governments. Many of these traditional governments were in fact dysfunctional at the time or at least severely undermined due to massive depopulation - a result of European-introduced disease epidemics such as smallpox, measles, whooping cough and influenza. (Kirk 1986) These institutions were further undermined by successive generations of residential schooling, where Native children were taken away for education by federal fiat, and punished if they spoke their language or practised their culture. (ibid.)

Nonetheless, resistance to this imposed governmental structure, inspired at least in part by the "myth of origins" traditionalists could claim, grew quickly, especially through the potlatch system, a key component of traditional governance on the West Coast:

[Potlatches] have never stopped. Irregardless of the fact that we were threatened, our people were threatened. They continued to practice their ways. They would be jailed, punished... [A generation ago. the DIA] Indian agent wrote a letter to the regional office... And he said. "I went to visit Chief Pootlass' brother and told him that what he was doing was wrong..." I think it was dated 1918 or 1922-- I can't remember. "they continue to hold potlatches and what they're doing is wrong." And Chief Pootlass' brother, Albert [said], "I cannot stop potlatching. I cannot stop holding the feast because that is the only way that I can build my honour. build my respect amongst the people. And as a chief, I have to continue to host. And I get all the peoples' respect and honour." So that was his response. (Inf. I2)

The resistance continues today:

"Band Councils, which govern more than 600 Indian reserves, are under attack because of slow-moving negotiations with governments and perceived corruption and favouritism in the community." (Aubry 1995a: A2).

As one Nuxalk elder put it:

There is a difference in the people who work out of the Administration Office - the elected system - in comparison to the people... who are with the Hereditary system. That Hereditary system was given to us by God at the beginning of time - and he chose who would carry the head-dress. What families would carry the head-dress. That signifies that they are the ones to give direction. This is the way it always has been for me - to work together with those who have that responsibility. (Inf. I8)

One Nuxalk Hereditary Chief described the Band Council system as "shake-and-bake government", a creation of the "almighty colonial and imperialist European governments" designed to replace a form of traditional governance that has evolved for hundreds of generations. (Inf. I16) This is similar to the view of traditionalists on the Six Nations Reserve in Ontario, and elsewhere, who consider elected Band Councils as "puppets of

the federal government” (Aubry 1995a: A1), elites ascribing to hegemonic (modern industrial) values and profiting by the exploitation of resources in First Nations traditional territory:

Small groups of well-intentioned but frustrated native militants...have taken to the barricades because they see their leaders as having failed them. Some feel those leaders have been co-opted by government while hundreds of thousands of natives live in abject poverty, with Canada’s highest per capita rates of suicide, crime, alcohol and solvent abuse... ‘They see [the elected native leaders] as sanctioning the manipulation of their people...These guys don’t see the AFN as a legitimate Indian voice.’ said University of Lethbridge native studies professor Tony Hall. ‘Its the creation of a foreign instrument of oppression...’ (Roberts 1995: A10).

However problematic the prospect of demonstrating that alternatives to the Band Council system such as Hereditary or other traditional governance structures are representative, it is clear from the above passages that Band Councils face a very real crisis of legitimacy. Self-determination, it can be argued, must include the right to determine the form and nature of the local governing structures. The position of the IACHR on self-government is unambiguous:

1. States acknowledge that indigenous peoples have the right to freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development, and that accordingly they have the right to autonomy or self-government with regard to their internal and local affairs, including culture, religion, education, information, media, health, housing, employment, social welfare, economic activities, land and resource management, the environment and entry by non-members; and to the ways and means for financing these autonomous functions. (IACHR 1995: Sect. 4, Art. XV)

and

1. Indigenous law is an integral part of the States' legal system and of the framework in which their social and economic development takes place.

2. Indigenous peoples are entitled to maintain and reinforce their indigenous legal systems and also to apply them to matters within their communities, including systems pertaining to ownership of real property and natural resources, resolution of conflicts within and between indigenous communities, crime prevention and law enforcement, and maintenance of internal peace and harmony. (IACHR 1995: Sect. 4, Art. XVI)

"Legal systems" in the above passage can be taken to include systems of legal administration, i.e. governmental systems. In Canada, any reformulation of First Nations territorial sovereignty must include a re-examination of the Band Council system, including public inquiries into allegations of corruption, and a sharp reduction in federal control over First Nations governmentality.

Toward a Postmodern Territoriality: Lessons from the "Periphery"

Let us return, then, to the problematic of state sovereignty, and the Mohawk conception of Canada. As discussed earlier, the Mohawk political perception of the Canadian state is not of a nation at all, but rather a legal-political framework for co-operation among nations. Such a model of political organization is being attempted in Europe, and to a lesser, more purely economic degree, with the North American Free Trade Agreement. Subsumed in the Mohawk formulation is the sense that the sovereignty of states and nations must differ.

It is informative to consider the development of the European Union in this regard. While the states of Europe have demonstrated a willingness to relinquish sovereignty over health and environmental protection standards to a higher level of government, they cling tenaciously to "cultural sovereignty", for example over education, language, etc., and "territorial sovereignty" in the sense of control over natural resources. In many ways the Canadian federal system reflects such a division of powers under the BNA Act and the Constitution Act of 1982. First Nations sovereignty has been recognized in law (Clark 1995), and guaranteed by treaty. (Alfred 1995: 59) Nonetheless, it has not been constitutionalized in the sense that powers one might, on the basis of the European example, reasonably assume to be the sovereign domain of "nations" (education, control of natural resources) rest primarily with provincial governments rather than Band Councils or other forms of Native national government.

The importance of the land to indigenous political objectives is clear in this argument for the recognition of land rights:

...in many indigenous cultures, traditional collective systems for control and use of land and territory, including bodies of water and coastal areas, are a necessary condition for their survival, social organization, development and their individual and collective well-being; and that the form of such control and ownership is varied and distinctive and does not necessarily coincide with the systems protected by the domestic laws of the States in which they live. (IACHR 1995: Preamble. #6)

There is strong evidence that a lack of such recognition in Canadian government policy has contributed to conflict. Tensions between the territorial/ecological conceptions of the

Canadian state on the one hand, and First Nations on the other, have resulted in discursive and physical conflicts which have escalated in recent years. the most prominent examples taking place in Kahnasetake (Oka), James Bay, Ipperwash. Barrière Lake. the Old Man River. Kelly's Mountain, Penticton, and Bella Coola.

Bioregionalism

One way of reformulating territoriality to address the concerns of both indigenous and non-indigenous residents of Fourth World territories would be a move to bioregionalism. Bioregionalism replaces static, linear Cartesian boundaries with territorial definitions based on watersheds or other eco-geographical features. The Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) and United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) Programme on Military Activities and the Human Environment have urged:

...a strengthening of the notion that eco-geographical regions [or "bioregions"] are a primary unit of concern. International co-operation within an eco-geographical region offers a unique opportunity for addressing the problem of environmental security because many international environmental problems are essentially limited to a particular eco-geographical region. An important element here is the promotion of regional self-reliance across a broad range of security issues beyond the environmental one: politico-military, economic, and social. (PRIO/UNEP 1989: 21)

Because bioregions often include members of various nations, it will be by definition a multi-national political approach:

What is refreshing about bioregionalism is its claim that the “natural” boundary of human social organization need not be the nation-State, or the political borders that have been drawn within states...Making the primary place of political decision-making the ecological context within which we live lends our future towards a “natural” internationalism. (Roussopoulos 1993: 79)

Kratochwil (1986) describes a fluid feudal European territorial system which doubtless functioned with a “bioregional” sense of space. It is interesting to note that Descartes’ “discoveries” and pronouncements, which in effect ended the medieval era (where humans were still seen as a part of nature) preceded by a matter of mere decades the Treaty of Westphalia. The death knell of bioregional territoriality in Europe was sounded by the authors of the new Enlightenment world-view.

Earlier cultures included both the land and other animals as well as humans in the “community of beings” that grounded their sense of shared concern and responsibility. Our industrial culture, influenced by the idea that we have “conquered” nature, discourages us from following their example (Leiss 1990: 111).

The bioregional approach is not, however, entirely unproblematic. Donald Alexander (1990) cautions that bioregions are a conceptual construct that do not have meaning external to human perceptions and categorisation. On some levels this is true, given frequently conflicting personal identification with different bioregional definitions, or Alexander’s example of the different ecological zones collectively described as the Kawartha Lakes (ibid.: 169.) On the other hand, observations of nonhuman behaviour reveal that various species adopt a “regional” or “territorial” approach to life, and are often found exclusively in one area. In this sense, there must be some fundamental

biological characteristics of regions, notwithstanding any conceptual confusion over precise definitions. It is perhaps the result of the dualism inherent in industrial civilized thought that people feel the need to identify a dividing line showing the demarcation between "is/is not bioregion x". Geographers need to introduce fluid concepts of territory, and recognize that there are transition zones between bioregions. In response to Alexander's challenge that bioregions exist at too many different scales to be of much use in political organization (ibid.), clearly human political organization also operates at a variety of scales.

Finally, in his discussion of bioregionalism in "British Columbia". Aberley (1993) argues that indigenous territories are likely to form the basis of governance units in the Northwest, though he notes that overlapping territorial claims among First Nations (e.g. the Nuxalk and Heiltsuk) must first be settled. He points out "because aboriginal nations relied so much on localized sources of natural resources for their survival, they tended to array their activities and settlements in patterns that demonstrated intimate knowledge of carrying capacity." (p.91) This underscores the fundamental compatibility of indigenous territorial claims and a bioregional geopolitics.

Potential Problems and Pitfalls

Debates surrounding the meaning of the words "environment", "security", "nation" and "sovereignty" are far from over. Critics of Fourth World sovereignty

positions are certain to ask why a particular situation of historical territorial occupation should be reified (taken as ontologically absolute, or “the way things must be”). Further, the lack of a clear historical record of territorial occupation by indigenous nations raises questions regarding the precise boundaries of territories presently claimed by sovereigntists. In the case of the Nuxalk, there is substantial overlap between the territorial claims of the Nuxalk and the Heiltsuk (see Appendix E). Moreover, there is a great deal of uncertainty as to whether traditional indigenous territoriality even resembled (problematic) modern notions of the sovereign territorial state. Kratochwil argues that the traditional territorial identification of Tibetans had an ecological basis, but that like the Mongols, their boundaries were not fixed in the manner of modern states. As Ruggie argues: “territory was occupied in kinship-based systems, but it did not define them.” (Ruggie 1993: 149)

Agnew, too, questions the territorial assumptions of sovereignty. He claims these assumptions in the case of states are predicated on three contentious geographical assumptions. First, states are reified as fixed units of sovereign space. Second, there is an insupportable division of the domestic from the foreign - assumptions of internal state homogeneity underlie theorizing about international relations. Certainly in the case of the Bella Coola valley, or even the Nuxalk Nation taken alone, no such homogeneity can be said to exist. Third, it is assumed that states exist prior to and serve as containers of society. The increased mobility of capital, economic interdependence, and global (trans-

boundary) ecological concerns render the previously mentioned assumptions problematic.

As Agnew concludes: "In international relations theory territorial space has most definitely conquered time. Only historical-geographical consciousness can release us from its dead hand." (Agnew 1994: 77)

Conclusion

The traditional objection to universalism in international relations will no doubt continue to be made on the ground of nationalism and national self-determination. For many peoples in the modern world, the establishment of a particularist identity against hegemonic forces remains the highest priority. But the assertion of this kind of counter-hegemonic particularity is likely to be pushed further than is implied by the limited pluralism established through state sovereignty. The continuing persistence of nationalism and self-determination does not necessarily imply the persistence of the nation-state...Where it has become conventional to equate state, nation and autonomy, and then to reify all three as the fundamental reality of international life, it now seems more useful to ask what states, nations, particularist identities and struggles for autonomy can now be under new historical conditions. (Walker 1993: 77)

Traditional (and re-emergent) Fourth World world-views hold that territory - a living, ethically significant kind of territory - is an integral part of Fourth World national identity. Furthermore, state territorial sovereignty as it is presently practised is problematic in many regards. A Fourth World territorial sovereignty need not be exclusive, in fact most First Nations Land Claims acknowledge and recognize private property rights of non-indigenous people within their territory, and state that they will not attempt to expropriate such property. (M'Gonigle 1988: 124; George 1997)

“Even where systems of rule are territorial, and even where territoriality is relatively fixed, the prevailing concept of territory need not entail mutual exclusion.” (Ruggie 1993: 149)

Indeed, exclusivity is not characteristic of traditional forms of indigenous territorial organization. (Brody 1988: 172) A step toward defusing growing tensions between First Nations and Canadian governments would be for the Canadian federal government to resolve First Nations territorial claims quickly and fairly while promoting itself, as it were, to the status of the European Parliament, devolving “national” powers to the provinces, and equally to First Nations. This kind of enhanced federalism would give First Nations control over natural resources in their territories, power over immigration, etc. Clearly, First Nations in B.C. and elsewhere in Canada are not going to be satisfied with mere “municipal” powers when that will entail continued expropriation of mineral and biotic wealth from their traditional lands, and the legacy of this expropriation in the form of a degraded environment and degrading poverty. As Sechelt Chief Garry Feschuk said recently, the B.C. treaty-making process, with its offer of municipal status to First Nations in B.C., is “programmed for failure”. (Bell 1997)

Mercer believes that, especially when compared to the experience of indigenous nations in Australia, “the situation in Canada is much more positive for native peoples.” (1993: 316) However, his assertion that mining and forestry industries have “often advocated land rights for Canada’s First Nations” is suspect. (ibid.) A possible blueprint for a Canadian redistribution of powers might be found in Pogge’s “cosmopolitan”

democracy. He states that “the concentration of sovereignty at one level is no longer defensible.” Instead, he argues, there should be a vertical dispersal of sovereign levels, but a dispersal where “People should be politically at home in all of them, without converging on any of them as the lodestar of their political identity.” (Pogge 1992: 58)

This latter point may be a trifle idealistic, and may in fact be anathema to Fourth World nations trying to reconstruct their identities; the lodestar of indigenous national identity is a potent healing icon. Yet the Fourth World will need to guard against the narrow, racist kind of nationalism that has characterized Eurocentric politics for several hundred years. The key is location: a nationalist territoriality that includes everyone in a bioregion, regardless of their racial background, a revitalized territoriality re-establishing local control over ecosystems and the wealth they harbour, in short, a bioregional approach, may well paint the path to ecological sustainability and multi-national harmony within the context of a more mature, exemplar Canadian supra-national entity.

4. Plot 2: Radical Ecology's Critique of Industria

A lot of people that live in cities have a lot of that guilt and they tend to want to apologize for the fact that they exist and do it through making people that live in rural settings do what they want them to. [laughter] (Inf. B3)

Sometimes it's a quest for people. Other times it's guilt. Guilt for that, you know years of exploitation and genocide... It's industrial culture that is the problem. (Inf. E2)

The View from the Vorderland

In past and contemporary academic writing in geography, few have taken an "outsider's view" of Industria. The view from the vorderland may be absent because it has been the traditional role of geographers to act as scouts for Industria, surveying and mapping regions as yet "unconquered". (Brealy 1995; Livingstone 1992; Blaut 1993) Jackson and Jacobs (1996) call this "geography's disciplinary complicity in the imperial project." (p. 1) This historical complicity may also account for the unease many geographers feel in the face of radical ecology: when Edward Abbey counselled environmentalists to "always pull up survey stakes", he was cutting to the heart of

geography. (Abbey 1993) In a sense, to radical ecologists, geographers are the enemy: by mapping the Earth, geographers enable its penetration, domination, and domestication by Industria. This calling to task is threatening to the geographic discipline, but need not be so. Since the expansionist activities of Industria have begun to have the effect of undermining the human project (i.e. survival), then it falls to geographers to chart a new path based on new geographical and geo-political imaginings, to lay the foundations for a "Gaian" geography which uses the Earth, rather than historical European culture as its primary frame of reference. An engagement with ecological philosophy (environmental ethics) and the activist groups that have arisen from it makes an ideal starting point in such a project.

As outlined in Chapter one, deforestation, climate change, ozone depletion, and the loss of biodiversity are but a few of the interrelated ecological problems which collectively constitute an "environmental crisis", one which may threaten all major mammal species on Earth, including humans, with extinction. It is in response to this crisis that a large number of "environmental" or "ecological" non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have sprung up in Industria. While these groups share a concern for the well-being of the global ecosystem, they vary quite widely in how they frame the problem, and in what solutions they propose. This Chapter will set out a typology of NGOs, differentiating between "radical" and "reform" environmentalism, concluding that FAN is a "radical" ecology group. It will then address some of the debates in ethical

philosophy underlying this division. Finally, it will attempt a Gaian diagnosis of the Industrian pathology.

The Radical Ecologist - Reform Environmentalist Spectrum

...you know you talked about “radical” environmentalists - “radical” is a strange term for me, I think that you know the “radical” things that are happening are the levels of deforestation - that we’ve lost half of B.C.’s forests in the last 50 years. Whereas in the thousands of years people were living here and existing sustainably with all the other plants and animals that are in the forest. You know, the tactics that are used by the corporations to divide the community, the threats that have gone out to area businesses about the repercussions they would face and boycotts if ...they allowed FAN to patronize them. to me, those things are radical. Reality is radical, I think that engaging in non-violent civil disobedience doesn’t really even seem radical in response to what’s going on. (Inf. E4)

I personally believe that it takes a variety of tactics to make any campaign work... FAN falls sort of mid-way between WWF type things and Earth First! type things. (Inf. E1)

The informant E4 is understandably concerned that calling FAN “radical” will have the effect of further marginalizing the group. To her, protecting the integrity of the biosphere is an inherently conservative activity. But “radical” is used in this study to mean “desire for rapid and major changes in the status quo”, and should not be taken in any perjorative sense. Radical ecologists call for a paradigm shift, a fundamental reconfiguring of Industria and its relations with the non-human world. (Zimmerman 1994) Branches of the radical ecology movement - deep ecology, shallow ecology, and ecofeminism - have divergent analyses of the problems facing Gaia and the best course of

action in finding solutions, yet they do share a criticism of modernity and its "reform environmentalist" apologists.

Zimmerman's excellent survey of the Industrian environmental movement shows that reform environmentalism is characterized by anthropocentrism: the advocacy of the most efficient use of natural resources for human ends. Reform environmentalists are promodernist, believing that Industria needs to be fine-tuned rather than replaced (or destroyed). (ibid.) Reformers are content to work within the legal systems of Industria, and typically use lobbying and public education as means to effect change. They have faith in the rule of law, and do not engage in civil disobedience or other illegal means of protest. Furthermore, reform ENGOs often accept corporate donations and government funding, which radicals claim blunts their critique of Industria:

I'm not discrediting the Sierra Club or the WWF [World Wildlife Fund], but there are conflicts that arise when you are funded by certain individuals that are somehow directly or indirectly related with people you are trying to fight against... Those corporate -- those groups have a lot of money. And where they get it is, well there is a possibility that they do get it from people who are involved with groups that they are trying to fight against. (Inf. E7)

What is interesting in this narrative is the near-use of the adjective "corporate" to describe the Sierra Club and WWF. There is a suspicion among radical ecologists that "mainstream" or reform groups have tacitly accepted a corporate agenda. The gulf separating groups like the Sierra Club and FAN is seen as unbridgeable, and even

mutually damaging, although there is a tacit admission that even reform groups have a rôle to play:

We don't necessarily work with the Sierra Club... We're at opposite ends of the spectrum... But, I mean they have their own style of doing things. They tend to work on the lobbying level down in Victoria. ...[W]e'd both have to come down to our lowest common denominators to actually, to get anywhere and agree on anything.(Inf. E6)

For reform environmentalists, pollution and waste are the problem, and Industrian states need to clean up their acts, goals best achieved through lobbying, gentle political pressure, and legislation. For radical ecologists, the problem is Industria itself:

"The destruction of the global industrial juggernaut would result in the return of naturally functioning, self-regulating ecosystems - and that is the only worthwhile goal for any environmental movement..."(Est 1994)

One of the earliest, and certainly the most notorious example of radical ecology is the Earth First! movement with its green fist logo and obligatory exclamation point. Earth First! was founded in 1980 by a handful of "disgruntled conservationists" from a variety of mainstream U.S. environmental groups including the Wilderness Society, Friends of the Earth, and the Sierra Club. (Foreman 1991: 21) They saw the compromises made by these groups as cowardly, and from the perspective of the Earth, ill affordable:

When I was a young boy in the Sierra Club,
 I prayed to the Freds and the Good Lord above.
 I asked them for wilderness and some old growth trees.
 I quoted the facts and I always said "Please".
 But after a few years it dawned upon me,
 when they built them damn roads and they cut all them trees.
 that I was a fool, too blind to see.
 Now I'm a tree spiker: have pity on me...
 - Darryl Cherney from "The Ballad of the Tree Spiker."

Earth First! quickly distinguished itself from the mainstream reform environmental movements by: i) arguing that the needs of non-humans for habitat take precedence over the demands of Industrian workers and consumers, and ii) advocating the sabotage of the machinery used to destroy wilderness. Earth First! can be best understood as a discursive force in civil society. Founders Foreman, Howie Wolke, Susan Morgan, Bart Koehler and Ron Kezar sat around a campfire in 1980 and set out the reasons for environmental radicalism. In short, they saw the need to include a non-compromising, purist pro-wilderness voice in the spectrum of environmental debate. This, they thought, would balance the anti-environmental extremists at the other end of the spectrum and "keep the established groups honest". (Foreman 1991:18) This is reminiscent of a comment made by one radical ecologist interviewed for this study:

Because FAN was willing to be a part of the Canadian Rainforest Network in the preliminary discussions, we actually got the whole network to adopt a policy of no more roads entering into ancient forests. Which, for something like the Sierra Club, that's a big move for them. They've never gone that far over before. It's quite a radical thing for them to do. ...[M]aybe if we weren't here, the Sierra Club would be viewed as radical. They're being a lot more mainstream [than us] because of their demands and their tactics. Our presence in the valley alone can help them. I'm not sure if they know or appreciate that... (Inf. E6)

Despite similar objectives, FAN has stopped short of Earth First!-style sabotage, preferring to use non-violent civil disobedience and other Gandhian tactics.

There is no sabotage going on, there is no tree-spiking going on or anything like that. What is going on is direct action and a lot of media work. The people who are working with FAN aren't willing to go out and sabotage, but they do want to actually do something physical and show the world how much they are willing to risk to save this area. When you do a tree sit there is the potential that you are going to fall and die. So that sort of underlines and puts a little exclamation point beside the banner... People are actually risking their lives in the trees, and living uncomfortably for however long in the trees, to reinforce the fact that it is an important issue... I think its a really important tactic because sitting and writing letters and lobbying and things like that you do have profound effects on changing things but they won't stop bulldozers. You can't stop a bulldozer with a piece of paper. (Inf. E1)

This refusal to engage in sabotage helps FAN to distance itself from Earth First!'s growing reputation as a preserve of white male machismo (for a philosophical critique that levels these charges even at philosophers associated with deep ecology. see Salleh 1993). Recent acknowledgements by radical ecologists that environmental destruction is frequently rooted in economic disparity, as well as of the connections between the rape of the Earth and the exploitation of women are hallmarks of the maturation of the movement.

The debate over how best (or whether) to establish an environmental ethic has been dominated by attacks on radical ecology, especially deep ecology, as being fundamentally misanthropic, androcentric, or at least misguided. (see Grey 1993; Lewis 1992; Salleh 1993) One of the critiques that has garnered the greatest attention is Martin

Lewis' (1992) Green Delusions. Lewis proclaims that radical ecology poses a "profound ideological threat to the environment", because its very radicalism will alienate people in the mainstream from the environmental cause. (Lewis 1992) For Lewis, the (reform) environmental cause is a part of the project of modernity:

For him, the major aspects of the modern project are not in "crisis". He also rejects "subversive postmodernisms" which "deflect" the modern project "wildly" in "radical directions" [quotes taken from Lewis (1992) p. 161]. (Rogers 1994: 150)

However, Lewis has been roundly criticized for setting up a straw-man argument which unfairly caricatured Earth First! and other radical ecology groups. (see Maniates 1994: McCarthy 1993; Rogers 1994; Urquhart 1994) Although described by Zimmerman (1994: 33) as a "friendly critic", Lewis' argument is technophilic, an admitted polemic which is about as welcome by radical ecologists as is "friendly fire" by soldiers in a combat situation.

Contrary to Lewis' claims, rather than naïvely rejecting technology out of hand, radical ecologists see technology at its present scale and in its current character dehumanising - and so do many others (see Ellul 1964; Buchanan 1979; Mander 1989; Leiss 1990; and others). As far as "technological advance" itself is concerned, ecologists do understand that a canoe or solar panel can be beneficial technologies. Perhaps Lewis has missed the central point of the radical approach - that large areas of the earth need to be declared off-limits to destructive industrial technologies, while in other areas "eco-friendly" technologies should be encouraged. Finally, there exist many powerful

arguments that the capitalist market system is inescapably destructive and wasteful. (see Johnston 1989 for an overview). However, as noted above, it is not capitalism alone, but industrialism in general that radical ecologists single out as the culprit in environmental degradation. Lewis is clearly very afraid of radical ecology, which he repeatedly describes as a “threat”. He condemns radical ecologists’ “scapegoat-seeking mentality” (ibid., 41), as if no person or structure bears any responsibility for the destruction of the biosphere. He also seems to overlook the fact that Earth First! and other radical groups were created in the context of a broad spectrum of political discourse, and to at least some degree were intended to “pull the movement to the centre” from its current position on the side of industrial domination of nature, and make mainstream groups appear more reasonable, rather than to seize power (Foreman 1991). As one informant involved with fish, wildlife and conservation issues said:

I really enjoy having FAN here because it warrants me a lot of credibility. I go to meetings... [people] tend to go, “Woah, this guy is a whole lot more moderate, let’s talk to him, you know. What has he got to say?” [laughter] (Inf. B3)

Lewis’ proposed alternative, “Promethean environmentalism” would “decouple” humanity from nature, with future populations living in an isolated world powered by nanotechnology. Perhaps Lewis has missed the irony that this approach is very similar to the “Big Wilderness” arguments of Earth First!. Remarkably, he claims that his work is not one of technological optimism, though his proposed decoupling is contingent on technological advances such as nanotechnology which seem very far from reach.

“Planetary Oncology”: Industria as Cancer

A number of radical ecology theorists have claimed that Industria is analogous to a cancer afflicting Gaia. (e.g. Watson 1993; Bookchin in Cutter 1994; Lovelock in Sachs 1993; Foreman 1993; Manes 1990) Frank Forencich coined the term “planetary oncology” in an attempt to account for the activities of Industrian states vis-à-vis the planet as a whole (Forencich 1993). Industria is the recent spawn of sedentary agricultural civilization, which began only 12 000 years ago. For 1.5 million years prior to that, all human cultures could be described as “Hunter-Gatherer”, a nomadic form of social organization. (Brody 1988: 37) Not coincidentally, the first appearance of agricultural civilization and static settlement patterns in the Middle East marked the beginning of deforestation, pollution of land, air and water, and large-scale anthropogenic extinctions in the “Old World”.

The subsequent spread of civilization around the planet during the imperial era appears to have mimicked in many ways the progress of cancer through a complex organism such as a human. Consider the powerful resemblance of colonialism to metastasis: “Metastasis: the transference of...a disease, etc., from one part or organ to another.” (Oxford English Dictionary 1989: 680) In the case of cancer, a small piece of the tumour breaks off (c.f. Columbus), and is carried on corporeal waterways (circulatory systems) to uninfected parts of the body. There the metastasizing cancerous cells lodge.

frequently triggering the development of additional tumours. The metaphor is especially vivid in context of James Lovelock's "Gaia Hypothesis", which posits that the Earth is a living organism, and each species akin to its organs. (Lovelock 1988) Compare the pathology of a cancer tumour, wherein cells enjoy unlimited reproduction, consume excessive amounts of nutrients, and produce toxic by-products, destroying surrounding tissue, with the "success" of Industrian civilization.³⁵ The metaphor of disease also plays an important rhetorical rôle of justification for act(ivist)s devoted to defeating Industria rather than reforming it: "Different metaphors imply different ways of dealing with things: one does not arrive at a negotiated settlement with cancer... Cancer has to be eliminated, cut out." (Fairclough 1989: 120)

The Ethics of Ecology, or the Ecology of Ethics

"I feel that this arrogant anthropocentrism of modern man, who is convinced he can know everything and bring everything under his control, is somewhere in the background of this present crisis." (Vaclav Havel quoted in Elshtain 1992: 151)

I really identify with the biocentric philosophies. I know a lot of biocentrics who are really anti-humanist, and I am not anti-humanist. I revere all life. Whether it be human or animal or plant or microbe. I personally believe that the best we can do is to live with as little damage as possible and to try and make things better. If you are walking through an intact old-growth ecosystem you can't make it any better. So the best you can do is to walk as lightly as possible. (Inf. E1)

³⁵ The word "success" must be qualified by time-frame. Cancer tumours can be understood as enormously successful - until they have killed their host.

Radical ecologists tend to take a biocentric moral outlook. Biocentrism posits that the centre of value lies outside humanity, that all living things and indeed entire "biotic communities" have an inherent worth independent of human needs. (Devall 1993) These philosophical roots lie with Aldo Leopold and Arne Naess. Leopold was an early twentieth century U.S. naturalist, forester, and professor of game management. His "Land Ethic", states among other things that "A thing is right when it tends to preserve the integrity, stability, and beauty of the biotic community. It is wrong when it tends otherwise." (Aldo Leopold, Sand County Almanac, quoted in Manes 1990: 24) The Land Ethic is also inherently geographic, adding as it necessarily does a spatial aspect to value. The metaphysical side of the Land Ethic was developed more thoroughly by Arne Naess. Professor Emeritus of the Department of Philosophy at the University of Oslo. Naess' proposed "deep ecology" urges humans to embark on inner journeys of self-realization culminating in an identification of Self with the natural world. (Grey 1993)

The results of such an inquiry can be profound. Many radical ecologists see their attempts to protect wilderness as acts of self-defence. John Seed, founder of the Australian Rain Forest Information Centre, said that sitting on a logging road blockade in 1979: "I suddenly realized that I was engaged in an act of self-defence. As that part of the rain forest most recently evolved into higher consciousness, I was under attack by those logging machines." (Seed 1990: pers. comm.) Edward Abbey, author of The Monkey

Wrench Gang (the novel said to have inspired Earth First!'s tactics) echoes this sentiment in the forward to Ecodefense :

If a stranger batters your door down with an ax, threatens your family and yourself with deadly weapons, and proceeds to loot your home of whatever he wants, he is committing what is universally recognized - by law and morality - as a crime. In such a situation the householder has both a right and an obligation to defend himself [sic], his family, and his property by whatever means are necessary... Self-defense against attack is one of the basic laws not only of human society but of life itself... The American wilderness, what little remains, is undergoing exactly such an assault. (Abbey 1985)

That environmental defence can be "self" defence is because the fundamental tenet of a biocentric land ethic is that the human being is part of a larger whole - the global biotic community or "Gaia", or that inversely, the human Self is larger than the individual and includes the biotic community. "Little Tree" is the nom de guerre of an activist who took part in successful actions against logging near the Albion River, California, in 1992. She sat on a tree platform frustrating the attempts of loggers to remove her. In her words, "...the Earth [is] a living being, just like you and I are living beings. What's happening now is sacrilege." (quoted in Kuipers 1993)

...from an ecological point of view, the realization of the planetary good is not merely the sum of all the particular good attained by all beings. For the biosphere is a whole of which these beings are parts, and a community of which they are members. The common planetary good can therefore be conceptualized only in a non-reductionist, holistic manner. (Clark 1990: 9: emphasis in the original)

Note the parallels between this holistic approach and the sentiments of the Brazil-based National Rubber Tappers' Council as expressed in the Forest People's Manifesto (FPM). In contrast with predominant modes of social identification along cultural, ethnic, or economic lines, the FPM demands that rubber tappers and native peoples be identified as "inhabitants of the Amazon Forest", in other words, parts of the greater biotic community. (Hecht and Cockburn 1989: 261)

Expanding the concept of human to include the biotic community accommodates the criticisms of Grey (1993) and Jacob (1994) who suggest that a truly non-anthropocentric ethic is impossible³⁶. If "anthropo-" is taken to include the entire biotic community, then biocentrism is simultaneously anthropocentric. Grey argues that a consistent non-anthropocentrism would be unable to distinguish between the biotic community as it existed three billion years ago (where all life was uni-cellular) and today (the Age of Mammals), but it can be assumed from the steps taken by radical ecologists to protect forest ecosystems that it is the present biotic community that the movement values, that community of which humans are a part. Biocentrism remains problematic, as more than twenty years of debate has failed to produce a general agreement even on the full range of positions which it could encompass (to follow the ongoing discussion see the journal Environmental Ethics).

³⁶ Their arguments are complex, but cogent, predicated on the somewhat trite observation that any human viewpoint is by definition "anthropo-" or "human-" centred. The reader is referred to their original arguments, as a synopsis would not do them justice.

In terms of practical adequacy, the central difficulty with the biocentric position is the logical extreme of its value system. Biocentrists, by placing the needs of the larger biotic community ahead of parochial human concerns could be faced at some point with an unpalatable decision. An example employed rhetorically by Paul Watson, founder of Greenpeace and the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society is this: if a biocentrist had to choose between saving a human baby or an entire vertebrate species, she would have to choose the vertebrate species. (Watson 1993) For biocentrists, a mother Grizzly and her cub have as much right to exist as any human, and this right derives from their inherent value. The importance of non-humans, particularly “dangerous” animals like the Grizzly, was expressed by Earth First! activist Doug Peacock: “If there isn’t something big enough and mean enough out there to eat you, then it’s not really big wilderness.” (quoted in Kuipers 1993:171) The romanticism of this latter position, while probably good political capital in the cities of Industria, does not appear likely to win many sympathizers in remote areas where Grizzly attacks on humans are, if not common, at least a real danger. A possible radical response would be to point out that Grizzlies now number only in the thousands, while the human population is on its way to breaking the six billion mark.

Such positions have led to charges of misanthropy, yet the alternative to biocentrism seems equally horrifying. If human welfare were consistently set ahead of the overall health of ecosystems (as, arguably, it has been since the dawn of the modern age), Industria could conceivably eliminate virtually all complex non-human life-forms.

provided that human needs could be satisfied by technological means. The logical extreme of this scenario culminates in human beings living (with selected non-human companions) in a post-ozone-layer world of domed cities and synthesized food.³⁷ In such a future, there would be no such thing as wilderness. Such a vision is not, from a radical ecologist perspective, acceptable, but nor is it as extreme as it may appear. The spectre of an Earth completely subdued by human technology hardens the stance of some radical ecologists. The compromises sought by the reform environmental movement are seen as unacceptable because they will result in further losses to the Earth. (Foreman 1991: 1985)

This uncompromising position has very much to do with the fifth tenet of deep ecology, which states that human interference in the non-human world is already excessive. (Naess and Sessions 1993) As one commentator put it:

Every one seems desperate for a compromise, but only a handful of people have the gall to point out that any further compromise means that grizzlies and Florida Panthers and a raft of other critters will simply be dead, if they haven't been killed off already. And so we decide like cowards: by default. (Kuipers 1993: 76)

Michael Soulé in his introductory essay for the Wildlands Project takes the "reality" of wilderness to a spiritual level:

"To whom do we go for this wisdom on how to draw the detailed maps and how to establish priorities and co-ordinate tactics? Who knows what is precious and how much time is left? The oracles are the fishes of the

³⁷ Such a scenario was doubtless at the back of the mind of the engineer who first proposed the Biosphere and Biosphere II projects.

river, the fishers of the forest, and the articulate toads. Our naturalists and conservation biologists can help translate their utterances. Our spokespersons, fund-raisers, and grass-roots organizers will show us how to implement their sage advice.” (Soulé 1992: 8)

Clearly there is a message here for geographers sympathetic to the radical ecologist ideal: a true sense of time and space will recognize human connections, both physical and metaphysical, to the non-human world.

Gaian Psychology: Apollo and Dionysus

Much has been said in ecologist circles about harmony or the lack thereof in Industria’s relations with the non-human world. Christopher Manes sees the discord as having its roots in the “civilized” worldview:

The separation between the natural and cultural worlds, which civilization brought about, created two moral realms: one chaotic, anarchistic, and dangerous; the other ordered, regulated, human. Thus even in as ancient a work as the Sumerian epic Gilgamesh, the walled city is represented as the bastion of human value while the forest is a place of monsters to be conquered and destroyed (Manes 1990: 231).

The separation of human culture and nature has been identified as a hallmark of colonial epistemologies which have been unwittingly reproduced by environmental activists in places such as Clayoquot Sound. (Willems-Braun 1997) The point being made is that this division is without ontological basis, but is rather an artificial construction. This problem of colonial reproductions has been recognized by the Forest Action Network:

The problem with terms such as “biocentric” or “wilderness” is that they imply a lack of people. ...[W]e do feel that somewhere there is room for

people to live in harmony with their surroundings. This is why we promote alternatives such as ecoforestry and value-added manufacturing. (Forest Action Network 1997: pers. comm.)

The problem of a constructed separation of humanity and nature is hardly a new discovery. Nietzsche, in his early work The Birth of Tragedy, saw this construction as stemming from a deeper division in human consciousness. He outlined what he considered the primary duality in modern humanity: the oppositional forces of Apollo and Dionysus characterised by ancient Greek art. Apollonian qualities are sober, restrained, orderly, and rational, exemplified in the best of Greek sculpture. Dionysian qualities are intoxicated, wild, chaotic, and impulsive/intuitive, the spirit of the Bacchic choruses. Apollo represents “measured restraint, that freedom from the wilder emotions, that calm of the sculptor god” which renders the everyday world intelligible. (Nietzsche 1967: 35). However, too much attention to Apollo can lead to disenchantment and the alienation of nature. The solution is the re-integration of Dionysus into human psycho-spirituality:

Under the charm of the Dionysian not only is the union between man and man [sic] reaffirmed, but nature which has become alienated, hostile, or subjugated, celebrates once more her reconciliation with her lost son, man. [sic] (Nietzsche 1967: 37)

Devall (1988) elaborates on this theme by articulating the estrangement of humanity and nature as having its roots in a false dichotomy between sexuality and spirit. He believes it helps to account for the structural disempowerment of women in Industria:

Instead of passionate communion with wild nature, many people are content to remain in their apartments or in the yards of their suburban houses. Instead of extended sexuality, many are content with passionless relationships... In the history of western civilization, when sexuality and spiritual development were separated, especially in the Judeo-Christian tradition under the influence of gnosticism, a duality of spirit versus matter was incorporated into church teachings. Spirituality was exalted while sexual feelings were relegated to the night as dark, diabolical, evil, animal. Women's sexuality was especially feared. Spirit was associated with the divine, the good, the male. Nature was associated with the sexual, and especially with female sexuality. (Devall 1988: 53)

Thus Dionysus is also Eros, alive in indigenous cultures, whereas Apollo is evidently another face of Yahweh, the god of Judeo-Christianity and (implicitly) of Industrial technocracy. Rogers (1994) uses the terms "seduction" and "logic" to refer to the same polarity.

One informant, a Mohawk nationalist, adopted a similar perspective on the psycho-spiritual roots of the environmental crisis to that of Devall and extended the explanation to include the roots of military oppression of indigenous peoples:

"If you manipulate and suppress psycho-sexual energy you suppress emotional energies - this energy is then used by industrial society for production, but in the individual it creates rigidity and frustration. In the male conscious this impeded flow leads to psychological impotence. This loss is then manipulated by the armed forces - the gun becomes a phallus, the death of the victim the orgasm. Sexual frustration is used to colonize, rape, and plunder." (Inf. 117)

This psycho-spiritual imbalance, this excess of the Apollonian in modern culture, may be what Denis Cosgrove is getting at when he warns that the alternative to "articulating the animus of the world" is an anaemic, fractious geographic discipline. (1992: 279) The

world's animus, and its animals, seem to have faded from geographic view. (Wolch and Emel 1995) Radical ecologists challenge this invisibility of the Dionysian qualities of life, including the world of nonhumans.

A recent Calvin and Hobbes cartoon may illustrate the impact of radical ecology on Industrian culture. A balding white business man gets up from his desk, asking co-workers if they would like coffee. Moments later he is shot to death. His co-workers scream "They got Frank!". The next frame shows four deer, armed with rifles, emerging from an elevator, congratulating one of their number ("Bamb") on his marksmanship. Calvin then explains:

Needless to say, Frank's family was upset when he didn't come home that night, but everybody understood that the human population had doubled in just two generations to almost six billion, so some thinning of the herds was necessary to prevent starvation. (Watterson 1995)

Whether such a perspective is misanthropic or merely pragmatic, it does encourage a different way of looking at the nonhuman world. Radical ecologists, by taking a strong, uncompromising stance, have helped teach urban Industrians that when seen from the vorderland, the world looks very different. In human councils, radical ecologists will not forget to ask: "Who speaks for the Earth?"

**5. The Plots Thicken: The Fourth World - Radical Ecologist
“Alliance”**

The Oglala Sioux lost the war to save the buffalo. They thereby lost the war to save their environment. As a result, their world was shattered both physically and socially.

We believe that environmentalists today -- that all of us -- are in the same position as the Oglala Sioux 120 years ago. We are fighting what may be a losing war to save our own environment from utter devastation...So, as environmentalists, we must accept the struggle of the Oglala Sioux people to regain their lost world as being identical in spirit to our own struggle (Manning 1973).

The activists are showing a great deal of respect for our sovereignty. There is a point in time where we have to buckle down and meet the situation head on. It's not just an environmental struggle, it's a First Nations struggle as well. But the two are connected. We depend on this forest for medicinal plants, for meat, for food, for clean air and water. (Inf. I16)

...we've aligned ourselves with these people because in our experience all over the world traditionalist people are good stewards of land (Inf. E6)

In Chapter three a look was taken at the world from the perspective of indigenous peoples, and the epistemological and ontological basis for an indigenous land ethic was sketched out. In addition, it was shown that Fourth World theory constitutes an explicit challenge to modernist geopolitics, and may contain territorial conceptions compatible with a reconfiguring of geopolitics along eco-geographical lines. Chapter four examined the "ecologist" phenomenon within Industria, comparing and contrasting "radical ecology", and "reform environmentalism". Radical ecology, like Fourth World theory, contains explicit challenges to modernity. This is one of the most important commonalities between the radical ecology and Fourth World nationalist positions. The question arises of whether such commonalities could serve as a basis for co-operation, and whether such co-operation, if possible, can improve global environmental security. To begin with, it is necessary to engage some of the debates in the environmental security literature.

A flurry of research since the 1980s has sought to address the issues of global environmental degradation and its potential impacts on human security. In this fertile literature, there has been a great deal written on why environmental degradation should (Mische 1992; PRIO/UNEP 1989) or should not (Brock 1992; Levy 1995a) be considered a security threat; what 'environmental security' can be said to mean (Dalby 1992; Smil 1994); whom environmental degradation and various policy responses affect (Dalby 1997) and who should be the principal actors engaged in ensuring environmental security.

(Deudney 1991) Yet there has been a remarkable paucity of work addressing the more critical issue of how we can secure the planet from what has the potential to be an anthropogenic global ecocide. Not coincidentally, the existence of Fourth World nations has also been almost completely overlooked. This silencing of the planet's longest surviving cultures is a principal explanation for the lack of practical arguments for achieving global environmental security. Traditional eco-geographical territories of indigenous peoples, in particular the intact forest ecosystems of which indigenous cultures are an integral part, form the "ecological backbone" of the biosphere and thus represent the most crucial area for study and action toward securing the integrity of the biosphere. For the same reasons, Fourth World nations are the most immediate victims of environmental degradation.

A variety of social organizations can have an impact on environmental security. At the sub-state level one finds ENGOs (the Forest Action Network, the Western Canada Wilderness Committee, etc.), local committees (for example the Bella Coola LRUP committee), and indigenous national governments (the Nuxalk Nation, the Grand Council of the Cree, etc.).³⁸ At the supra-state level are international ecologist and humanitarian NGOs (the World Wildlife Fund, Cultural Survival, the Rain Forest Action Network, etc.), and international coalitions of Fourth World peoples (the International Indian Treaty Council, the World Council of Indigenous Peoples etc.) At this point no supra-state

³⁸ No hierarchy is implied here, merely a recognition that most Fourth World nations are geographically smaller than states.

coalitions of local phenomena such as the LRUP committee exist.

[The presence of] these organizations... is a sign of politics uncontained by the enclosures of the state and neglected by state-centric political theory. In movements and organizations such as these we can locate popular politics in its global dimension (Magnusson 1990: 56)

The importance of these movements and organizations is their ability to affect policy decisions, and that they have the most powerful impact when working in co-operation with one another.

At a minimum, indigenous nations can be said to have some common traditional ethical stances toward the land and non-human animals. In a contemporary context, the re-construction of identity in which many indigenous nations are presently engaged has explicitly normative facets which espouse respect for and connection to the living Earth. It is in part this contemporary self-construction of indigenous ecological identity which has enabled the growing global phenomenon of co-operation between ecological activists and indigenous nations. (Ariss 1988; Conklin and Graham 1995; Earth First! Journal 1995; Fisher 1994; Manning 1973)

However, successful, co-operative relationships are by no means the rule. In fact, as the now paradigmatic example of the destruction of northern trapping economies by a Greenpeace-inspired European boycott of Canadian furs clearly shows, indigenous peoples and ecological activists can have strongly conflicting interests. It is no small irony that ENGOs, "by adopting animal rights positions and endeavouring to bring indigenous trappers off their hunting territories have thus taken the most crucial step

toward clearing the land for pipelines, dams, mining and other industrial projects.” (Ris 1989: 156) On Turtle Island, some of the most ecologically damaging industrial projects are those undertaken by (de)forestry corporations. One is forced to wonder, in light of Patrick Moore’s recent defection from his position as President of Greenpeace to become chief spokesperson for the B.C. logging industry, whether the “clearing of the land” caused by the Greenpeace fur boycott was merely an unfortunate and unanticipated side effect, or perhaps something more deliberate. Chapeskie (1991) writes of damage done to Ojibwa wildlife harvesters by southern Ontario-based Environment Probe (a “reformist” ENGO), as well as attempts by the Nova Scotia Wildlife Federation to outlaw customary deer harvesting by Mi’qmac communities. In both of these cases, the ENGOs had failed to undertake adequate research into indigenous harvesting methods and systems of land tenure before launching political (discursive) battles with provincial governments and the First Nations in question. This kind of problem is not isolated:

“The industrialized nations, including their environmental organizations, seem locked in a debate on forest and wildlands management which recognizes just two main alternatives: The creation of wilderness reserves which exclude all human activity but recreation, or industrial management for resource exploitation. The so-called new forestry thinking offers many sub-plots to the industrial theme, some more environmentally credible than others, but none of the alternatives posed within this duality of preserve vs. clearcut see human beings as holding valid membership within the interspecies forest community. (Arctic to Amazonia Alliance 1994)

The lesson here is that a preservationist stance by ENGOs is likely to alienate, if not harm, nations of the Fourth World.

While acknowledging the existence of disagreements over issues such as trapping (Beinhart 1995), a number of scholars have called attention to the growing phenomenon of indigenous-ecologist co-operation.

In recent years and throughout the world, environmental movements and indigenous movements have been developing a kind of conceptual symbiosis (Hornborg 1994: 246).

...an environmental challenge of global proportions seems to have given rise to a global response led by an "alliance" between First World non-governmental organizations and...indigenous nations (Fisher 1994: 221).

This alliance stems from three principal factors: geography, cosmology, and ideology. The geographical factor is that most surviving Fourth World nations exist in what have been termed "resource hinterlands of industrialized...states" (Dalby and Mackenzie 1997: 7), areas which have been least penetrated by industrial civilization and as such are where most undisturbed wilderness areas lie. Moreover, most immediate impacts of environmental degradation are felt at the local level. Indigenous nations, who are more directly culturally, economically, and spiritually connected to their local ecosystem than are Industrials, therefore experience the negative impacts of environmental change the most profoundly. It has been known for decades that Industrial resource extraction which damages wilderness almost invariably has negative impacts on local indigenous nations (Foster 1962; Salisbury *et. al.* 1972; Wagamese 1990) These impacts can be economic as well as cultural: physical changes to the ecosystem often threaten the basis of indigenous economies, for example the loss of

fisheries and traplines due to dam construction or deforestation. Bocking has argued in his discussion of the Peace-Athabaska diversions that "as in most water development, it was the native peoples who were most seriously affected" (Bocking 1973: 56). For many Fourth World nations, as well as for radical ecologists, state institutions have interests which conflict with the goal of halting environmental degradation - especially those interests which inspire the term "corporatist state". (Manes 1990: 85; M'Gonigle 1988: 122; Nietschmann 1994) Industrial expansion facilitates the colonization by states of indigenous territory. As Robert Bourassa boasted of the James Bay project:

...this means that the hydroelectric project, even before electricity is produced, will bring its first benefit: the commercialization of forests and the development of mining resources - indeed the opening of this sprawling territory to the whole population of Québec (Bourassa 1973: 120).

As Bourassa glibly pointed out, dam construction also means increased access to virgin forests by logging companies, increased exploitation of mineral wealth, and accelerated colonization by non-indigenous people. It becomes clear why environmental degradation is viewed as a significant threat to national security by the nations of the Fourth World.³⁹

The second foundation for the alliance between ecologists and the Fourth World is a shared cosmology which posits the centre of spiritual and ethical value in the biosphere

³⁹ A threat to "national security" has been defined as "a situation in which some of the nation's most important values are drastically degraded by external action." (Levy 1995: 40) Levy uses "nation" in this case to mean "state", an unfortunate conflation typical of an academic discourse in which Fourth World nations have been silenced. Nor does there seem to be great reason in limiting threats to "external" ones. With these qualifications, however, the definition is useful.

as a whole. Ecologists respond positively to indigenous expressions of responsibility to the land. As one First Nations informant phrased it:

It is our traditional belief that we have two responsibilities. The first responsibility is to protect the land. The second responsibility is to protect the people. We are very much committed to these issues (Inf. I18)

Radical ecologists believe that an inherent tendency of Fourth World cultures to respect and protect the physical, and especially the biological resources of the land, combined with their direct interaction with and dependency on local environments, makes them ideally suited for sovereign control over the sustainable use of natural resources in their territories. In the words of one radical ecologist informant: “[W]e’ve aligned ourselves with these people because in our experience all over the world traditionalist people are good stewards of land.” (Inf. E6) Comparing common indigenous American beliefs to the Land Ethic of Aldo Leopold, Callicott says:

In characterizing the American Indian attitude toward nature...I have tried to limit the discussion to concepts so fundamental and pervasive as to be capable of generalization. In sum, I have claimed that the traditional American Indian attitude was to regard all parts of the environment as enspirited. These entities possessed a consciousness, reason, and volition no less intense than a human being’s. ... We may therefore say that the Indian’s social circle, his [sic] community, included all the nonhuman entities in his locale... (Callicott 1989: 189)

He goes on to argue that traditional North American indigenous world views lend more to a “co-operative symbiosis” with the ecosystem than those of Industria.

This position is not without its critics. Callicott acknowledges and refutes two principal (and contradictory) arguments that pre-Columbian Native cultures were either a)

just as or more ecologically destructive than those of the Europeans (an argument supported by the post-Pleistocene extinctions of mammoths, etc.), or b) less destructive of the ecosystem due only to technological limitations and low population densities (rather than an intrinsic respect for nature). He refutes these arguments in three ways. First, he allows for the historical evolution of attitudes toward the land: just because early post-Pleistocene indigenous cultures caused extinctions (as did the Romans in Europe - most notably of the European Lion) does not mean that subsequent indigenous cultures did not evolve a respect for the land. A second, and more complex rebuttal of the first charge can be rendered: technologies are constitutive of cultures. If later pre-Columbian indigenous cultures did not have the technological means to cause extinctions, then by definition these cultures were not as ecologically destructive as Europeans. He takes on the second argument by accepting the first charge - that early post-Pleistocene indigenous cultures were able to cause numerous extinctions. Since they were able to cause these extinctions with their inferior technology and smaller populations at that time, then why were they not able to do so millennia later with better technology and larger populations? The answer, of course, is that they chose not to do so because of an evolved respect for the land. (ibid.: 205-6)

Another aspect of the cosmology shared by indigenous peoples and ecologists is the idea of non-human participation in human affairs. In indigenous cultures,

...there is the belief that human beings are thinking, acting and growing individuals with souls or spirits. This belief also applies to animals and plants, which live and grow, and may have influence upon our daily

lives.... This world exists as a balance between natural and supernatural forces. (Fourth World Documentation Project 1979)

This idea has entered ecologist discourse over the last two decades. Paul Watson, a founder of Greenpeace and head of the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society, has related stories, corroborated by numerous others, of being given assistance by Sea Turtles, Orcas, and dream animals. (pers. comm.) Claudia Notzke prefaces her thorough investigation into First Nations and natural resources issues with a commentary on the cover photograph. The picture depicts two Peigan Nation spiritual elders looking up at a golden eagle which had "materialized" in the sky at the conclusion of a prayer offered as part of protests against the Old Man River dam. The appearance was taken as an acknowledgement from the natural world of the protesters' actions. (Notzke 1994: ix) Similarly, Elizabeth May notes the passing overhead of seventy-five great blue herons during a rally against the logging of Haida Gwaii (Queen Charlotte Islands), which artist Robert Bateman proclaimed to be "a sign". (May 1990: 179)

The third commonality between radical ecologists and the Fourth World is ideological. Both movements contain an explicit challenge to modernity. As outlined in the previous two Chapters, both Fourth World theory and radical ecology challenge modernist geopolitical and ethical assumptions. Radical ecologists see the Inside/Outside dichotomy as excluding non-humans from the modernist circle of morality, while Fourth World theorists argue that this exclusion is not limited to non-humans, but extends to indigenous peoples as well. As a result, there is a tendency on the part of radical ecology

groups in Canada to align themselves with traditionalist or Fourth World sovereigntist factions within First Nations.

From what I understood from what's been related to me by the Native people, [a "traditionalist"] would be someone that's separate from the Band Council system. Respects their traditional way of ruling and they pay more attention to the elders than the elected chief system. Natives that respect the Earth, and want to see it replenished. I feel that the traditional ways - hunting and fishing and so on - are not having a huge impact, are not exploiting the resources for gain, for profit. (Inf. E2)

Mainstream groups, on the other hand, which work within the modernist paradigm, tend to work with elected Band Councils. Radical ecologist/sovereigntist alliances are formed even when sovereigntists are a tiny faction in a First Nations community. Speaking of the FAN/Lil'wat relationship, one informant said:

there's only a handful of people that are involved with the sovereigntists. But at the end of the day, we're not trying to align ourselves with the most powerful group. We're trying to align ourselves with individuals who wish to protect the land. (Inf. E6)

Examples of radical ecologist/sovereigntist alliances in North America include Earth First!-FAN/Lil'wat, FAN/Nuxalk, Friends of Clayoquot Sound/Nuu-Chah-Nulth, Friends of the Lubicon/Lubicon, Green Web/Mi'kmaq, and Earthroots/Ma-kominising Anishnabai. Next, the potential power of such alliances will be examined.

Power/Knowledge and the Earth

If one adopts Foucault's conception of the relationship between power and knowledge, it becomes clear that discourse is central to the achievement of global environmental security.

For Foucault, power in the modern age operates distinctively through knowledge in the form of discursive practices. (Dillon 1995: 324)

Environmental geo-politics is about the exercise and distribution of power among humans and non-humans. Central to this exercise and distribution is the manipulation of images, a hallmark of Industria:

The production and manipulation of signs, images, and information are the raw materials of this new "mode of production" as well as the means by which its expansion is achieved. (Ruggie 1993: 146)

Nonetheless, discursive strategies can be used by ecological and Fourth World activists as well to slow or halt the expansion and mitigate the impacts of Industria. As Conklin and Graham point out:

The new politics of the eco-Indian middle ground is primarily a symbolic politics; ideas and images, not common identity or economic interests, mobilize political action...Indians possess..."symbolic capital," and positive ideas about Indians and their relations to nature have become a potent symbolic resource in transnational politics. (Conklin and Graham 1995: 696)

Eco-indigenous activism is a potent political force, changing ecological destruction from something to be ignored into a crucial policy issue. Linked to indigenous symbolic capital, ecologism is transformed from an aesthetic issue to a moral one.

Alf Hornborg describes Mi'kmaq and ecologist resistance to the construction of a rock quarry on Kelly's Mountain in Cape Breton in 1989 as an explicit challenge to modernity (Hornborg 1994: 246).⁴⁰ He focuses on discursive strategies (for example concepts of "the sacred") and points out that the use of the concept "sacredness" in indigenous/ecologist discourse is extremely problematic for the modern states, because sacredness is outside the positivist, rational, analytic discourse used by the Industrian bureaucracy (Hornborg 1994: 250). By standing outside the discourse of modernity, Fourth World and radical ecologist activists occupy a position that is very difficult to assail. The Mi'kmaqs of Cape Breton used the concept of sacredness in statements opposing the mine on Kelly's Mountain:

"The mountain is a living shrine to our people...(it) represents to us the most sacred site in the entire world... (quoted in *ibid.*, 252).

Similarly, the Lonefighters of the Peigan nation in Alberta, in their opposition to the construction of the Oldman River Dam, called the flooding of their territory that the dam would cause "a desecration":

'There used to be scaffolding in the tops of these softwood trees where the old people bury their dead,' North Peigan said. 'That makes this sacred land.' (Wagamese 1990: A5).

The moral force of the indigenous-ecologist alliance is feared by TSCs. The

⁴⁰ However, Hornborg seems uncognizant of Fourth World theory, describing the Mi'kmaq and other nations as "native minorities" (a modernist definition that begs the question of how indigenous nations can be considered ethnic minorities in their own lands).

Earthroots/Ma-Kominising Anishnabai alliance at Owain Lake near Temagami, aimed at preventing the clearcutting of old-growth red and white pine, generated intense international media attention, and prompted a massive (and excessive) response by the (corporatist) Ontario government's Ontario Provincial Police.⁴¹ The FAN/House of Smayusta co-operative effort at King Island likewise attracted the attention of the global media. The access of social movements to the global media is especially troublesome for Industrian states. As Shapiro argues:

...official discourse must now operate within an altered representational economy that it cannot wholly control. It must be a participant in a contentious series of encounters over the interpretation of visual images as well as verbal scenarios. Accordingly, the modern textuality of official discourse... must occur in an environment in which the media moves the public increasingly into a critical juridical space. (1992: 120-21)

Another good example of the power of the indigenous-ecologist alliance is the Friends of the Lubicon, which opposes the clearcutting of unceded Lubicon nation land by the Japanese TSC Daishowa. The group has promoted a boycott which has thus far cost Daishowa \$20 million in lost profits. (Corporate Crime Reporter 1996) While this is admittedly a small fraction of a TSC's annual profits, it was significant enough to cause Daishowa to seek (and win) an injunction aimed at halting the boycott.

⁴¹ The Justice of the Peace presiding over the bail hearing of Earthroots Co-ordinator Lee Ann Mallett in early September 1996 asked the Crown why the O.P.P. was "being used as a private security force" for Goulard Lumber, the corporation doing the clearcutting. (Lee Ann Mallett, pers. comm.) The O.P.P. operation cost the province almost \$85,000 in its first week. (Gombu 1996) When I arrived at the protest camp, a mere 16 protesters were facing more than fifty O.P.P. officers equipped with amphibious vehicles, helicopters, dogs, ATVs, combat fatigues and night vision goggles.

Fisher (1994) has delved into common ground between ecological and indigenous activists in Brazil in his discussion of Kayapo resistance to a World Bank-financed dam in the Amazon. The Kayapo Nation mounted protests in 1988-89, aimed at halting the construction of the World Bank-funded Xingu Dam. The protests involved not only the Kayapo, but also Brazilian and international ENGOs. These protests were accompanied by attacks on construction camps and overt threats: "You build this dam, we will go to war, and you will die." (Kayapo tribesperson, quoted in Manes 1988: 107). In the end, the protests, in which the Kayapo were represented as "guardians of the rainforest", were successful in causing the World Bank to deny the Brazilian power sector loan. Subsequently the Brazilian government called a retreat in its planned dam construction. Fisher concludes that the success of the protests was the result of Kayapo's and ENGOs' use of the image of indigenous peoples as having a special respect for and connection to the land.(Fisher 1994).

However, caution is advisable. Conklin and Graham (1995) rightly point out that for all its potentials, the Fourth World-ecologist alliance is one fraught with danger. In Brazil and elsewhere, the tendency of ecologists to "essentialize" indigenous peoples has at times collided with indigenous goals of self-determination.

"...native Americans and others, face the unending task of resisting attempts...to cut them off from their heritage...[or] to bury them within it as a 'thing of the past'."(Beckett 1988: 212)

It is imperative that ecology groups avoid problematic representations of indigenous

groups:

If [environmentalists] can move beyond the pitfalls of relying on unrealistic assumptions about who Indians are, what Indians want, and what Indians need for political survival, the rainforest's native peoples and their allies may clear the way to find common paths over this shifting middle ground. (Conklin and Graham 1995: 706)

One radical ecologist seemed cognisant of this concern:

I don't think it necessarily has to be them living back on the land again. Like, in longhouses or anything like that for them to be traditionalists. I think its the way they feel towards the Earth. (Inf. E3)

It has been argued that in Canada, First Nations co-operating with ecology groups steadfastly refuse to make self-determination conditional on promises to protect the environment. (M'Gonigle 1988: 119) This is not, however, universally so. According to a FAN activist:

We're not aligned with the House of Smayusta because they're sovereigntists and because they fight for their land back. We're aligned with them because they're guaranteeing that they are the traditional stewards of the land and they will continue to look after the land as it's been done for thousands of years. And because they've got a history of looking after the land. (Inf. E6: emphasis added)

There does appear to be a strong environmental commitment among indigenous activists. (Asanee-watchew-iskwiw 1995; Aubry 1995b; M'Gonigle 1988) Two factors may account for this. The first is pragmatic. Since indigenous nations depend economically and culturally on productive, healthy local ecosystems, to extract resources unsustainably would not be in their best interests. As Haida activist Guujaaw puts it:

“Our access to resources is limited by the law of nature and the ability of the land to produce - and common sense.” (quoted in Shapcott 1989: 65) Unsustainable resource extraction (e.g. deforestation, etc.) is encouraged by centralized, urban, economic decision making. It is relatively easy for the executives and shareholders of urban-based forestry firms to allow the over-harvest of trees on lands distant from their homes, especially in the context of globalized capital flows and the availability of other forests to harvest after one area has been depleted. The experience of logging communities facing lay-offs and mill closures after the take-over of their local mills by multinational firms supports this contention. The logic of global markets, in which North American-based logging companies must compete with companies such as Hyundai, which is cutting vast tracts of Siberian forest with little regard for ecological or social sustainability, promotes such unsustainable forestry practices here. Indigenous nations by contrast live in these forested areas, and therefore have a vested, local interest in sustainable harvesting⁴².

The second factor underlying the indigenous commitment to the environment is sociological. Dalby and Mackenzie (1997) and Hornborg (1994) have raised the possibility that environmental threats contribute to fostering community identity. Since this is a “negative” identity, the damage threatened to the environment becomes the antithesis of community values. Fourth World nations, who feel such threats most profoundly are not surprisingly in the process of actively constituting themselves as

⁴² For a thorough discussion of the potentials of indigenous management of resources, see DeWalt 1994.

cultures in harmony with and respectful of the ecosystem. There are countless examples of Fourth World discourse making such claims. While, as we saw above, the question of the historical accuracy of these claims has itself engendered fierce debate, what is most important is the present construction of identity, especially as Fourth World nations win struggles with state governments for various degrees of territorial sovereignty.

George Erasmus, former Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, provides a definitive example of contemporary indigenous ecological discourse:

In this visionary Canada we would be free to express in our actions our tremendous concern for the environment, to understand our traditional role as protectors of Mother Earth. Once our jurisdiction was recognized we would clear up pollution and prevent further degradation in our territories, and we would establish sustainable economies that would consider the long-term future of our children and grandchildren. (Erasmus 1989: 2)

This discourse has entered the level of international policy. In the United Nations' Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, specific reference is made to indigenous conservation:

Indigenous peoples have the right to the conservation, restoration, and protection of the total environment and the productive capacity of their lands, territories and resources, as well as to assistance for this purpose from States and through international co-operation. (United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations 1995: Article 28)

Similarly, the Organization of American States Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) Draft of the Inter-American Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples states:

1. Indigenous peoples are entitled to a healthy environment, which is an essential condition for the enjoyment of the right to life and well-being.
2. Indigenous peoples are entitled to information on the environment, including information that might ensure their effective participation in actions and policies that might affect their environment.
3. Indigenous peoples shall have the right to conserve, restore and protect their environment, and the productive capacity of their lands, territories and resources.
4. Indigenous peoples shall participate fully in formulating and applying governmental programs of conservation of their lands and resources.
5. Indigenous peoples shall be entitled to assistance from their states for purposes of environmental protection, and may request assistance from international organizations. (IACHR 1995: Sect. 3. Art. XIII)⁴³

If indigenous nations construct themselves as “protectors of nature” then it is reasonable to assume that they will, through the process of self-education and investigation into ecology, become protectors of nature. The revival of Nuxalk traditional forestry practices noted in Chapter two is a case in point. Faith in this proposition is evidenced by ecologist support for Fourth World sovereignty, a growing phenomenon for more than twenty years. In 1973 Paul Watson and David Garrick, two of the founders of Greenpeace, spent time behind the lines at Wounded Knee near the Pine Ridge Reservation, South Dakota during the battle between American Indian Movement (AIM) activists and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). There was suspicion among AIM members that nuclear or toxic wastes were being dumped on Indian treaty lands at Wounded Knee (Matthiessen 1983: 429). Garrick described Leonard Peltier, an AIM

⁴³ It should be noted here, however, that the International Indian Treaty Council has raised questions regarding the lack of indigenous NGO input into the IACHR draft.

member who fled to Canada after the FBI overran the positions, as "a uranium refugee" (quoted in Weyler 1992: 165).

The support of ENGOs is increasingly welcomed by Fourth World nations, who understand that the participation of non-indigenous ecologists is critical to generating popular support within Industria for indigenous sovereignty. One Hereditary Chief and HoS supporter said of the involvement of environmentalists:

The activists are showing a great deal of respect for our sovereignty. There is a point in time where we have to buckle down and meet the situation head on... In our prophecies it is said that one day we will all speak one language - the language of Mother Earth who provides the food, clean air and fresh water. With the environmentalists here it gives good publicity that we are not alone, that other people speak the language of Mother Earth, that other people support our struggle (Inf. I16).

Eventually, the seeds of co-operation and communication planted by this alliance could sprout into a broader understanding between indigenous peoples and Industrian society at large, raising

...the prospect of a new partnership between aboriginal and non-aboriginal people, this time not a partnership based on resource exploitation, but rather a partnership for resource management and conservation. (Notzke 1994: 1)

The alternative is increasing violent conflict, and the possible collapse of the planetary life-support system.

The issue of access to resources by non-indigenous people in the event of indigenous sovereign control also needs to be addressed. While the answer will differ in different contexts (including the historical context of the treatment of indigenous people

by non-indigenous local residents). in the cases of the Haida (Shapcott 1989) and the Nlaka`pamux (M`Gonigle 1988), there is an expressed willingness to share in resource use and decision-making with non-indigenous local residents. The Arrow Lake Okanagans are explicit in their respect for private tenure:

We understand that some of our homelands became inhabited by other people during our absence. Privately owned lands within our territory shall stay in their owners` possession without hindrance. We reserve the right to first option to purchase lands if any owners decide to sell at any time. (George 1997)

Obviously such a stance if taken by all indigenous nations would exponentially increase citizen support in Industria for the fair and rapid settlement of land claims.

The Hegemonic Response

“...the most striking line of tension may seem to lie between what Aboriginal people say about themselves and what others say about them.” (Beckett 1988: 191)

Hegemonic responses in Canada correspond to those identified by Nietschmann, who has claimed that modern states typically use the terms “rebels”, or “terrorists”, or “renegades” to describe armed nation peoples (Nietschmann 1994: 229). In a statement to journalists early in the Ts`peten stand-off, RCMP Superintendent Len Olfert said, “We haven` t been in the practice of negotiating with terrorists” (Cernetig 1995: A2, emphasis added). Similarly, an Ottawa Citizen article stated, “RCMP tried Wednesday to take up an offer by armed rebel aboriginals to negotiate an end to their illegal occupation of a

private ranch - but with no luck" (Ottawa Citizen 1995, emphasis added.) More significant are recent revelations at the trial of Ts'peten defenders that the RCMP falsified evidence (an incident in which RCMP officers were said to have come under fire appears to have been staged by police), and planned and conducted what they themselves referred to as a "smear campaign". (Andrews 1997; Please see the SISIS Home Page at <http://kafka.uvic.ca/~vipirg/SISIS/sismain.html> for trial transcripts and background information on the case.)

Ian Keen has outlined discursive strategies employed by an Australian mining company and its supporters to undermine Aboriginal claims that a proposed mine was on sacred grounds (Keen 1993). As noted above, the Industrian hegemony will (or can) not dismiss the very concept of sacredness or tradition. Instead, attempts are made to prove that a particular claim to sacredness is invalid. The Ts'peten Sundancers repeatedly evoked notions of the sacred in their discussions with police and journalists. This claim to sacredness was attacked in the Globe and Mail: "The militants say the land is sacred only because one of them dreamed it was so." (Globe and Mail 1995: A10). Keen (1993) challenges the implicit standard represented by this kind of response. He argues that demanding an ancient, unchanging tradition as a prerequisite of sacredness presupposes the omniscience of earlier anthropological researchers, and is not a criterion to which western belief systems are subjected. (p. 352) Furthermore, this type of demand subjects

indigenous peoples to “the containing force of traditionalism”, requiring indigenous cultures to be historically static in order for their claims to have legitimacy.

Another hegemonic tactic is ridicule. During the Ts’peten stand-off the Globe and Mail misrepresented and ridiculed radical ecological values. In a front page article September 12, 1995, deep ecology is described as “a radical new-age philosophy which puts a tree or an insect on a par with a human life”, and that its incorporation into indigenous spiritualism results in “...a radical and violent philosophy that compels believers to fire guns at the RCMP” (Cernetig and Howard 1995: A1). Hornborg’s account of the Mi’kmaq resistance to a quarry on Kelly Mountain, thought to be the resting place of the deity Glooscap, illustrates that very similar strategies were employed by the Kelly Rock mining company. The company president brushed aside Mi’kmaq spiritual claims as being nothing more than a strategy to advance land-claims (Hornborg 1994: 249).

The predominant hegemonic strategy is to discredit spiritual and political claims by Fourth World and ecological activists, and to use language that disguises the existence of independent nations under state occupation. A “divide-and-conquer” strategy can be expected in future confrontations, where the hegemonic power will attempt to portray Fourth World resistance as “fringe” or “criminal activity” lacking the support of “legitimate”, government-sanctioned Band Councils. The involvement of non-indigenous

people in struggles for sovereignty and ecological protection, and greater solidarity within indigenous nations will be critical to opposing these hegemonic strategies.

Conclusions

The inclusion of the Fourth World and radical ecologists in environmental security discussions makes a profound difference both to how the issue is defined and to how it can be resolved. Traditional indigenous territories comprise the ecological backbone of Gaia, the living Earth. The state is an inappropriate level from which to address the problem of protecting these vital areas from further degradation. A combination of local, decentralized control over resource management, with emphasis on the re-establishment of some form of Fourth World sovereignty over lands which they feel have been stolen from them, and international co-operation between local governmental bodies represents the most viable political approach to rendering the biosphere secure. The manipulation of symbols and ideas by ecologists and indigenous peoples results in the construction of an indigenous identity which emphasizes respect for the land and environmental sustainability. However, an insistence on indigenous "purity" by non-indigenous ecologists, or a wanton disregard for the integrity of local ecosystems on the part of indigenous nations, would have the result of destabilizing a mutually beneficial alliance. As such, Fourth World nations and Industrian ecologists are mutually dependent. A strengthening of a pragmatic co-operative relationship between them will

have the effect of reducing the loss of biodiversity by decreasing rates and improving methods of resource extraction, resulting in improved environmental security

Hegemonic interests, e.g. trans-state (de)forestry corporations, will do what they can to undermine such an alliance. "Yellow-ribbon" campaigns, geared toward pitting workers against ecological activists, economic threats against local workers and businesses who co-operate with ecological activists, and attempts to undermine historical or spiritual claims by indigenous peoples are typical of Industrian strategies. These strategies will render ecologist-Fourth World co-operation more difficult, but at the same time serve as evidence of the effectiveness of such co-operation.

Numerous ideological and ethical commonalties link ecological activists and indigenous peoples conceptually. Therefore, not surprisingly, even more numerous empirical examples exist of where these commonalties have led to attempts at co-operative social activism. On the other hand, there is considerable potential for well-meaning actions on the part of Industrian-based (or -genic) ENGOs to cause harm to indigenous nations. The FAN/Nuxalk relationship is a clear example of an attempt at a co-operative relationship. The questions for this study, then, are: Is this a good example of ecologist-indigenous co-operation?; If yes, in what way?: or. If no, why not?

6. Introducing the Critics

Its Not What You Know, It's Who Says You Can Know What You Think You Know

When confronted by the poverty and spatial inequities faced by the Nuxalk Nation, or the visual horror of clearcut landscapes left by Interfor and their ilk, the temptation arises to add another polemic metanarrative on the rights of indigenous peoples or the Earth herself to the hundreds of volumes already gracing university library shelves. Field research experiences in Bella Coola, however, served to validate caveats offered by self-designated “postmodern” thinkers such as Foucault and Lyotard. One caveat is that it is philosophically perilous to embark on metanarratives, with their bundled assumptions and binary oppositional constructions, of any sort. Any search for

truth, it is said, requires brutal honesty, harsh cynicism, and relentless, self-reflective criticism. The product of such an approach is rarely a grand claim. Humility requires that something smaller be tackled, something local and locatable, something testable: hence the recent and frenzied ferreting of local knowledge and perspectives. Just as importantly, the modernist project itself, with its promises of universal enlightenment and emancipation, has come under fierce attack as a façade covering the privileging of the voices (and vocations) of a white, male elite. (see Khirdaji 1995; Devetak 1995; Shabani 1995, for discussion of the epistemological underpinnings of this critique.) However, while the presumptions of modernist metanarratives have obscured (or belittled) difference, to follow Lyotard's advice and wage "war on totality" (1992: 16) seems to risk sliding into an untenable idealistic relativism. For reasons of epistemological caution, voice is given here to silenced narratives - especially those of Bella Coolans and non-sovereignist Nuxalk. However for pragmatic reasons, and a refusal to adopt relativism, - this case-study of the Nuxalk House of Smayusta/Forest Action Network co-operative effort in the Bella Coola region is also situated within the broader theoretical and geographical contexts outlined earlier.

The 1960s and 1970s represented a shift in the philosophy of science away from positivist approaches, which had viewed knowledge as unproblematic. The logical positivists and logical empiricists, also known as naïve realists (most notably through the works of Popper and Hempel), had left a major imprint on the way science is perceived in

geography and other social sciences. (Salmon et. al. 1992) "Piecemeal empirical research in the human sciences was alone commended, while Marxism, psychoanalysis, and all forms of Utopian social philosophy were together consigned to the dustbin of history." (Skinner 1985: 5) Then Kuhn's Structure of Scientific Revolutions drew attention to the discontinuity of scientific progress, and the ahistorical character of the standard (positivist/empiricist) view of science. (Salmon et. al. 1992: 4) Critics drawing on Kuhn have further pointed out that the standard view ignores the societal and individual values underlying any intellectual pursuit, that "[e]mpirical methods can never be separated from the influence of philosophical presuppositions, and furthermore, pure observational knowledge, unadulterated by theory, would, even if possible, be utterly barren and futile" (Harrison and Livingstone 1980: 26). Empirical or quantitative methods were for these reasons regarded as inadequate in the social sciences.

This opened the philosophical door to the postmodernists and post-structuralists of Europe, those who followed Nietzsche in rejecting the ahistoricism and humanism of Kant, replacing it with genealogies or deconstructions. (Hoy 1985: 46; Philp 1985: 76; Prado 1995: 33-50; Shabani 1995) An attitude of epistemological scepticism is advised, since it has been shown that the established canons of scientific thought are historically constituted and implicated in a web of power relations. To this line of thinking, a complete knowledge of truth is unattainable. The privileged "view from nowhere" is epistemologically suspect and likely to introduce Eurocentric (Ferguson 1990) and

androcentric (Khirdaji 1995) bias into research. As Sayer says, "there is no Archimedean point from which we can evaluate knowledge." (1993: 322)

Critics of this continental European postmodernist/post-structuralist movement argue that Foucault, Lyotard, Derrida and their followers have moved too far toward an equally untenable (and impractical) relativism. When philosophers use the word "knowledge", they must have a belief about what it can mean to "know" anything. In its strict philosophical sense, "knowledge" is taken to mean "belief that is true". A statement or belief about a given, precisely defined thing that contradicts any one or more of the possible "true" statements about that thing is "false" or "wrong". "Truth" refers to all possible true statements (or thoughts) about something. Therefore, linguistically, there can only be one truth (made up of perhaps innumerable true statements or beliefs) about any one thing. Furthermore, one could not be said to "know", for instance, that Bella Coola is located in Europe, but could only "believe" such a thing. And if one did believe such a thing, any geographer worth her salt would answer that this belief was mistaken ("false" or "wrong"). Thus, when postmodernists make the "anti-realist" (Sayer 1993) claim that there are "many truths" or "many knowledges", or worse, "no such thing as truth", the understandable reaction of rational thinkers is to dismiss these claims as being an abuse of language. For it would be "simple-minded" (Foucault cited in Prado 1995: 8) to claim that there are "many truths" (the same as saying that there is no truth), that the statement "Bella Coola is located in North America" could have an equal truth value to

“Bella Coola is located in Europe”. A member of a culture that took the latter statement as “just as true” as the former would quite simply be unable to visit Bella Coola, let alone find it on a map. However, to say that Bella Coola is called Q’umk’uts, and that it exists on the Northwest coast of Turtle Island is not to introduce a new “truth claim” but rather an additional “true claim.” The statement “This place is called ‘Q’umk’uts’” is actually short-hand for the complete (and true) statement “This place is called ‘Q’umk’uts’ in the Nuxalk language”. For a geographer or a traveller, Q’umk’uts and Bella Coola are two true names for one real place. To argue that, for example, there are as many Bella Coolas or Q’umk’utses as there are people with individual perceptions of these places is to engage in frivolous language play and insult Place by making it ontologically subordinate to human thought.

Instead, one can say that there are many different names for the human settlement at map co-ordinates 52°22’N, 126°44’W. “Many knowledges” would thus be more aptly replaced by “many perspectives”, the emphasis being that they are perspectives on something. Perhaps in literary studies it is acceptable or even accurate to claim that the world is text, that in each person’s discourse, another world is created. In geography, however, such an attitude can at best be metaphorical. Although people may have many different ideas about nature, or non-humans, these objects of knowledge exist independently of their observers, and in the case of other animals, have their own values and preferences as well. These preferences and values can be inferred, but never, in the

absence of their expression in (human) language, actually known. This latter point is crucial for understanding the difficult position radical ecologists find themselves in vis-à-vis postmodernism. Something that can not be known is dismissed as irrelevant to the discussion. Ironically, when Derrida and Foucault undertook to free thought from the structuralist humanism of Marx and Kant, they managed to create yet another anthropocentric approach.

To avoid charges of relativism, scepticism toward grand narratives or metanarratives can not be more than a methodological caution. It can not be an absolute epistemological statement because if it were it would deny itself.

...we should note that Foucault's claim that truth is merely what counts as true within a discourse is not easy to accept. If what Foucault says is true, then truth is always relative to discourse; there can not be any statements which are true in all discourses, nor can there be any statements which are true for all discourses - so that, on Foucault's own account, what he says can not be true! (Philp 1985: 70)

This now somewhat trite criticism was rebutted by Foucault in later works. In his words: "Those who say that for me the truth doesn't exist are simple minded." (Foucault cited in Prado 1995: 8) The problem is how far one can take scepticism and still be left the grounds for intellectual action. As Hartsock (1990), in her rather shrill discussion of Foucault argues, "we must do our work on an epistemological base that indicates that knowledge is possible - not just a conversation or a discourse on how it is that power relations work... [W]e need to be assured that some systematic knowledge about our world and ourselves is possible." (p. 171)

Clearly power has become more and more concentrated since the Enlightenment began, and the hegemony of Industria has become a repressive force. This has taken place at least in part because of people believing in grand or universal normative metanarratives which often silenced voices and added to repression. In the current debate between (modernist) Critical Theorists following Habermas in a call for justice based on communicative action, and "posties" following Foucault, Derrida and Lyotard in a call for (de)totalizing doubt, the question arises as to whether to throw the baby out with the bathwater. (Devetak 1995) The discourses of "justice", "self-determination", and even "nationalism" are grand metanarratives. It is, for instance, of little use to Fourth World nations, who are attempting to come to terms with and overcome centuries of colonization, repression, and genocide, to accept Foucault's claim that "there are no essences to be discerned behind historical developments and none that explain why things are as they are." (Prado 1995: 33) More useful is his advice to give voice to disqualified, local knowledges, which field research for this project confirms often include a belief in the heuristic value of both claims to origins and ahistorical essences, drawing upon "the historical knowledge of struggles." (Foucault 1980: 82-3, emphasis in original) Hartsock (1990) noted that it was a funny coincidence that just as disempowered groups are rising up, European philosophers neatly pull the rug from beneath their discourses of legitimation. She contends "in broad terms, that postmodernism represents a dangerous approach for any marginalized group to adopt." (p. 160) She implies that Foucault's

perspective as a member of the oppressive society, (i.e. as a white male) de-legitimizes his argument (see especially pp. 165 and 168), that “despite his efforts to develop an account of power, and precisely because of his perspective as a colonizer who resists, systematic power relations ultimately vanish in his work.” (p. 168)⁴⁴

Sayer (1993), Hartsock (1990), and Park (1992), while accepting postmodernist and post-structuralist cautions regarding truth claims, have also pointed out the danger of moving to the opposite extreme of relativism/idealism. There is a real world beyond particularist thought and discourse, and it is possible to learn something about this world and its underlying structures by analyzing events, including people and their thoughts and discourse(s). Otherwise the academic project is of no value, and all arguments are irrelevant. Haraway (1991) argues that “only partial perspective promises objective vision.” (p. 190) In her view, the alternative to postmodern relativism is “partial, locatable, critical knowledges sustaining the possibility of webs of connections called solidarity in politics and shared conversations in epistemology”, while “[r]elativism is...denial of responsibility and critical enquiry.” (p. 191)

Haraway may be correct in arguing that only a partial perspective (e.g. a focus on the Bella Coola valley) allows a claim of objectivity, yet this will be a “local view on something bigger.” (Sayer 1993: 336) As geographers have pointed out:

[L]ocal struggles to affirm identity are also part of a wider, and at least loosely interconnected, process of ‘environmental’ resistance to the

⁴⁴ Of course, this calls into question the credentials of this writer as well...

expansion of locally unsustainable modernist projects. (Dalby and Mackenzie 1997)

Metanarratives (in the case of this project particularly Fourth World theory and ecological ethics) do therefore have a place and can play a heuristic rôle. An attempt will be made to draw conclusions in this thesis, based on a belief that these conclusions can have external validity and can inform studies in other areas.

In summary, grand views are as needed as ever, but the challenge is to develop them in a way which synthesizes - though neither undemocratically or uncritically - the standpoints of the many rather than speaking only for a minority. (Sayer 1993: 336)

The Researcher as Activist (or the Activist as Researcher?)

The late Edward Abbey, literary godfather of the radical ecology movement, is quoted on the back of one group's T-shirt urging action: "It is not enough to understand the natural world - the point is to defend and preserve it!" This sentiment is repeated by feminist researchers such as Hartsock, who says: "[A]n engaged vision...contains a call to political action... the point is to change the world, not simply re-describe ourselves or reinterpret the world yet again." (1990: 172) While certain problems exist in Hartsock's approach, particularly a recurrent chauvinism which seems to seek to exclude male voices from emancipatory social science research projects, her call to action is understandable. Activists are activists in all that they do, including academic projects. Indeed, for many activists, academia was a route chosen precisely to further activist aims. Despite the

obvious vulnerability this position has to charges of bias. action research is gaining credibility. This is largely the result of a recognition that the so-called “detached” or “scientifically objective” social science research projects typical of the pre- 1970s were themselves activist, since (among other things) they promoted and advanced the imperialist objectives of Industria. (Park 1992: 31; Foucault 1980)

This an Ecological Action Research (EAR) project.⁴⁵ EAR is an unapologetically activist approach grounded in a biocentric realism. It takes as a base assumption there is a real world, and that this world is threatened by a global ecological crisis, precipitated by Industria, which threatens to alter the global ecological system so profoundly that the Earth will no longer be capable of supporting human and most non-human life. Further, it is clear that as the process of environmental degradation continues, significant, irreplaceable ecological and cultural values are lost forever. For those who regret the loss of such values, especially those adopting a biocentric position, there is little doubt that rapid change is needed in the way human activity on Earth is conducted. This idea is explored in Chapter four. EAR, however, stops short of political ecology approaches, which appear to be a desperate attempt at a Marxist co-optation of the ecological critique(s) of Industria (see for example Peet and Watts 1996. This collection of essays on political ecology and development is dominated by Marxist approaches, and its editors’ publication history also shows a strong Marxist orientation). As shown in the

⁴⁵ An “EAR” listens! And yes, it has been considered what pundits will make of this acronym once they realize it actually refers to a radical ecology approach.

next two Chapters. Marxism has historically under-theorized (or anti-theorized) both indigenous peoples (taken collectively) and environmental problems. As an intrinsically pro-Industrian philosophy, and as one that has, in the world theatre, been booed off the stage, Marxist political ecology is too intellectually narrow and politically limited to serve as a theoretical approach for an open-minded researcher. EAR must be open to the spectrum (not a linear "left-right" spectrum either) of ideas available in the applied and social sciences if it is to shed any light on the problems and potential solutions available to our species.

As this project was originally designed to help solve a crucial problem in the ecology movement - how best to form and structure "symbiotic" relationships with Fourth World nations in Canada - it was appropriate to adopt an "action research" approach. As explained below and elsewhere in this thesis, experiences gained during field research resulted in a expansion of the original objective to include an analysis of the impact on a local community of the arrival of a "postmodernist" social movement, and an attempt to expose the dangers of generalization and representation frequently found in radical ecology group and Fourth World sovereigntist discourse. These objectives, too, can be reached under the rubric of action research, with its commitment to "learning from investigation, then applying what is learned to collective problems through social action." (Park 1992: 30)

Action research is employed when a situation is discovered in which, in the view of the researcher, change is needed. Sayer says "realist" action research approaches:

do not lead directly to prediction but seek out the generative mechanisms and conditions which produce the events we want to change. By providing information on the necessary conditions both for the existence and the activation of the mechanism, and in some cases on the way conditions mediate its effects, we increase the chance of either removing or changing the mechanism, preventing its activation or suppressing the damaging effects of its exercise. (Sayer 1992: 135)

Multiple Methods

Ecology is a multi-disciplinary field, dealing as it does with the transects between (primarily) geography, philosophy, political science, biology, sociology and anthropology. As such, it is argued here that ecology shares with feminism the need for a multiple methods approach; that an EAR project would benefit from accepting Reinharz's conclusion that "[m]ultiple methods increase the likelihood of obtaining scientific credibility and research utility." (1992: 197) Reinharz cites an impressive range of feminist research case studies which demonstrate the inadequacy of adopting a single methodology in multi-disciplinary research. She counsels feminist researchers to adopt multiple methods approaches whenever possible, but warns that the temporal and personal investment may be beyond the capacity of many researchers. Park (1992) also calls for the use of multiple methods in action research, especially qualitative techniques, arguing that using only quantitative techniques distances the researcher from informants.

and privileges self-proclaimed “experts” over local knowledge. As many voices, as many discourses, as many perspectives as possible must be heeded in the search for answers to common problems.

In evaluating the relationship between the Forest Action Network and the Nuxalk House of Smayusta, it was necessary to include the voices of women, workers, elders, Chiefs and other citizens; as well as broader discourses of science (biology, ecology, geology and physical geography), philosophy, politics, and industry. Multiple methods are required to capture the full texture of this multiplicity of knowledge claims.

Cross-Cultural Community Research

This research project was approached as what Park describes as the action of “a member of a community” - in this case the multi-identity community of First Nations peoples and ecological activists, “joined together with ordinary people, facing common problems of life.” (p. 40, emphasis added) Prior to departure for Bella Coola, I established correspondence (by facsimile, telephone and mail) with the Forest Action Network and the Nuxalk House of Smayusta. I identified myself and my background as an ecological activist. That allowed them to identify me as a member of their ideological community. Taking this approach, and disclosing it to the informants accomplished two things: it made the project more accessible to the Nuxalk House of Smayusta and FAN, ensuring that they felt empowered to make suggestions and criticisms regarding project

assumptions and methodology, and it helped to create an atmosphere of mutual trust which increased the likelihood of more accurate and representative questions and responses. (Reinharz 1992)

This "community" approach had an unexpected effect as well - it opened the research project to sectors of the community which had not been initially considered for inclusion. Upon arrival in the valley, effort was made to keep the project open, and to make contact with the larger, local community outside the narrow demographic group comprised of FAN and the House of Smayusta. A rapport was quickly established with several local residents of the valley, conversations with whom made it quickly apparent that the community in the Bella Coola valley includes many more sectors than the ecological activists and their sovereigntist hosts. Indeed, the "ordinary people", those whose voices had been overlooked or systematically excluded by FAN, the Nuxalk House of Smayusta, and the Canadian and international media alike, proved to be a rich, contextualizing resource which saved the project from being a neat, tidy, totalizing, and ultimately worthless endeavour. This discovery was illuminating: "community" includes those neighbours with whom one disagrees as much as it does one's friends and allies.

Data Acquisition and Analysis

Literature Search

To form an appropriate theoretical and historical context for my field study, a broad and detailed review of the relevant literature, from both academic and “non-academic” sources, was conducted. This included academic journals and texts, government and non-government organization policy statements and newsletters, and various Web sites, for discussions of indigenous national sovereignty, territoriality, ecology, ethics, and environmental security.

Media Analysis

In order to assess the impact of Nuxalk/FAN actions on public opinion, and to learn more about the local context of the “alliance”, local coverage of the issue in the Coast Mountain News (CMN), commencing in September 1995 (the onset of the first blockades), and continuing up to and including the time period of field research in June 1996, was analyzed. Qualitative techniques, employed elsewhere by Grenier (1994) as well as Fisher (1994), Conklin and Graham (1995) and Keen (1993) were employed to determine how HoS/FAN opposition to industrial forestry and claims of Nuxalk sovereignty were discursively represented. The inclusion or absence of important issues in the valley, and the overall treatment of FAN, the HoS, and Interfor was assessed.

Selected press clippings from the FAN archives were also reviewed . These clippings helped to form a picture of the international impact of the HoS/FAN campaign. FAN gave assurances that the clippings had not been edited to exclude negative coverage, and indeed there were a number of articles unsympathetic to FAN and/or the House of Smayusta.

HoS/FAN Media Releases

As a control for the media analysis, nine Nuxalk Nation Government (House of Smayusta) and twenty-eight Forest Action Network media releases dated between September 6, 1995 and June 25, 1996 were reviewed, in order to compare information released by these two organizations with that published in the media, and statements made by anonymous informants. Furthermore, electronic versions of these releases as they appeared on the Web (on various activist Home Pages, e-mail list-servers, and Usenet newsgroups) were compared with the originals sent out directly to various media outlets, in order to check for distortion.

Personal Interviews

Reinharz (1992) and Park (1992) both emphasize the relationship between the researcher and her/his respondents and argue that getting these people involved in the

research process (problem formation, inquiry, action, etc.) is of paramount importance. Reinharz argues that a productive technique is self-disclosure, wherein the researcher shares her/his perspectives on the problem with respondents. With this in mind, I shared my own perspectives with informants.⁴⁶

Open-ended interviews were conducted with thirty-eight informants (see Appendix B) to explore their perspectives on and perceptions of discourses of sovereignty, territoriality, ecology, ecological ethics, and Fourth World/ecologist co-operation expressed by FAN, the Nuxalk House of Smayusta, and the media. Each interview lasted between one and one-and-a-half hours. Thirty-six of these informants were interviewed face-to-face, the other two by telephone. Narratives elicited in this way were also used to triangulate data obtained from other sources. The decision to use unstructured interviews rather than questionnaires or structured interviews was initially based on friendly discussions with social scientists and Canadian indigenous people among whom there appeared to be a consensus that an “informal” qualitative research approach would be better received by indigenous informants, as well as on my own experiences as an ecological activist and research subject.⁴⁷ This decision was supported

⁴⁶ Including my belief in First Nations sovereignty, my biocentric outlook, and my background as an ecological activist.

⁴⁷ I had responded better to informal approaches, partly because structured questionnaires and interviews seemed typical of a modernist industrial approach. I therefore suspected that other activists might share this view.

by the literature⁴⁸ and by subsequent experiences in the field.

Ethical Considerations

The Carleton University Faculty of Graduate Studies Ethics Committee reviewed and approved the proposed methodology and an Informed Consent Form designed to protect informants. In the field, permission was obtained from each informant to record the interview in tape or note form (thirty out of thirty-seven informants allowed a tape recording of the interview). Informants read and signed the approved "Informed Consent Form" after clarification of any questions regarding the interview process and/or intended use of the research data.

The above precautions notwithstanding, it was necessary to remember that Bella Coola valley is a geographically and demographically small place. Discursive styles or specific knowledge(s), nearly as much as names or professions could serve to compromise the anonymity of individuals participating in the study. Furthermore, transcripts of interviews are to a large degree the informants' creation. As such, it was important that the informants retain as much control over the content of their transcripts as feasible. Therefore, it was indicated on the Informed Consent Form that each informant would be given the opportunity to review and make changes to their transcript.

⁴⁸ For example, Reinharz links informal methods to a "rejection of the discourse of positivism and objectivity." (1992: 212)

To ensure that all informants understood this, this guarantee was reiterated verbally and comprehension was checked either directly or through an interpreter.

Upon completion of field research, the taped interviews were transcribed. Interviews averaged 25 pages (double-spaced), or approximately 6000 words each. After a preliminary edit for spelling, and a review to compare taped originals with typed transcripts, each transcript was mailed to its informant, along with a cover letter (see Appendix F), an (optional) "Waiver of Anonymity" form, a description of the informant as it would appear in the study, and a self-addressed, stamped envelope. Informants were asked to delete, change, or add to any passages of the transcript, in order to clarify their positions, avoid accidental identification, and have the opportunity to "regret" and retract any statements made. A thirty day time limit (to which extensions were granted if requested) for the return of the transcripts was imposed, in order to keep the thesis project on schedule. As a result, a number of transcripts were returned with revisions to either the textual content or the description of the informant, or both.

Treatment of Transcripts

Once revised transcripts were received, or the deadline for revisions had passed, any requested changes were incorporated into the electronic version of the transcripts, and

the originals were deleted.⁴⁹ Then began the process of discourse analysis to interpret the interview texts, using a methodology outlined below.

In order to break down transcripts into the variety of topics informants had addressed, tables were created for each topic important to the study. Examples include "Co-operation between ecologists and First Nations", "Salmon and other fish issues", "Forestry", "Economics", "First Nations Politics", etc. Then each transcript was systematically searched, using the "Find" feature in a word processing program, for utterances relating to these topics. The transcripts were also read several times to find utterances which had escaped the electronic search strategy. Relevant passages were then copied and pasted into the topic-specific tables. This task took over one hundred hours.

While writing this thesis, as each topic came up, reference was made to the appropriate table to find statements made by informants on that topic. An effort was made to avoid imposing personal interpretations on informants' statements, allowing informants to "speak for themselves". Nonetheless, the choice of which utterances to directly quote was inevitably influenced by personal "Members Resources" or background knowledge and beliefs. (Fairclough 1979) To mitigate this fact, care was taken not to directly quote any statement that was specifically contradicted by another statement, unless that contradiction was in itself important data. Overall, a concerted

⁴⁹ All requests for extensions or revisions received before publication of this thesis were honoured.

effort was made to use quotes which appeared to be representative of the statements of more than one informant.

Methodological Problems and Limitations Encountered

Translation

The majority of interviews with Nuxalk informants were conducted in English. However, two of the Nuxalk elders interviewed were more comfortable speaking Nuxalk through part or all of the interview. A Nuxalk volunteer attended these interviews and translated the questions and the informants' responses. This made the credibility of the transcripts dependent on the honesty and accuracy of the translation. As a safeguard, it was intended to verify the translations after the interviews. This in turn led to two problems. First, respect for informants' anonymity prevented me the seeking of a "second-opinion" from another Nuxalk speaker in the valley. Given the small population and tightly-knit community, the voices of informants would have been instantly recognizable. Secondly, Nuxalk is a phonetically difficult language, which all but rendered Nuxalk-English dictionaries (Nater 1984: 1990) useless when they were consulted for verification purposes. Similarly, the expense and rarity of competent Nuxalk translators outside the Bella Coola area meant it was not possible to verify the translations through comparative translation.

Now this would not normally be problematic, but two factors had to be considered. First, the translator who volunteered to translate during the interviews with the aforementioned elders is closely associated with the Nuxalk House of Smayusta, and HoS legitimacy is to a large degree predicated on the alleged support of Nuxalk elders. While the informants in question are at least nominally HoS supporters, certain interview questions, particularly those concerning perceptions of FAN, were key to measuring the depth of elders' support for HoS initiatives. Therefore HoS would benefit from a more "sympathetic" translation of elders' utterances. Secondly, a supporter of Chief-in-Council Archie Pootlass expressed concern that one translator associated with the House of Smayusta had translated elders' utterances incorrectly in the past for political benefit:

[One HoS translator will] only tell you what [s/he] wants you to hear. [S/he] won't tell the truth. I can understand our language. I can read. I can write it... A lot of the times [s/he] says something [s/he]'s supposed to translate and it's way off. It's not even right. And there are Elders who will vouch for that. They will tell you. [This HoS translator] doesn't even tell you the truth. [S/he] says [s/he] translates but [s/he] doesn't. OK, good example, was when Forest Action Network first came in about, with our people out at Ista. And [one] lady was saying something in Nuxalk. We understand her. And [this translator] translated way off. One Elder got up, she's an Elder woman. "Why you lie like that?! That's not what she's saying! That's an outright lie!" (Inf. N11)

The above passage is hearsay, and its veracity was neither accepted nor rejected. It is included here simply to highlight the methodological concern noted above. As a counter-balance to this uncertainty, the transcripts of the elders' interviews were compared with other Nuxalk transcripts for corroboration of views expressed, and where these utterances

were contradicted by other informants, they were treated as “questionable data” and were not used to support research arguments (except where the very act of contradiction was itself used as data).

Consistency

The open-ended nature of the interviews meant that tangential discussions often prevented key questions from being asked of every informant. For later analysis, a number of “base-line” questions asked of every single informant would have made qualitative analysis more efficient. This difficulty was linked to content. Each interview added to the content of the research project, and raised further questions. There was insufficient time to go back to earlier informants with these new questions. As such, this study can be little more than “preliminary research” into the dynamics of the Bella Coola valley.

7. **Show Time: An Eco-Political Play in Two Acts**

“All the world’s a stage...” - Shakespeare

“...and we are only players.” - Rush

Act I: The Defence of Ista

There was a few boys that were way up in the tress. I seen a video of it and they were way up in a tree, and when the policemens come they were trying to tell them to come down. And I don` t think they did. (Inf. I15)

On September 6, 1995, the Forest Action Network issued the following media release, which also appeared through the “Sovernet-I” list server, and at various locations on the Web:

EWOK VILLAGE HALTS INTERFOR LOGGING

Nuxalk Nation traditionalists and activists from the Forest Action Network set up an “Ewok Village” overnight to block Interfor from further road building on King Island west of Bella Coola.

This action completely halts all road building and logging in the remote Fog Creek watershed, on the edge of the largest area of roadless temperate rainforest in the world, four times the size of Clayoquot Sound.

The six climbers set up sleeping platforms connected by a web of ropes, eighty feet above the forest floor. They have enough provisions to occupy the site for a minimum of two weeks.

Climber and Nuxalk archaeologist Ray Morton (27) said, "Two years of surveying archaeological sites in Nuxalk territory, watching our land being destroyed by clearcuts, has changed me from stepping out of the way of logging trucks to stopping them."

This blockade is the result of one year of co-operation between FAN and the Nuxalk, and is the first public action in the Forest Action Network's campaign to protect all the pristine old growth in the Great Coast Forest.

Boat transportation to the blockade is available from Bella Coola.

(FAN Media Release - 09/06/95)

This daring action was to unleash a chain of events in the Bella Coola region which while inconveniencing Interfor and resulting in the arrests of twenty-three people (17 Nuxalkmc, 5 FAN activists), further polarized a divided community. FAN had arrived in the region several months earlier, at the invitation of the Nuxalk House of Smayusta, to aid in the construction of a spiritual lodge at the Tallheo Hot Springs.⁵⁰ Unbeknownst to FAN at the time of their arrival, the HoS was immersed in a bitter political battle with newly-elected Chief-in-Council Archie Pootlass and his supporters.

This conflict has been characterized by strong accusations against both sides. No contact with the Nuxalk community is possible without involvement in some way with this dispute. Several informants familiar with the situation expressed concern that the

⁵⁰ The construction was strategic: Interfor had slated the area for clearcutting, and the HoS felt that a permanent structure would strengthen Nuxalk territorial claims to the area, used by generations of Nuxalkmc. Subsequently Interfor put their logging plans on hold.

political divisions in the community could easily result in bloodshed.⁵¹ It is a further indication of the intensity of the conflict that during the course of field research, supporters of both sides made overt and covert attempts to discredit their opponents, including night-time visits to my campsite to deliver allegedly “incriminating” documents (which invariably were missing key pages or were otherwise not incriminating), and allegations and innuendoes including accusations of corruption, rape and murder levied against key Nuxalkmc political figures. In addition, as noted earlier an (unsuccessful) attempt was also made by the local Sierra Club representative to put this thesis under the editorial control of the Chief-in-Council by asking me to sign a “Legal Binding Contract” [sic.] to that effect.

The Nuxalk House of Smayusta has accused the Band Council of being a puppet or colonial tool of the federal government manipulated through the Department of Indian Affairs. According to one House of Smayusta supporter:

The Chiefs-in-Council, that is the government-created Band Councils... were imposed on our people to replace our traditional governments. The almighty colonial and imperialist system of the Europeans created the Band Councils. These Councils are like the cake mix you can buy at the supermarket. You shake it up and it's ready in five minutes. Instant government. But you can't replace an ancient hereditary system with an instant government. That's why I call them “shake and bakes”. In fact.

⁵¹ Indeed, a road blockade in July 1995, staged to prevent Wild West Fisheries International from leaving the valley with a load of salmon, did erupt in violence. The blockade was indirectly linked to Nuxalk politics. Wild West was alleged to owe a large amount of money to the NNG holding company, set-up by sovereigntists including former Chief-in-Council Ed Moody (Hereditary Chief Qwatsinas) while he was in office to help achieve Nuxalk economic self-sufficiency. (Hall 1995) The NNG was central in allegations over financial mismanagement levelled at Moody and other Nuxalkmc associated with the House of Smayusta.

the Chief and six Band Council members resigned, but the Department of Indian Affairs re-instated them.⁵² These Chiefs-in-Council are brainwashed by the system... These Councillors are groomed by the government. (Inf. I16)

On the other side of the debate, Chief-in-Council Pootlass and his supporters have repeatedly alleged that the real purpose of the House of Smayusta's invitation to FAN and the subsequent actions at Ista was to create a "smoke-screen" to cover mismanagement of Band Council funds when Ed Moody was in power.

It was in this highly-charged political atmosphere that FAN entered into co-operation with the House of Smayusta, which they almost immediately began referring to as "the Nuxalk Nation". FAN members also took up residence on the Nuxalk Reserve in the home of a House of Smayusta supporter, though non-Natives are not normally allowed to live on-Reserve.

After the construction at Tallheo Hot Springs, the HoS and FAN began gearing up for a direct action against Interfor, which as shown above began in early September on King Island. Chief-in-Council Pootlass claimed that FAN was invited to a general

⁵² While it is not the purpose of this project to pass judgement on such claims, it should be pointed out that according to other informants, and an anonymous letter-to-the-editor in the Coast Mountain News, the resignations mentioned stemmed from HoS allegations of election fraud by Pootlass supporters in the February 1995 election. It is alleged that the power to the polling station was shut off, and the polls closed early, when HoS supporters were still waiting outside to vote. Archie Pootlass subsequently won by a mere four votes. The DIA and Chief-in-Council Pootlass said they would call another election if all of the Councillors resigned. Opponents of the HoS claim that after Pootlass and his allied Councillors wrote letters of resignation, House of Smayusta-allied Councillors, rather than writing their own letters of resignation, simply forwarded the resignation letters of their opponents to Ottawa. The DIA responded that it would only accept the resignations if all Councillors resigned and a new election could be called. (Coast Mountain News 1996a: 4: Inf. 19)

meeting of the Nuxalk in September to discuss their plans. but that they refused to attend. (Feinberg 1996b) This claim was also made by Pootlass supporters interviewed for this study. (e.g. Inf. II 1) Discussions arising from the 20-day blockade centred on the questions of whether FAN had actually had permission from “the Nuxalk” to stage the blockade, and whether there was in fact co-operation between FAN and “the Nuxalk” or whether FAN’s allies might be only a small faction lacking majority support of the nation.

There is little question that FAN found their relationship with the House of Smayusta to be great political capital. FAN discourse in the series of media releases put out during the blockade and the subsequent trial made repeated reference to their co-operation with “the Nuxalk” (09/06/95), “Nuxalkmc traditional leadership” (09/16/95), and “the Nuxalk Nation” (09/24/95, 09/25/95, 09/26/95, 10/18/95, 12/03/95, 12/04/95, 12/07/95, etc.). Similarly, repeated reference was also made to Nuxalk “sovereignty” and “jurisdiction over their traditional territory” (e.g. 12/07/95). This latter point is mentioned not to call into question this sovereignty, for as made clear in Chapter 3, there are powerful arguments to support such an assertion, but rather to highlight the contrast between this position, and FAN’s subsequent actions in Act II.

It is extremely unlikely that any amount of research will uncover conclusive answers to the question of whether FAN and the HoS had community support at the outset. With reference to Chapter 6, while there may be one “truth”, there are myriad

perspectives which make discovering such a truth quite problematic. For the part of the House of Smayusta, the Hereditary Chiefs most prominently associated with that institution claimed to have had community support for the defence of Ista. They had asked citizens of the Nuxalk Nation to sign a letter of support for their stand, and claimed to have received almost three hundred signatures, a figure which would represent the majority of Nuxalkmc adults.

Opponents of the HoS acknowledged that such a letter had been circulated, and corroborated the number of signatures, but claimed that people had not known what was implied. The primary concern appears to revolve around process.

They went around with a little declaration that would say "I am going to support Ista." And you would sign your name. And they had everybody. They nagged on everybody's sympathies. We didn't even know what was going on out at Ista. We didn't know anything until all of the sudden, we heard it on the news... The next thing we heard FAN was coming. "Who are they? What is FAN?" We didn't know who it was. We had to find out from the media what was going on out at Ista. They said, "We invited them." And we said "Why in the world didn't you guys come and tell us." And they said "You signed saying you support us. But I signed, and I crossed some things out and said "I support this but not that." and it didn't matter. They took it. And they went to homes where people were having drinking parties, and played on their sympathies and got them to sign. This is what they did to get their three hundred odd supporters. They didn't come by it honestly... We agree wholeheartedly with what they're doing. We agree with protest. We agree. But how they did it... They went behind everybody's back. They met in closed doors. We didn't know what was going on. We still feel like we would support them had they come to the General Meeting at the hall. But they never did. They didn't have a General Meeting. (Inf. I11)

One Hereditary Chief expressed some bewilderment over the action at Ista:

...before they went to Ista... what's going on? What's happening? How come they going out so late? Why do we have to go to King Island when they are already logging? How come we didn't go before they started logging? I asked people there, people in the House Smayusta. Why, you know, but they didn't answer the question, you know... I'm not against it. I'm willing to go, but how come we go there when they are already logging and the people get arrested? (Inf. I7)

There is also some uncertainty regarding why Ista in particular was chosen for the stand against Interfor logging. The watershed lies at the periphery of both Nuxalk territorial claims and of what FAN calls the "Great Coast Forest".⁵³ Several informants questioned the ecological significance of the area, which even FAN stopped short of describing as "old-growth". However, one Nuxalk Elder pointed out that King Island is an important food source for the Nuxalk:

I'm only hoping that we'll win... We will live the same way as we have lived through the years. We will still have our river, and still have our land. We will still have Ista. Have you seen King Island? Its a big island. You get a lot of seafood there. Or maybe a few deer or whatever. That's what Lawrence and them were really afraid of - if they clean the whole side of the mountain logging it - they think that the fish, the clams, and whatever is there will just disappear. And the animals. That was why they were doing what they were doing. (Inf. I15)

The overall impression gained during field research was that the stand at Ista had less to do with ecology than with politics; it represented a way of putting Nuxalk territorial claims "on the map". In this regard, the appearance at the blockade of four Heiltsuk nationals, including one Hereditary Chief, was significant. King Island is the site of

⁵³ In a November 30, 1995 FAN media release, Ista, which as mentioned above lies at the periphery of the Nuxalk territorial claim, was discursively re-situated to become "the spiritual centre of the Nuxalkmc people".

overlapping territorial claims between the Nuxalk and Heiltsuk, and a potential source of conflict. Ista lies almost exactly on the boundary of the Nuxalk claim (see Appendix E). For this reason, the words of this Heiltsuk Hereditary Chief are an important reassurance: “We can only protect this land by working together... We have come in friendship and partnership, to support protection of this place.” (quoted in FAN Media Release - 09/15/95)

On September 26, a massive force of 41 RCMP officers moved in and arrested 22 people on the logging road. The next day, all but four of the arrestees signed terms of release which while implicitly acknowledging B.C. jurisdiction, did not include a prohibition on returning to Ista. As the presiding Justice Oliver remarked, “Why should we banish these people from any part of the province? ... We’re not here to provide comfort to Interfor...” (quoted in FAN Media Release - 09/27/95) Hereditary Chiefs Nuximlayc and Qwatsinas, Charlie Nelson (who is part way through the process of becoming a full-fledged Hereditary Chief), and Lyle Morisseau, an Ojibway and First Nations Environmental Network activist, refused to sign even these terms out of concern that they compromised Nuxalk sovereignty by implicitly recognizing B.C. government jurisdiction. (ibid.) However, after the tragic death of Chief Nuximlayc’s wife just over two weeks later, the four men did sign the terms of release in order to return to Bella Coola for mourning. (FAN Media Release - 10/18/95)

The trial for the Ista defendants began on December 4, 1995, and ended abruptly the following day, after the court refused to acknowledge Nuxalk jurisdiction over areas they claimed as their territory, and all of the defendants walked out of the courtroom. Rather than issuing warrants, the B.C. Supreme Court Justice put the trial over to January 15, 1996. The trial was then again postponed by a week. When the defendants still did not appear, warrants were issued. Eventually, on March 21, 1996, the RCMP staged raids across the Nuxalk Reserve, and took 14 people into custody. This represented a significant change in policing policy from the early 1980s, when as noted in Chapter 3, the RCMP did not arrest Norwegian activist Nils Somby for the entire year he and his family were on Nuxalk territory.

The conclusion of this Act was the sentencing of sixteen of the defendants on June 27, 1996. Each of the Nuxalkmc defendants received a suspended sentence and one year probation. The three FAN activists sentenced were fined up to \$1000.00 and/or jailed for terms of fifteen to thirty days. The sentencing judge paternalistically suggested that the Nuxalkmc, "a proud and gentle people", had been led astray by FAN and used for political purposes. What is clear from research is that FAN and the HoS probably used one another equally.

Act II - Limits to “Sovereignty”?

Who has been silenced? You ask that. Well, I would say the majority of the Nuxalk people. In terms of, you look at what FAN and the House of Smayusta represent, that's not representative although they are speaking for, claiming to speak for the whole First Nation. And it's bunk. It's posturing for the media. (Inf. M1)

Conflicts in the Nuxalk community intensified during the autumn of 1995 after the blockades at Ista. In late November, respected Ottawa activist and FAN member Corey Duncan disappeared while hiking alone near Tatsquan Creek. His body was found several days later. He had died from either a fall or hypothermia, and his body was then washed down the mountainside. The HoS wanted Duncan to be buried in the Nuxalk cemetery in honour of the work he had done to protect Nuxalk lands from logging. 100 Nuxalkmc turned out to disallow his burial in the Nuxalk cemetery, arguing that it should be reserved for Nuxalkmc. Their wishes were respected, underscoring eroding community support for the HoS, and an emergency meeting decided that important decisions in the future should be made by a vote of the people. This was in many ways a political turning point for the Nuxalkmc. (Feinberg 1995; Feinberg 1996b)

Then in February 1996, the Band Council held a community General Meeting where a majority of Nuxalkmc adults voted to evict FAN from Nuxalk territory. After being served the eviction notice, in a display of disrespect for Nuxalk sovereignty that seems almost schizophrenic, FAN simply relocated across the road into the village of Bella Coola. (ibid.) Evidently the discourse of Nuxalk sovereignty and jurisdiction used

by FAN at Ista lost value as a political resource when FAN, and not Interfor, was asked to leave Nuxalk territory.

In late April, in an effort to make up for a previous lack of community outreach, FAN attempted to book a community hall for a public meeting on "eco-forestry". The effort appears not to have been great enough, and tardy as well. Both the Nuxalk and Bella Coolan communities were by this point so alienated by FAN that Interfor was able to successfully lobby the Moose Hall, the Cedar Inn, and the Bella Coola Elementary School to deny FAN the venue. There are indications that Interfor also used some pressure in this regard:

You know, the tactics that are used by the corporations to divide the community, the threats that have gone out to area businesses about the repercussions they would face and boycotts, if they patronized, if they allowed FAN to patronize them, to me, those things are radical. (Inf. E4)

So far we've done very little [community outreach] up until about a month ago when we tried to...organize an ecoforestry conference... where we could send out a positive pro-logging message... It's just the kind of logging that we're upset about and protesting against. So we wanted to frame a debate in that way, so we organized a presentation and an ecoforestry conference and had a well known forest logger in BC to come into the valley and do talks and work with some of the local hand-loggers and go out into areas and check out sites and that sort of thing. And unfortunately that was blocked. There was a lot of threats at the time. People in the local community who had businesses were threatened by International Forest Products... [T]hey threatened a few businesses saying "you shouldn't help FAN out, you know, we won't be buying from you in the future, we'll take our business elsewhere," etc.. etc... [W]e certainly took it seriously. We'd heard of it happening in other communities before and economic blackmail can be quite an effective tool. We don't want to jeopardize people's businesses here just by supporting them... And the other aspect was trying to find a hall to have this presentation... [E]ventually our campaigner found a hall to book. And just a few days

before. Interfor put out a release which they stuck around town saying that the hall, everyone should petition, I think it was a school, to stop the hall from having this presentation... (Inf. E6)

These allegations of Interfor strong-arm tactics were corroborated by local business owners in "off-the-record" conversations.

Meanwhile, anger toward FAN in the Nuxalk community continued to grow. On May 4, 1996 two Nuxalk families organized a "Yellow-Ribbon" protest, which attracted dozens of Nuxalkmc to a march against FAN. That the march was co-opted and taken over by Interfor is a HoS allegation that appears to have some validity, based on the large number of Interfor employees and machines visible in a video taken of the march by FAN. (Forest Action Network 1996a), and the comment of this Bella Coolan:

[W]hen the anti-FAN demonstration took place, regardless of the fact that Interfor may have high-jacked it to a degree, an awful lot of the people were bearing their own recognisance and were in support of the Natives that were having the rally. (Inf. B3)

One placard, visible on a video of the march taken by FAN, made a play on the LRUP acronym, and said (rather eloquently) "Local Responsibility, not Urban Pretension." The march inevitably turned ugly, and at least two members of FAN were assaulted by a Bella Coolan protester.

It would appear that not only were there two Acts, but two stages as well. The Act on the Ista stage was performed for a global audience, where Fourth World discourse in the form of support for "Nuxalk sovereignty" made for powerful lines. On the local stage, however, FAN activists reverted to ecological discourse:

But at the end of the day, we're not trying to align ourselves with the most powerful group. We're trying to align ourselves with individuals who wish to protect the land. That's the key here... Let's not get caught up in the politics. We're not aligned with the House of Smayusta because they're sovereigntists and because they fight for their land back. We're aligned with them because they're guaranteeing that they are the traditional stewards of the land and they will continue to look after the land as it's been done for thousands of years. And because they've got a history of looking after the land. (Inf. E6)

It would appear that this discursive dichotomy is central to FAN's problems in the Bella Coola region.

DATE	EVENT
April 1994	The Nuxalk Nation contacts FAN. Ed Moody is then the elected Chief-in-Council.
February 1995	Ed Moody is defeated by Archie Pootlass in Nuxalk Nation Band Council election. Allegations of dishonesty levelled by both sides.
Winter/Spring 1995	Preliminary contact between FAN and House of Smayusta is established.
Spring 1995	FAN activists move into house on Nuxalk Reserve.
Summer 1995	HoS and FAN construct Tallheo Hot Springs spiritual lodge.
September 1995	FAN does not attend the General Meeting they were invited to by the Nuxalk Nation Band Council.
September 6, 1995	FAN and HoS begin blockade of logging road at Ista (Fog Creek).
September 26, 1995	41 RCMP arrest 22 Nuxalkmc and FAN activists at Ista.
October 18, 1995	Hereditary Chiefs sign terms of release after sudden death of Chief Nuximlayc's wife.
November 30, 1995	Body of FAN activist Corey Duncan found after accidental death.
December 1995	Conflict over burial of Corey Duncan in Nuxalk cemetery.
February 1996	Nuxalk Nation Band Council, with majority community support, serves FAN with a notice of eviction from Nuxalk territory. FAN simply moves across the street to the village of Bella Coola.
April 1996	Interfor successfully lobbies to have FAN denied public meeting space for discussion of "eco-forestry".
May 1996	"Yellow-Ribbon" or anti-FAN protest, organized by two Nuxalk families, is "hi-jacked" by Interfor. Some violence against FAN members.
June 27, 1996	Ista trial sentencing. Nuxalkmc given suspended sentences and probation. FAN activists fined and jailed.
June-July 1996	Period of field research for this study.

Table 7.1: Events in the Bella Coola Region.

8. Conflict and Community Identity: The Local Critics Speak

The making of the Other as something foreign is thus not an innocent exercise in differentiation. It is closely linked to how the self is understood. (Shapiro 1988)

The craziness comes from outside. I really think that. (Inf. B6)

...nothing is perfect and people do have their opinions. You can not expect everybody to be similar in every way. But you cannot stop doing something that you believe in just because not everybody agrees with what you are doing. (Inf. E7)

Review: The New Imperialism?

Coming to a remote area and, even if innocently, exploiting local indigenous cultures for valuable materials is best described as colonialism, and was certainly the hallmark of the colonial era. In the case of the Northwest Coast fur trade this was often

accomplished through deal-making with key power-brokers in the community who profited either economically or politically by their involvement with the Europeans. (Marsden and Galois 1995)

“Today the marginalization of native voices can be found, despite important differences, in the rhetorics and practices of both extractive capital and environmentalism.” (Willems-Braun 1997: 25. emphasis in original)

The ENGOs came in like environmental warlords. They are colonialistic. It reminds me of Indian Agents at turn of century. (Inf. II)

FAN is in the Bella Coola region in order to stop clearcutting and prevent the construction of roads into “pristine” areas.⁵⁴ The HoS invited the Forest Action Network to Bella Coola, ostensibly to assist in re-occupation of traditional territories and the protection of certain areas, including Ista (Fog Creek, King Island). A condition of FAN involvement was that they not work with any First Nation taking part in the B.C. Treaty Process (for the full text of the FAN/HoS Protocol, see Appendix G) The HoS alleges

⁵⁴ The term “pristine” is problematic in a number of regards. FAN’s “pristine” wilderness is pristine because of lack of modern technologies - a nature/culture dichotomy is created which corresponds to another constructed dichotomy of traditional/modern indigenous people. (Willems-Braun 1997: 22-3) Rogers (1994) argues that the idea of “pristine” wilderness reflects “the displacement of purity elsewhere”. and points out that “Pristine nature and heaven have a lot in common...” (p. 154-5) As one Bella Coolan informant put it:

“I think there’s a basic difference between a preservationist and a conservationist. FAN people I see as preservationists. And there’s a dangerous difference. And the difference lies in that some mythological belief that we can just put a glass bubble over stuff and just preserve it forever. And Nature doesn’t work that way. And neither do any of the ecosystems. ...it assumes... that everything is stable and stationary within those biosystems and ecospheres and that is totally untrue. I mean, there’s always something happening, negative or positive; there’s always interaction. And what it assumes is no interaction. (Inf. B3)

that the Treaty Process has been set up to deprive First Nations of their rightful territory, and facilitate further resource exploitation by TSCs, especially forestry companies.⁵⁵

Given the global phenomenon of ecologist-indigenous co-operation outlined in Chapter five above, the support of the House of Smayusta is excellent political collateral in FAN's fight against industrial forestry. Nuxalk Hereditary Chiefs in ceremonial garb are powerful images for the international media, as is rhetoric about working side-by-side with "Nuxalk traditional leadership". (Forest Action Network Media Releases - i.e. 09/14/95)

The new politics of the eco-Indian middle ground is primarily a symbolic politics; ideas and images, not common identity or economic interests, mobilize political actions... Indians possess... "symbolic capital," and positive ideas about Indians and their relations to nature have become a potent symbolic resource in transnational politics. (Conklin and Graham 1995: 696)

However, this "use" of the Nuxalk for their political-symbolic value appears to have at least exacerbated conflict within the Nuxalk Nation. According to Chief-in-Council Archie Pootlass, "FAN has also had its hand in dividing our people... We are frustrated that they have not seen fit to respect the wishes of the majority and just leave." (quoted in Feinberg 1996b) One FAN activist acknowledged this, saying that internal divisions among the Nuxalk

⁵⁵ Some support for this position is offered later in the concluding chapter.

...have at times made it difficult because you want to come in and you want to effect positive change but you don't want to be a cause for division. I mean there was already a large schism in the community over logging but to come in and then find yourself maybe exacerbating or at least creating a focal point... (Inf. E4)

This negative catalytic effect could perhaps have been avoided through better communication:

They haven't sat down with us, so we really don't know what they do or what they stand for. Like I said last night, Forest Action Network was invited by the Chief - a Chief. They say they have a protocol⁵⁶ with him. I have yet to see what it is. I don't even know what the agreement was. Do we? We don't even know what the agreement is, eh? (Inf. I12)

The principal complaints of opponents to FAN and their alliance with the HoS revolve around issues of representation.

[FAN] have committed themselves to a small percentage of the Nuxalk people. And they present that as the voice of the Nuxalk people. That's not good manners. Its quite rude. (Inf. B6)

FAN seems to be aware of this, and has stopped making general references to the "Nuxalk Nation" in their media releases. However, the nature of the Internet is such that once stated, representations are often repeated:

⁵⁶ This protocol between FAN and the "Nuxalk Nation" is found in Appendix G.

[T]he official line that we tend to use on most of our press releases is. 'We work with the traditional leadership of the Nuxalk Nation', is the way that we've said it and use it. And now it's been misquoted umpteen times to mean the whole of the Nuxalk Nation. But we do always say "the traditional leadership" or "the head Hereditary Chief", you know, however you want to word it. And we say things like, we have the support of the majority of the voting band council: 6 to the 11 councillors support us. The elected chief doesn't but... 'The support of the majority of the elders', that's another one we use as well. (Inf. E6)⁵⁷

What FAN seems to be unaware of is that referring to "traditional leadership" is equally problematic. To begin with, it presupposes a knowledge of Nuxalk history and culture that interviews revealed was almost entirely lacking among FAN activists. Informants associated with FAN expressed a complete ignorance of such critical facts as the total number of elders or number of Hereditary Chiefs in the Nuxalk Nation, the manner in which a Nuxalkmc becomes a Hereditary Chief, and the method of choosing a "head" Hereditary Chief.

E1: Sixteen... Hereditary Chiefs? Wow. I didn't know that. Hmm. We have only kept in contact with five...

B. Hipwell: Well the figures actually range from fifteen to seventeen, depending on who I have talked to.

E1: Well the ones that we have worked with - there are five. (Inf. E1)

When asked about these issues, informants from FAN said they did not know, that they considered this to be a matter of internal Nuxalk politics, or that they were not mandated to speak about it.

⁵⁷ This level of Band Council support decreased substantially after the subsequent election in early 1997.

As an environmental activist I try to stay away from the political goings-on on both sides of the House of Smayusta versus the council here. You could get bogged down for life basically and not move forward on your issue. So my knowledge is pretty limited in terms of who exactly are the Hereditary Chiefs, and what are their motivations... and that kind of thing. (Inf. E6)

Yet FAN media releases and newsletters consistently refer to co-operation with the “hereditary leadership”, which serves to legitimize contested HoS claims. Stating that FAN doesn’t want to “get caught up in the politics” (Inf. E6) is an obfuscation unlikely to satisfy the nation as a whole.

A common complaint about the approach taken by FAN centred on FAN’s use of the Internet to publicize their campaign. The near-universal lack of access to the Internet in the Bella Coola valley reinforced an impression that local people were being unfairly “written out” of FAN’s representations of the Bella Coola region:

Then there is, like yourself, you got a lot of information and impressions about this place from the Internet. We don’t have Internet access in this valley. We can’t read this stuff. We don’t even know what is being said about us! Its not fair. Its not fair at all. (Inf. B6)

When one informant finally gained access to the Internet, the reaction was shock:

When we looked at the FAN information on the Web, when we got to it, I was appalled. I said, “What? What? Oh my God? These people are writing these things? How could they? They’re writing on behalf of the Nuxalkmc people.” I’m Nuxalkmc. How come I had to read it on the Internet? (Inf. I11)

This use of the Internet was a strategic response to what FAN perceives to be anti-environmentalist bias in the “mainstream” media locally, provincially, and nationally:

They work very specifically from sources that are counter to our perspective. And, you know, they, without checking the integrity of those sources, take that word as gospel and print it as such. Which can be doubly damaging if you're not going to give any opportunity for the other side to present their position. Very purposefully one-sided picture painted... But we work to overcome it by using alternative media sources, like any other good environmentalist would do. (Inf. E5)

An analysis of Coast Mountain News (CMN) coverage serves to validate FAN's concerns regarding bias. In the construction of reality offered by CMN editors, a House of Smayusta mission to raise awareness in the U.S. about the appropriation of Nuxalk territory by Interfor was "a holiday many of us wish we could afford." (CMN 1996b) HoS Hereditary Chiefs "flaunt their disrespect of the judicial system" because they are "busy hobnobbing with the cream of society in L.A." (ibid.) Although the CMN once published (apparently verbatim) news releases from both Interfor and FAN during the Ista blockades, the FAN release is preceded by a lengthy disclaimer calling into question the veracity of the information it contains. (CMN 1995a) By contrast, nothing indicates the source of the Interfor release except for the final paragraph, which reads: "Interfor greatly appreciates the support of the Bella Coola community, Nuxalk Nation members, and IWA-Canada." (CMN 1995b) This latter acknowledgement of IWA by Interfor may shed some light on the silence of the Left in the growing conflict over unsustainable forestry and First Nations land claims in the Bella Coola region. The Left is complicit in the machinations of Industria, including its expropriation of Fourth World territory and resources.

Another article on the same page also appears to have been written by Interfor, though no source is provided. (CMN 1995c) This article begins by promising an analysis of logging on King Island “[w]ithout getting into the debate of why Fog Creek [Ista] has been put on the political map”. This neat discursive tactic is typical of what Willems-Braun (1997) calls a “staging of ‘pure’ spaces of economic and political calculation.” (p. 8) The article goes on to say that “experts” on the “leading edge” of “modern forest management” in “our” forests, will ensure that “biodiversity will be maintained.” This latter claim is made although an accompanying table shows that 46% of the forest will be clearcut (“harvested”) within a single generation.

Ironically, Angela Hall, editor of the CMN, states that FAN “refuses to find out the truth about an issue before they start flooding the wavelengths with rabid rhetoric” in a editorial where she implies (incorrectly) that King Island lies outside the Nuxalk territorial claim because it “actually falls within the boundaries of the traditional Heiltsuk territory”. (Hall 1996: 11) In fact, the claims overlap. (see Appendix E) Hall describes FAN as being gripped in a “Machiavellean [sic.] frenzy”, and states that the Nuxalk hereditary system is no more sophisticated or representative than having to accept as leader of Canada “Chretien’s son if [sic.] he was or was not qualified”. (ibid.) With its tacit and perhaps self-interested support of industrial forestry, and its racist, ignorant belittling of traditional indigenous governance, such rhetoric seems to better deserve the label “rabid” or “Machiavellian” than any FAN discourse encountered during the course

of research, and is disturbing to read in a public newspaper. It might be best accounted for with reference to Shapiro's observation quoted at the outset of this chapter. The Other is constructed in opposition to those qualities one would like to believe are one's own. In the case of the Bella Coola Region, the CMN is making implicit claims about what it considers the comparative rationality of loggers versus environmentalists, and the comparative legitimacy of the Canadian "democratic" system versus Nuxalk hereditary governance. Needless to say, these are highly contestable claims. In the light of this extreme media bias, FAN can not be blamed for using the Internet to get the message out about industrial forestry. Their mistake, once again, was presuming to represent the "Nuxalk Nation" in this regard.

Another complaint about FAN related to a perceived attitude of superiority:

It's an arrogance that they have trouble with. They consider it an urban arrogance that people are coming here and claiming to speak for them and tell them what's best for their community and how they should be operating in the community. And the assumption is that they are not capable of recognizing what's really good for their community, or the resource, or the environment. And there's a lot of resentment about that.
(Inf. M1)

This allegation that FAN members think locals are "not capable of recognizing what's really good for their community" appears to be supported by the comment of this informant, a member of FAN:

Well, we are not trying to take away anyone's job. We're just trying to get the forest practices here changed to a sustainable level, to a way that respects the ecosystem and the forest as well as the humans who use it. And people just don't see it that way. They don't understand that once these trees are gone they're gone. A lot of the areas around here that have been replanted haven't re-grown very well. And its going to take another thousand years to replace some of the old-growth. If they cut all the forests down then they are not going to have jobs anyway... If we can show people what is going on and make them realize how much they are being controlled by a corporation that employs only a really small percentage of people in the valley. If we can make them realize what is going on and show them, open their eyes, then it could be a really positive experience up here and it could really make a big, huge difference. (Inf. E1, emphasis added)

Field research determined that in fact, many Bella Coolans possess sophisticated knowledge of the local environment and of the implications of unsustainable logging practices.

I get the impression that they think "Well we've got the answers, we know what is going on, and we're gonna help you people. You unenlightened fools that you are." A lot of people feel insulted. As though they have no intelligence to understand what FAN is talking about. (Inf. B6)

If FAN truly envisages its rôle as one of local education, then it should, perhaps, have considered a locale where its expertise is more in demand.

FAN made key mistakes at the outset of its relationship with the Nuxalk. First and foremost was their decision not to engage in dialogue with the elected Chief-in-Council upon arrival. Second was their paradoxical use of "co-operation with the Nuxalk Nation" or "traditional Nuxalk leadership" while claiming not to take a stand on Nuxalk internal politics. Finally, having acknowledged Nuxalk sovereignty, FAN made the fatal

error of stubbornly refusing to respect the wishes of a clearly-constituted majority of Nuxalkmc and leave the territory. This refusal belied all of FAN's earlier (and ongoing) claims regarding respect for Nuxalk sovereignty. These mistakes led to a near unanimous rejection of FAN in the Bella Coola region, a rejection based more than anything on claims to legitimacy predicated on having "stakes" in the area.

An Emerging Regional Identity

In many ways the conflicts in the Bella Coola region over the past two years have played an important role in the articulation of a regional identity, one in this case formed in opposition to "Outside" forces including FAN and Interfor. In this vein Dalby and Mackenzie argue that the

"political dynamics of conflict may be better understood as an important part of the process of community formation and as part of ongoing practices of the rearticulation and reproduction of local and national political identities. Environments may be socially constructed in specific controversies, but so too are the communities that are formed around the specific issue, communities that often articulate specific local identities as part of the campaign against an 'external' development understood as an environmental 'threat'. (1997 forthcoming)

In some senses this is a positive product of a negative (conflict-ridden) process, for the lack of a strongly articulated community identity in Bella Coola in the past has in many ways allowed the exploitation of the region by trans-state corporations, and as a result of this exploitation, the subsequent intervention by FAN. The key now for residents of the

Bella Coola region will be to honestly confront important fissures running through their communities, and develop a responsive, flexible local identity.

Claims to Local Legitimacy: "They Have No Stake in Where They're At..."

"No matter what you say, I'm gonna be still here and you're gonna be gone." (Inf. 19)

One of the most fundamental and long-lived claims to political legitimacy is the one predicated on locality. Dalby and Mackenzie (1997) have pointed out that such phenomena as "NIMBY" ("Not In My Backyard") depend upon an acceptance that people who live in a local area and will bear the burdens of pollution or other environmental disturbances have a special and prior claim to make decisions in these regards. Similar claims were made by Bella Coolan and Nuxalkmc informants. In the words of one Bella Coolan:

Okay, here in this valley, a lot of these white people have been here for a hundred years, and that means a lot. A few generations. But a lot of these [logging] camps that I've been to, these guys are from god knows where just going into a camp. They don't have families there. They don't live there. They spend most of their lives there but they don't live there. They work ten-on, four-off. And then they come back again and just give `er shit again and make their money and leave again. They have no stake in where they're at... They don't think, "Holy Christ, I can't show this to my kids in the next ten-fifteen years." They have no stake in it! They don't even think about it. They just do it. Here it is different. People here have stakes in this community and there is a lot of white people and Native people that are inter-married. This is a valley that we all love... The common ground we have in this valley is the valley itself. To a person that lives here, the valley, the environment, the richness, the generosity of the place is something that people want to maintain. There has never been any real push on industrialization... There is a lot of heavy opposition to that... (Inf. B6)

The idea of "having stakes" in an area is a key component of the right to call upon the discourse of locality as a political resource. The fact that the majority of Interfor employees are "shipped in from outside" is seen by this Bella Coolan informant as a causal explanation for both the degree of ecological damage being caused by Interfor logging practices, and the relative local economic disempowerment. This view is shared by a Nuxalk Hereditary Chief: "...like forty years ago there used to be a lot of work, but things start to change. There's not much logging now. And Interfor brings in all these people from out of town and steal the Nuxalk's work." (Inf. I7)

For the Nuxalk, their claim to legitimacy is also wedded firmly to place. Nuxalk names, stories, and traditions have explicitly locational components:

...[O]ur smayustas, our land, and our territory speaks for itself because we have names, and we have stories, and we have songs and dances of the different places within our territory. We have that for names of streams, of rivers, names of mountain, names of certain hunting, fishing spots. They're in our stories, they're in our songs, or expressed in our dances. So the songs, the dances, and the stories, they remind us of those places. They remind us of how important they are. They remind us what's there. A name may tell us, a name of the river which means "where the Steelhead run", that's what the name tells us. That's where the Steelhead run. Ista, that tells us where the first Native was brought down to the world, into our territory. (Inf. I4)

The culture is our land I guess. It's like...about the land, taking a piece of our culture away. There are a lot of stories about where they've logged and grave sites been ploughed under in road building. (Inf. I6 - Buddy Mack)

When decisions are made from the outside, regardless of their actual impact, they can arouse local resentment:

'Cause a lot of people are saying, "Why do people in Ottawa - ?" OK. Ottawa makes all the decisions on our behalf. They are not even here, they do not know what is going on. And then these guys that make laws about the commercial fishing. Where are they from? What right do they have to make decisions on the commercial fishery here? They don't know one thing about it. (Inf. I11)

This is a sentiment that was expressed in various ways by most Nuxalkmc and Bella Coolan informants.

In addition to employing people primarily from outside the region, Interfor, Timberwest, and other forestry TSCs also routinely engage in representations of forestry practices that attempt to reify their tenure as a part of "the public good", ignoring the unsettled issue of legal title to the lands "of B.C." It is common to hear such companies

boast of their technological and scientific ability to “manage” forests for an undifferentiated public. (Willems-Braun 1997) Variations in the social and political topography are flattened out. The needs of a mythical and undifferentiated “B.C. public” are set ahead of regional or, in the case of the Nuxalk (and Heiltsuk), national interests. TSCs steadfastly ignore resistance to exploitative forest practices undertaken in the context of territorial claims. The Heiltsuk have gone as far as to alert investors and shareholders of Interfor, MacMillan-Bloedel, Western Forest Products Ltd. Fletcher Challenge, and several other TSCs that forestry is being undertaken on lands claimed by the nation in an active pursuit of a treaty settlement. (Heiltsuk Tribal Council 1994) TSC “staging” is most evident in Timberwest’s letter to the Bella Coola LRUP committee explaining why Timberwest does not support this important local initiative:

...economic realities dictate that the majority of the harvest must continue to flow to the [southern] conversion plants best able to extract the highest value from each log. To propose controls which would direct the harvest to local plants incapable of extracting the highest value constitutes a subsidy, and a cost to the public treasury. It may not be in the overall public interest, and it could spark countervail actions. (Brennenstuhl 1996)

Aside from the cheap threat implied by “countervail actions”, this passage is most interesting in terms of the unexamined premises upon which it rests:

1. That local plants are “incapable of extracting the highest value.”⁵⁸ .

⁵⁸ It would only be a minor digression to point out that “highest value” is also a highly contestable term.

2. That the harvest belongs to the “overall public”, rather than to a) the Nuxalk and Heiltsuk nations, which have never ceded sovereignty, or b) the local residents of the region in general.

3. That Timberwest knows what the “overall public interest” is.

One could rewrite the Timberwest letter from the perspective of the residents of the Bella Coola region, giving:

“...economic and ecological realities dictate that the harvest must occur at levels and in areas determined collectively by local residents. The majority of this harvest must flow to plants best able to support a thriving regional economy in perpetuity. To continue to allow Outside corporations to sell the majority of the harvest to southern plants incapable of providing the highest return to the Nuxalk, Heiltsuk and other permanent residents of the Bella Coola region constitutes a subsidy, and a cost to the public (through welfare, unemployment insurance, etc.) and local treasuries. It is not in the overall local interest, and it could spark countervail actions...”⁵⁹

The politics of locality also impact the way FAN is perceived in the valley. It is unlikely FAN will be considered a “local” group simply because they have a house in Bella Coola. Their presence in the region does not fulfil a workable definition of what “local” must be in context of “local decision-making”, “local governance”, etc. inherent in political notions of bioregionalism. For such a system to be functional, local residents

⁵⁹ Yes, this is an attempt to put Brennenstuhl on the “hot seat”.

could not allow decisions to be made by electors who might just “parachute in” to stack a ballot. As one FAN activist admitted:

OK, I'll talk about a few problematic aspects. Um, I guess the first one is that there's a deep mistrust. First of all in any small town or community, there's this kind of small town initial mentality. And it's a distrust of outsiders which from a bioregionalist sense that can be a good thing. When you're an environmental group wanting to move in that can work against you... (Inf. E6)

Some minimal criteria of “local residency” needs to be established. FAN has made a maximum five year “commitment” to the area. Activists arrive and leave on a weekly basis. Most of them live a transient life style typical of urban people in their early twenties. Few if any of them appear to have taken residency steps such as changing the address on driver's licences, licence plates, etc. Local residents are understandably sceptical of the legitimacy of “local” interests expressed by such a transient, explicitly political group.

This is a fish bowl. Everybody knows what everyone's doing. And they're not used to large groups of urban activists who have a particular look. Tree-huggers or tree-planters, I'm never sure which, but it's a look. It's an urban, um, I don't know how to describe it, but it often involves nose-rings, and funny hair, and women with boots and skirts... (Inf. M1)

In many ways, this negative reaction to “outside” interference parallels local reactions to outside loggers.

Local Fissures

Dalby and Mackenzie have warned that any construction of community identity in response to a perceived external threat is likely to have the effect of rendering invisible fissures within that “community”. This is the case in the Bella Coola region. This section will explore some of these fissures between the Nuxalkmc and the Bella Coolans, and within the Nuxalk Nation itself, and offer tentative observations on the potential for reconciliation.⁶⁰

The Bella Coolans and the Nuxalkmc: A Potential for Solidarity

Local relations between the Nuxalkmc and the Bella Coolans can not be abstracted from the broader context in which they occur. The Nuxalk Nation exists in a political environment of entrenched, systemic racism. For example, on March 8, 1991, Chief Justice Alan McEachern handed down a B.C. Supreme Court decision in Delgamuukw v. The Queen, known popularly as the Gitksan-Wet’suwet’en land claim case. Incredibly, he quoted from Thomas Hobbes’ Leviathan in concluding that indigenous life on the Northwest coast was “nasty, brutish, and short” because these cultures lacked the wheel or horses. (Waldram et. al. 1992) This Eurocentric (Blaut

⁶⁰ There were also indications from informants that women in the community are disempowered: several spoke of the need for abuse-counselling and a women’s shelter. However, this latter fissure was not investigated during field research, nor will it be explored below, primarily because of my own lack of expertise in the area of gender conflict.

1993) characterization flies in the face of the consensus of anthropological experts (whose testimony McEachern refused to consider) and the oral histories of indigenous peoples themselves. It is a position which perpetuates inaccurate and racist images of indigenous peoples, perhaps in order to render depopulation, cultural genocide (through anti-potlatch laws and Residential schools) and the theft of indigenous territories and resources more retrospectively palatable to the Canadian establishment (along with its sibling, international capital) and public. One is forced to wonder whether McEachern was able to abstract from his own background as a member of the establishment. It has been alleged that McEachern's former partners and associates made up most of the counsel representing the federal and provincial governments against the Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en. (Settlers in Support of Indigenous Sovereignty 1997) The Delgamuukw case is seen as precedent-setting, and reveals the moral bankruptcy of government attitudes toward indigenous peoples. It undoubtedly makes it difficult for the Nuxalk to trust the Canadian legal and political systems. Most immediately, it has undoubtedly increased suspicion of the B.C. Treaty Process.

Systemic racism is felt on local levels as well, whether it is through the "one law for all Canadians" rhetoric of local Reform Party supporters, which attempts to sweep matters of history, international law, and morality under a modernist carpet, or through simple discrimination in the workplace. As a Bella Coolan business person observed: "The big corporations have a terrible track record hiring Natives. Natives are consistently

bypassed in promotions in Interfor.” (Inf. B5) One Nuxalkmc supporter of Chief-in-

Council Pootlass corroborated this claim:

[A Nuxalk man] was working, logging all this time, and they phoned him and said he didn't have to come in. And he was sitting at home and said, "Why would they phone and tell me not to come in?" So he went on site and he seen he was bumped for a White guy. One of the people, like I say they bumped him off his job and he's been logging for years. (Inf. 111)

Such racism forms another inescapable context for the attitudes and perspectives of

Nuxalkmc of all political stripes. As an elected Councillor remarked:

I have lost trust in the white people of this valley after years of racism. There needs to be some recognition of land claims issues. They just pretend the issue doesn't exist. There needs to be more Nuxalk control. We own this land as a Nuxalk - we never sold it. They talk about a Community Forest License. Well how can I buy into the idea of a Community Forest License with the incredible racism in this valley? (Inf. 11)

Another Bella Coola business person claimed

In other places, over time, the viciousness has gone, but not here. This community is very racist... Even as recently as 7 years ago it was one clique. The older whites feel bitter toward the Natives and toward "Outsiders". (Inf. B2)

A series of anti-racism workshops in the valley might help to dispel stereotypes and negative images of the Nuxalk. In addition, proactive employment practices and internal corporate reviews of hiring and promotions would help improve corporate performance in this area. As indicated in Chapter 2, Little Valley Forest Products has already made significant progress in this regard.

The Nuxalk Nation will have to guard against reproducing racist attitudes in its own reformulation of identity. As Jackson and Jacobs (1996) warn: "It is just as likely that racism will be found in the... essentialized desires of new environmentalisms or even within some anticolonial nationalisms." (p. 2) In light of the sovereigntist position taken by many Nuxalkmc, there are bound to be fears generated among Bella Coolan people whose families have been in the Bella Coola valley for several generations regarding the security of land tenure and rights of inheritance. This is especially likely given a media release sent out by the House of Smayusta on "Nuxalk Nation Government" letterhead entitled "Nuxalk Nation Position". This media release quotes the Royal Proclamation of 1763 at length. A few passages are underlined, but the one most likely to have caused concern is this:

"And, we ...strictly ... require all Persons ... who have willfully or inadvertently seated themselves upon ... lands which, not have [sic.] been ceded to or purchased by us, are still reserved to the said Indians as foresaid, forthwith to remove themselves from such settlements ... (Royal Proclamation of 1763 cited in Nuxalk House of Smayusta Media Release - 09/10/95, emphasis in Release)

Aside from being perhaps needlessly provocative, the media release seems to fail to distinguish between the letter of the law and the spirit of the law. While King George might have reasonably asked settlers to vacate recently (and illegally) occupied lands in 1763, such a demand could not be reasonably made five generations later. To imply that all non-Nuxalk residents of the valley should "remove themselves" is to invite hostility. A more reasonable approach, mentioned in Chapter five, is the one taken by the Arrow

Lakes - Okanagan Nation. While announcing that they are re-occupying ancestral lands never sold or ceded by treaty, they have stated publicly that privately-owned lands will stay in their owners' possession, reserving only the right of first purchase. (George 1997)

The Nuxalk territorial claim may be the only lever to end the unwelcome provincial and federal interference in the valley spoken of by several Bella Coolan informants. Perhaps this fact will provide incentive for co-operation between Bella Coolans and the Nuxalk Nation. M'Gonigle (1988) suggests that Native/environmentalist blockades and injunctions can be seen as minor tactics in a broad strategy to grant greater power to local communities, but he urges that the quest for Native self-government be expanded to include a framework for equitable participation in local resource management by all people in a local community. That FAN and the HoS have failed to do this is abundantly clear from the informants' narratives quoted above. That the LRUP process has also failed in this regard is clear from the written comments of the Heiltsuk and Nuxalk Nations. (Wilson 1996; Pootlass 1996) Perhaps, a new, expanded, joint Nuxalk/Heiltsuk/Bella Coolan LRUP process that addresses explicitly the issue of First Nations sovereignty and works it into plans for local political and economic control would succeed. In response to the suggestion that perhaps Bella Coolans and the Nuxalk Nation should sit down to a locally-controlled and constituted "pre-land claims process", this Bella Coolan said:

[F]irst and foremost a [community meeting] would clear the air on the positions of all the stakeholders and the people that are involved in the meeting. They could all at that time state what their agenda was, or what their ideas were on local use of resources. I think the communication aspect is absolutely critical. In this community and many other small communities the communication between the Native and the non-Native community has to open up, that dialogue has to open up and extend. that's right. And I think that there's people of good will on both sides that would really like to see that happen. (Inf. B3)

Work is needed on both sides of the cultural conflict in the region to avoid contentious representations and needless provocation. A united Bella Coolan/Nuxalk movement would wield considerable power in the ongoing struggle for local political and economic control.

Towards a Nuxalk National Reconciliation?

As one Bella Coolan informant argued, the political divisions in the Nuxalk Nation have decreased the nation's ability to present a united front against colonial exploitation. "What the government has done is the old English strategy of divide and conquer. It's pretty obvious." (Inf. B2) Certainly before the present internal conflict, the Nuxalk were a formidable political force. Successful protests launched by the Nuxalk (without external aid) have halted proposed developments, including a deep sea port, a resort, and planned logging on Thorsen Creek. (Inf. I1) The strength of the Nuxalk territorial claim is downplayed by Bella Coolans in the valley, but may in fact be irrefutable under Canadian and international law. The sad irony of the conflict,

intensified by FAN involvement in the region is that little has been done legally in several years to push this claim forward. Meanwhile, industrial forestry continues unabated. Certainly there appear to be grounds for reconciliation, if the comments of this supporter of the Chief-in-Council are in any way representative:

We agree wholeheartedly with what they're doing. We agree with protest. We agree... We still feel like we would support them had they come to the General Meeting at the hall... We are Nuxalkmc, and I believe we can argue. We can argue, but then we will know each other's feelings and there is respect... We still haven't closed the doors. We still have the doors open. (Inf. 111)

Interviews conducted with supporters of the NNBC on the one hand, and the HoS on the other, underscore the fact the views and objectives of these factions are not nearly as different as has been claimed. According to interview data, both factions:

- believe in the sovereignty of the Nuxalk Nation over unceded, traditional territories.
- consider the late George Manuel (founder of Fourth World theory) to be an inspiration for First Nations independence;
- believe that industrial forestry as it is currently being practised in the area is not sustainable;
- assert that Nuxalk traditional and current ecological knowledge could serve as a basis for sustainable use of the region's wealth;
- would like to see reconciliation between the Nuxalk and the Bella Coolans, based on an honest and mutual attitude of respect and trust;

- fervently desire a healing of the rifts within the Nuxalk community.

These commonalties could serve as the basis for a Nuxalk national reconciliation.

Certainly such a reconciliation is a precondition for the development of solidarity with the Bella Coolans, and meaningful resistance to external penetration and control.

9. Conclusion

As indicated in Chapter one, the original purpose of this project was to evaluate the Nuxalk/FAN relationship in context of similar co-operative efforts elsewhere. As the preceding Chapters have shown, the Nuxalk House of Smayusta and the Forest Action Network are each manifestations of broader, global phenomena: the Fourth World and radical ecology movements respectively. It has been shown that there exist powerful rationales for these movements - namely the systemic disempowerment of indigenous peoples world-wide, and catastrophic threats to the integrity of the biosphere. The Fourth World movement is an important collective expression of (re-)emergent indigenous identities, and presents challenges to modernist notions of state sovereignty and inter-national relations. The Nuxalk Nation, particularly those Nuxalkmc associated with the House of Smayusta, has played a vital rôle in the movement's international development, most notably through the Nuxalk Nation Government's (1984) presentation to the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Peoples. Radical ecology, too, launches challenges to modernity, and as an Industrian social movement helps to

reconfigure Industrian politics by questioning fundamental attitudes and ethical systems vis-à-vis Gaia. The Forest Action Network, with its commitment to non-violence, its recognition of indigenous land rights, and its willingness to break laws is a paradigmatic example of a radical ecology organization. It was also shown how philosophical and ideological commonalities form a basis for co-operation between these two movements. In this Chapter, an attempt will be made to answer this project's primary research question: Is the Nuxalk Nation/Forest Action Network relationship a successful example of indigenous/ecologist co-operation? Such an evaluation is of course dependent upon local context, and this was investigated in the previous chapter.

Industrial forestry has not been kind to the Bella Coola region's human and non-human inhabitants. TSC shareholders have grown wealthy in Industrian suburbia, while the Bella Coola region, never more than a free supply of resources in the eyes and minds of Industria's rulers, has been impoverished economically and ecologically. As indicated in Chapter two, despite the harvest and export from the region of billions of dollars worth of timber in the past few decades, the local economy is in shambles. It resembles in many ways the economic situation of Third World states. Unemployment ranges from 50-80%, and there seems little hope for improvement in the immediate future without fundamental changes in the decision-making process. Central to such changes would be a move to greater local autonomy. Forestry TSCs are at the forefront of efforts to water down or

derail such initiatives, as is shown by the Timberwest letter quoted in the previous chapter.

Members of three primary groups were interviewed during research for this project: the Nuxalk Nation, the Forest Action Network, and the Bella Coolans. Each of these groups have suffered harm at the hands of southern-based decision-makers, each cares passionately, in their own ways, for the Bella Coola region, and each has a vision of sustainable, local control over the wealth of the region. However, each group has also engaged in problematic representations of the other, representations which have widened the gulfs among them, and made more difficult the solidarity upon which their common goals depend.

Numerous discourses have been invoked as political resources during the intense struggles in the region. The discourse of locality as a basis for political legitimacy was looked at in the previous chapter. The application of radical ecology and Fourth World theory in the Bella Coola region will be examined below, in order to finally evaluate the FAN/Nuxalk relationship.

A radical ecology approach has been taken by FAN in their newsletters and many media releases. Radical ecology tends to be biocentric, and FAN activists interviewed referred to their commitment to protecting the non-human world. It also contains an explicit critique of Industria, and links the colonization of indigenous peoples to the colonization of the non-human world. However, radical ecologists often profess a

disinterest in human affairs except where they directly impact upon wilderness. In the words of a FAN activist:

All I know is that the Earth up here needs help and I found a group of people who are willing to help it, and, I don't know... human politics kind of frustrate me. I just see it as games that people play and there are so many other creatures out here besides humans that I think its kind of egotistical for us to only play human games. (Inf. E1)

This may account for the difficulties FAN got itself into in the region. Indigenous nationalism and the Fourth World discourse are inherently human, and inherently political. Although there are, as pointed out in Chapter five, numerous commonalities between Fourth World and radical ecology theories, the evidence gathered for this project indicates that in some important regards they are incommensurate discourses. This would account for FAN's "schizophrenic" shift from its unconditional support for Nuxalk sovereignty during the trials resulting from the blockade at Ista (Discourse 1), to its disregard for that sovereignty when served with an eviction notice by the Nuxalk majority (Discourse 2):

We're not aligned with the House of Smayusta because they're sovereigntists and because they fight for their land back. We're aligned with them because they're guaranteeing that they are the traditional stewards of the land and they will continue to look after the land as it's been done for thousands of years. (Inf. E6)

The first discourse, that of support for Nuxalk sovereignty, appears to have been adopted primarily for political reasons. The second discourse, exemplified by the most recent two quotes, was more honest and reflective of the radical ecology position.

A "Fourth World" approach has been consistently taken by both factions of the Nuxalk. Central to their position is a belief that they retain moral and legal sovereignty over unceded lands. As noted above, the Nuxalk Nation has long-standing ties to the Fourth World movement and its founder George Manuel. That the Nuxalk nation continues to embrace a Fourth World approach is most evident when one considers that supporters of the current Chief-in-Council launched critiques of the Band Council system very similar to those made by the House of Smayusta:

The Councils are only elected to look after the program of the government or the DIA. They're only there because the government wanted them there. They were scared of the [Hereditary] Chiefs... Like the old days no matter where you go you always depended on the Chiefs. But the elected Council is always changing every two years. (Inf. I9)

As shown in Chapter three these accusations are hardly unique to the Nuxalk. Band Councils are under attack across Canada amidst accusations of corruption, favouritism, and colonial, political co-optation. Similar concerns underlie the Nuxalk rejection of the B.C. Treaty Process. An elected Band Councillor and NNBC supporter echoed House of Smayusta criticism of the B.C. Treaty Commission:

I would never support the Treaty Process. We need our own war chest to fight that process. In 20 years where are the Nisga'a going to be? There is no way I could agree to that! As a sovereign nation we can do much better than the Treaty Commission is offering. Look at the Bolt Decision in 1974-75. They're down in the Seattle area. They got 50% of their territory. The Nisga'a only got 18% under the Treaty Process... There's no way I'm going to allow these bullshit companies to come in and destroy the land. Sometimes you need to take a stand - it's warfare. What I do not want is interference from multi-nationals, or Environmental NGOs. (Inf. I1)

This distrust of the Treaty Process may in fact be well founded, given the recent appointment of former Daishowa director Alec Robertson to the position of Chief Commissioner of the B.C. Treaty Commission. In addition to his connection to Daishowa, a Japan-based forestry TSC implicated in the devastation of Lubicon nation territory, Robertson is also a senior partner of Davis and Company, which has included Mitsubishi, Alcan, Chrysler, and MacMillan-Bloedel among its clientele. (Shafer 1997) These connections might explain why guarantees of continued access to resources by TSCs for some minimum period (typically five years) after the signing of any treaty has remained such an integral part of the B.C. and federal governments' bargaining position.

Chiefs associated with the HoS have repeatedly stated that the Canadian court system has no jurisdiction over the Nuxalkmc and their territory. This claim, based on the Royal Proclamation of 1763, may in fact have international legal validity, given the lack of any treaty or other Canadian title to Nuxalk lands. (Clark 1995) However, it was also pointed out by informants that the HoS, simultaneous to their claim of exclusive jurisdiction, launched (and lost) a federal court case to have their opponents removed from the NNBC.

You know they hand out a flyer called "The Nuxalk Nation Government"? They handed this out to every home in the community. And it said, "We do not recognize the court of law, we don't believe in that system." And we were shocked when they turned around and brought the other six elected Councillors, Archie supporters, to court... They are saying one thing and doing another. People can read. You lose faith in people like that... (Inf. 111)

This is an incongruity in the sovereigntist position taken by the House of Smayusta, and as indicated by the reaction quoted above, one unlikely to strengthen community belief in HoS rhetoric. An attempt was made in Chapter three to demonstrate that the Fourth World position is one that is very difficult to assail, but that hegemonic forces (i.e. Industrian governments, TSCs and the media) will take advantage of any inconsistency to attempt to discredit indigenous nationalism. It is advisable that such inconsistencies be avoided.

So we turn again to the initial question: Is the Nuxalk House of Smayusta/Forest Action Network relationship a successful example of indigenous/ecologist co-operation? If "success" is rated by column inches of international newspaper coverage, or other measures of publicity, then the answer is "yes". The media-savvy alliance has done an admirable job of publicizing the tragedy of industrial forestry in the Bella Coola region. In addition to generating stories in the local Coast Mountain News, FAN/HoS actions have received extensive coverage in Canadian, U.S., and international newspapers and magazines such as the William's Lake Tribune (e.g. 1995), Province (e.g. Grindlay 1995), Vancouver Sun (e.g. Hamilton 1995), Globe and Mail (e.g. 1995), San Francisco Chronicle (e.g. Martin 1995), and Neues Deutschland (e.g. Ludwig 1996). For example, in a recent, brilliantly-conceived action, FAN activists in England, backed by Nuxalk Hereditary Chiefs, entered a lumber yard and seized lumber that had been purchased from Interfor, and which had originated on Nuxalk territory. They then took this lumber to the

local police station and turned it in as "stolen property" they had reclaimed for the Nuxalk. (Forest Action Network - U.K. 1997)

If "success" can be measured by the stimulation of local debate, no matter how shrill, then the answer is once again a resounding "yes". The presence of FAN has also had the instrumental effect of causing a

a tremendous forming of ranks, in terms of local people, in terms of vocalization of how they feel. And I don't mean in a violent manner. I just mean in a coalescing-- where they just come together and say that they're tired of being portrayed as the rapers of the forest and the oceans. You know, we live here and we want to continue to live here and we want to raise our kids here and our families. And I don't think a lot of us see ourselves the way that FAN sees us or the way that environmentalists see us. (Inf. B6)

These accomplishments speak in the first instance to the potency of Nuxalk symbolic capital wielded by FAN in the eyes and ears of the media, and in the second instance to the volatility of the radical ecologist position in an isolated rural community of 3000 souls.

Returning to the arguments presented earlier in this thesis, the success of indigenous-ecologist co-operation must be evaluated on the basis of several criteria. Ecologically, success is based largely on the construction of an ecological identity among indigenous peoples: by working with ENGOs and taking a pro-environment position. indigenous nations construct themselves as guardians of nature whether or not they were in the past. Self-constructions in an ecological mode may also stimulate research into and interest in "the old ways", with the potential to inform broader local discussions of

sustainable economics. If these were FAN's objectives in co-operating with the House of Smayusta, then they have only been partially achieved.

Success, however, may be a deeper and more complex idea. Long-term success in the Bella Coola region, from both a biocentric and an anthropocentric perspective, will be predicated on local community empowerment, and a sharing of cultural knowledge and insights that have long remained marginalized between the two solitudes of the Nuxalk Nation and the Bella Coolans. FAN appears to have at least temporarily decreased the likelihood of achieving that solidarity by exacerbating internal divisions in both communities. Industrial forestry in the area, meanwhile, continues unabated. Long-term success in Industria may, however, be measured by other criteria. Since FAN's chief objective would appear to be influencing the general public to reduce consumption of the products of wholesale forest ecocide, and adding pressure on policy makers (via, for instance, participation in the Canadian Rainforest Network, or occupations of government offices), then FAN may have had a more positive impact. The wheels of politics and entrenched capital, alas, move slowly. There is a serious danger that by the time the policy changes FAN seeks come about, it will already be too late for the economy of Bella Coola. The villages of the region will be deserted, replaced only by heli-pads and roving logging camps. Local resistance to the Industrian juggernaut will be gone, save perhaps for a few angry hermits. Some of the most critical habitat for a score of endangered species, including the last best chance for the Pacific salmon, will have been

lost. FAN will have moved on to the next hot spot, ready to play a vital rôle in the resistance. In the face of this scenario, in effect a sacrificing of the Bella Coola region in pursuit of higher political objectives, the FAN's silencing of dissenting voices in the Bella Coola valley, and contempt for Nuxalk sovereignty can be only seen as a tragedy.

For these reasons it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Nuxalk/FAN relationship is not a successful example of indigenous-ecologist co-operation, but rather a sad, and avoidable, failure. The moment of crisis was when a majority of the Nuxalk Nation demanded that they leave, and ironically blinded by a belief in one version of "Nuxalk sovereignty", FAN refused. It is time for FAN to pull out of the Bella Coola region, perhaps to seek a new alliance with another First Nation, but one that will be based on honesty, respect, and a healthy reluctance to engage in political representations.

The people of the Bella Coola region, Nuxalkmc and Bella Coolan alike, have taken important first steps toward (re)asserting local control over resource extraction. The Nuxalkmc have asserted their sovereignty over their lands through direct actions (Thorsen Creek, Ista, etc.) and site re-occupations (e.g. Tallheo Hot Springs), while the Bella Coolans have embarked (regrettably without Nuxalk involvement) on the important initiative represented by the Local Resource Use Plan. The difficulties of imagining and implementing an equitable form of local control, in the face of immense external pressure, form considerable obstacles. These first steps, however tentative, may well point out the direction for a greater journey toward political autonomy. In undertaking

such a journey, the Nuxalkmc and Bella Coolans may choose to enlist the aid and guidance of outside organizations, or they may choose, in the fashion so typical of the people of this rugged bioregion, to strike out on their own. The harrowing road up the Hill is a testament to their tenacity. These two peoples may also choose to walk some distance from one another, but in sharing the same path, they must eventually walk together. United, the people of the Bella Coola region can launch challenges to external penetration which the Industrian hegemony will find very difficult to counter, and which can, perhaps, bring an end to the unwelcome meddling of those who have "no stake in where they're at."

Appendices

Appendix A: Glossary of Terms and Abbreviations

Band Council -	The form of electoral governance imposed upon First Nations in Canada by the Indian Act of 1870.
<u>CMN</u> -	<u>Coast Mountain News</u>
CRN -	Canadian Rainforest Network (ENGO coalition)
DFO -	Canadian Department of Fisheries and Oceans
DIA -	Canadian Department of Indian and Northern Affairs
ENGO -	Environmental non-governmental organization (“ecology group”)
FAN -	Forest Action Network
HoS -	House of Smayusta
IACHR -	Inter-American Commission on Human Rights
Inf. -	Informant (interview subject)
Interfor -	International Forest Products Inc. (forestry TSC)
LRUP -	Bella Coola Local Resource Use Plan
MCFD -	Mid-Coast Forest District
MoF -	British Columbia Ministry of Forests
NGO -	Non-governmental organization
NNBC	Nuxalk Nation Band Council

Glossary of Terms (cont.)

NNG -	Nuxalk Nation Government - same as House of Smayusta ⁶¹
Nuxalk Nation -	All Nuxalk people, including supporters of the HoS and the Chief-in-Council
Sierra Club -	Sierra Club of Western Canada (Bella Coola Chapter)
SISIS -	Settlers in Support of Indigenous Sovereignty. An indigenous rights/environmental NGO operating primarily on the Internet.
TSC -	Trans-state corporation. This is used rather than "multinational corporation" or "trans-national corporation" because the latter two terms obfuscate the tensions between "nations" and "states" explored more fully in Chapter three.
(The) Web -	World-Wide Web (Internet)

⁶¹ I make this assertion based on informants' statements and the fact that the two names are used interchangeably on the same letterhead.

Appendix B: Codes and Descriptions of Informants

Letter-Number Codes Used⁶²:

Nuxalk or other First Nations:	I1, I2, etc. (I for "Indigenous")
Non-Native Bella Coola Valley Residents:	B1, B2, etc. (B for "Bella Coolan")
Ecological Activists:	E1, E2, etc. (E for "Ecological")
Government Employees:	C1, C2, etc. (C for "Civil Servant")
Miscellaneous:	M1, M2, etc. (M for "Miscellaneous")

Descriptions:

Nuxalk or other Indigenous - 7 women (w), 11 men (m)

- I1: An elected Band Councillor of the Nuxalk Nation. (m)
- I2: A member of the Nuxalk Nation. (w)
- I3: A Hereditary Chief of the Nuxalk Nation. (m)
- I4: A Hereditary Chief of the Nuxalk people. (m)
- I5: A Nuxalk sovereigntist and traditional artist. (m)
- I6: Buddy Mack, a Nuxalk House of Smayusta supporter and former logger. (m)
- I7: A Hereditary Chief of the Nuxalk Nation. (m)
- I8: A Nuxalk Elder. (w)
- I9: A Nuxalk Hereditary Chief and supporter of the Chief-in-Council. (m)
- I10: A Nuxalk woman, supporter of the Chief-in-Council. (w)
- I11: A Nuxalk woman, supporter of the Chief-in-Council. (w)
- I12: A Nuxalk woman, supporter of the Chief-in-Council. (w)
- I13: A Nuxalk Elder. (m)
- I14: A Nuxalk Elder. (w)
- I15: A Nuxalk Elder. (w)
- I16: A Hereditary Chief of the Nuxalk Nation. (m)
- I17: A Mohawk nationalist and military trainer. (m)
- I18: A B.C. First Nation (not Nuxalk) Band Councillor. (m)

⁶² These codes are different from those appearing on the original transcripts because the code previously assigned to one of the informants inadvertently became public knowledge. Secondly, during the field research component, I numbered informants of various categories in the order in which they were interviewed, which could have enabled some of them to be identified by people in the valley familiar with my schedule of interviews.

APPENDIX B (cont.)

Non-Native Bella Coola Valley Residents - 2 women, 4 men

- B1: A Bella Coola business person and member of the Sierra Club. (w)
- B2: A logging industry employee. (m)
- B3: A Bella Coola valley resident active in fish, wildlife and conservation issues. (m)
- B4: A commercial fisherman in the Bella Coola region. (m)
- B5: A self-employed business person. (w)
- B6: A Bella Coola area naturalist. (m)

Ecological Activists - 4 women, 3 men

- E1: An environmental/social activist and member of the Forest Action Network. (w)
- E2: A Canadian radical ecologist. (m)
- E3: A Canadian radical ecologist. (w)
- E4: An ecological activist and member of the Forest Action Network. (w)
- E5: A long-term ecological activist and member of the Forest Action Network. (w)
- E6: An ecological activist and member of the Forest Action Network. (m)
- E7: A herbalist, university graduate and member of the Forest Action Network. (m)

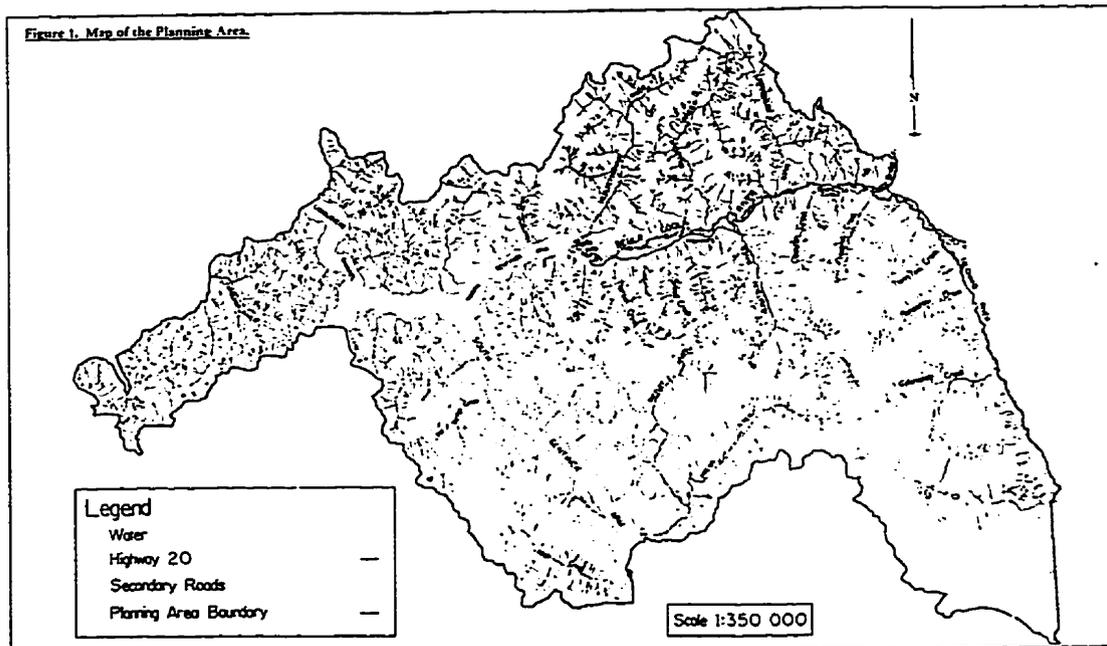
Government Employees - 1 withheld

- C1: A senior employee of the B.C. Ministry of Forests, Mid-Coast Forest District.
(gender withheld by researcher)

Miscellaneous - 1 woman, 1 withheld

- M1: A journalist familiar with the Bella Coola valley. (withheld)
- M2: A migrant worker interviewed in Bella Coola. (w)

Appendix C: The LRUP Planning Area Map



(Map reduced - ignore scale)

Reprinted with permission of the BCLRUP Committee.
Source: LRUP Committee 1996: 2

Appendix D: The Thriving of Wild Salmon

Excerpts from a speech by Simon Lucas, Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council

"I have a vision of the future for the west coast of Vancouver Island... In my vision, the steep mountains around Kennedy Lake are beautifully green, not as they are today – almost bare and wasting away to the rivers. Yes, there is logging in my vision, but logging in small patches, spaced among growing and mature timber. And in my vision, hundreds of thousands of sockeye swarm again in Tofino River and the Kennedy River. They spawn in Kennedy Lake and its tributaries. And in my vision, seiners and gill-netters, spaced out along Browning Passage and Tofino Inlet, respectfully sharing in the bounty of the sockeye returning to Kennedy Lake as they once did. Native and non-native fishermen sharing this abundance as freely as they once did...

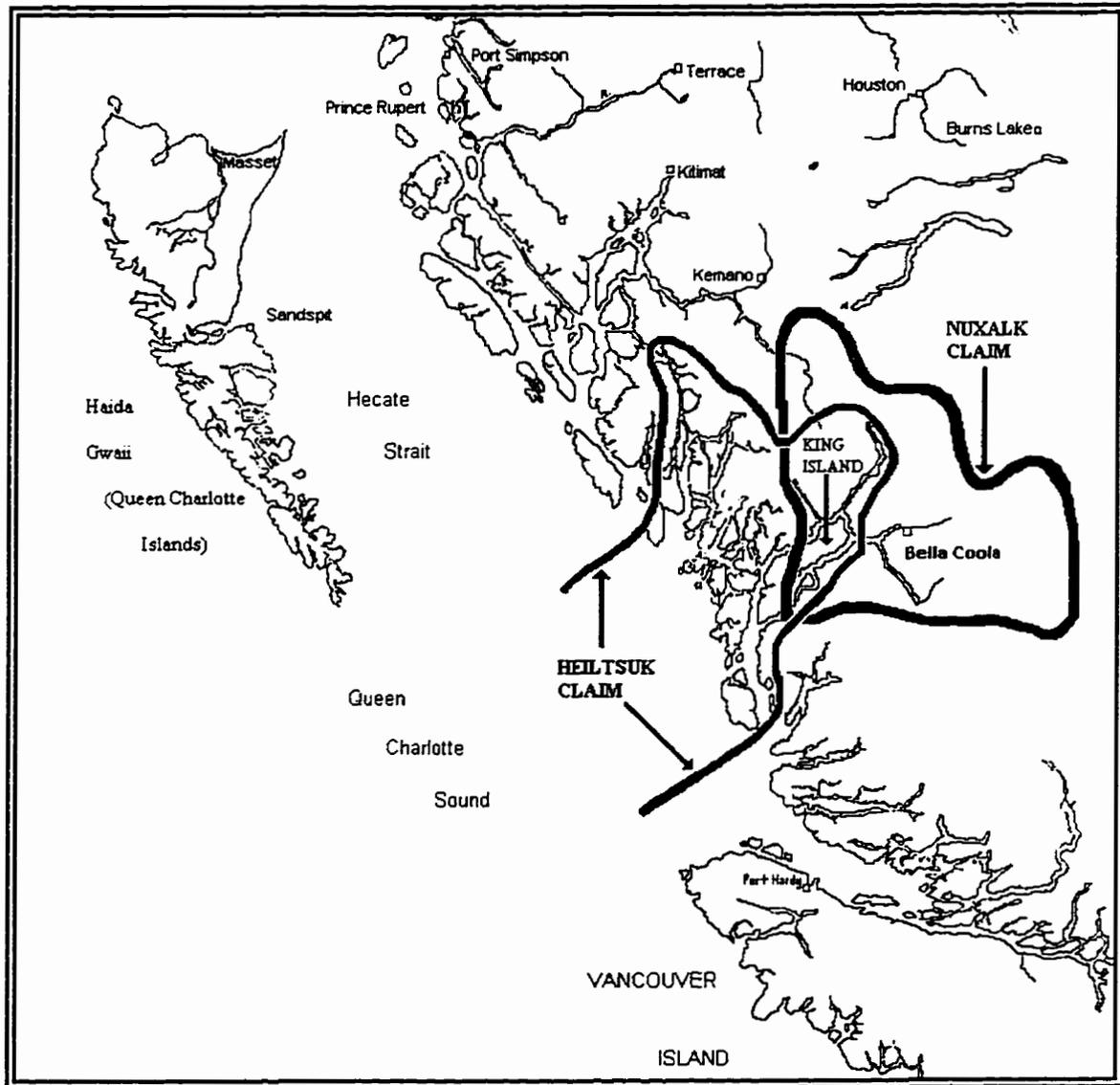
In my vision, our communities thrive and prosper through the careful management, sharing and use of fisheries and other resources like they once did. You see, my vision is not based on the survival of salmon, but on the thriving of wild salmon. My vision is not based upon the survival of our people and our communities, but on their thriving. Most importantly, my vision is based on the complete interdependence between our people and wild salmon. Our communities are spread along the coast and we cannot thrive unless wild salmon thrive. Equally, I do not believe that wild salmon will again flourish, unless and until our communities flourish again. This is why we can share a common cause and struggle together -- for our communities and for wild salmon to survive and thrive...

It is a mistake to think that we did not use the resources to the fullest extent possible. You need to recognize that our populations were probably at least ten times larger 200 years ago... If you think about the quantities of fish and shellfish required to feed populations of this size, largely dependent on seafoods, you will soon see that our ancestors were harvesting more of the salmon resource and other resources than are being harvested today...

[N]o matter how many hatcheries we have, they can never begin to match the abilities of our rivers and creeks and wild stocks to produce fish... My vision of the rebuilding of the Kennedy Lake sockeye stocks is an impossible dream if we add the insult of spraying toxic chemicals alongside the stream...to the painful injury of steep, clearcut slopes...

We are willing to share the fisheries resources with you as we've demonstrated. You know that. We've demonstrated that since your forefathers came. But now the share we have left is not enough to sustain our communities... We can create a win-win-win situation, a situation where native and non-native people and the salmon all win. But to do this we have to work together to rebuild and expand the wild salmon resource. I am not saying that we don't have some serious differences... Let us recognize those differences and work together to ensure that wild salmon flourish once again or else there will be no wild salmon and our differences will be irrelevant." (Lucas 1988)

Appendix E: Nuxalk and Heiltsuk Territorial Claims



Approximate extent of Nuxalk and Heiltsuk territorial claims.

Adapted from Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (1992) and (1994). The Nuxalk claim did not appear on the latter map.

Appendix F: Cover Letter Sent to Informants with Draft Transcripts

DATE

Dear :

Here as promised is a transcript of the interview I conducted with you on June , 1996. You are identified as "[original letter-number code]" on the transcript. Unless you complete the enclosed "Waiver of Anonymity" form, I will identify you only by a letter-number code in my thesis or any other published or unpublished work. I will describe you as "[description as given in Appendix B]". If you wish to be described differently, please indicate so here:

New Description:

Please review the attached transcript, checking for accuracy and content. If you wish to change or add to the transcript, please do so with a red pen. Add extra pages if necessary. Draw a thick horizontal line through every word you wish to be deleted. Then please use the enclosed self-addressed, stamped envelope to return the altered transcript to me at the above address. Please keep a copy for your records. Due to time constraints, if I have not heard back from you within one month (by [deadline]), I will treat the enclosed transcript as accurate and use it unchanged.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you again for taking part in my research project. I hope this letter finds you in excellent health and spirits.

Yours sincerely,

Bill Hipwell

Appendix G: “Protocol between Nuxalk Nation and the Forest Action Network”

“The Forest Action Network has been invited as friends and allies of the Nuxalk Nation to protect Nuxalk forest lands. FAN's mandate is to work to stop the destruction of forests and forest ecosystems. FAN is opposed to industrial logging, logging of ancient forests, and clearcut logging.

The Forest Action Network:

- is invited to protest destructive logging on Nuxalk lands.
- recognizes Nuxalk sovereignty and will not support the BC Treaty Process.
- supports the Nuxalk people in their struggle to protect the land.
- will not claim to represent the Nuxalk people.
- will inform the Nuxalk people of logging plans and seek Nuxalk involvement in its activities in Nuxalk territory.
- is only responsible for the supporters it invites. All supporters will be screened.
- will work with activists from other First Nations to help protect their forests, but will not work with band councils that support the BC Treaty Process.
- will be responsible for its own arrest and legal strategy.
- will consult with the Nuxalk Nation before carrying out any major projects and actions in Nuxalk territory.

FAN has a distinct role to work on environmental issues, such as clearcutting that affects the land, water, and forests in Nuxalk Territory. The Nuxalk Nation will take care of sovereignty, cultural, and traditional issues of the land.”

(Forest Action Network 1995)

Appendix H: Media Releases

Forest Action Network Media Releases

1995

- Sept. 6 "EWOK Village Halts Interfor Logging."
- Sept. 7 "Nuxalk/FAN Activists Stump Interfor."
- Sept. 8 "Nuxalk Hereditary Chiefs and Elders Join Fog Creek Blockade -
Great Coast Forest Campaigner Attacked by Logger."
- Sept. 9 "Nuxalk Hereditary Chiefs and Elders Burn Injunction at Fog Creek
Blockade."
- Sept. 10 "Logging Blockade Grows."
- Sept. 12 "Nuxalk Chiefs Deny Access to Interfor Workers - Protestors (sic.)
Challenge Attorney General."
- Sept. 13 "Tree Sitters Prepare to Evade RCMP."
- Sept. 14 "Hereditary Chiefs to Honor (sic.) Tree Sitters."
- Sept. 15 "Heiltsuk Greeted by Nuxalk in Ceremony to Strengthen Blockade."
- Sept. 16 "Nuxalk and FAN Claim Another Victory in Great Coast Forest
Campaign."
- Sept. 18 "Interfor Shuts Down Road Building Operations: Nuxalk and FAN Claim
Victory."
- Sept. 24 "41 RCMP Officers Land in Bella Bella."
- Sept. 25 "RCMP Poised to Invade Unceded Nuxalk Land."
- Sept. 26 "RCMP Arrest Nuxalk Elders, Hereditary Chiefs and F.A.N. Supporters at
Fogg Creek."
- Sept. 27 "Nuxalk Support Actions in Vancouver and Bella Coola, Jailed Forest
Defenders Appear before Supreme Court."
- Oct. 18 Untitled.
- Nov. 30 "Urgent Call for Support."
- Dec. 3 "Ista Reoccupation Arrestees Go to Trial - Worldwide Outrage at BC
Cultural [sic.] Annihilation [sic.] & Environmental Destruction."
- Dec. 4 "Arrested!: For Protecting the Land."
- Dec. 4b "Judge Steps Down in Ista Trial - Worldwide Protest Against Canada's
Treatment of First Nations People."
- Dec. 5 "Judge Rules Nuxalk People Have No Jurisdiction over Their Traditional
Territory - Chiefs and Supporters Walk out in Disgust."
- Dec. 7 "Supreme Court Bows in Face of Nuxalk Stand and Fear of International
Outrage."

Forest Action Network Media Releases (cont.)

Dec. 7b "Colonial Court Bows in Face of Nuxalk Stand and Fear of International Outrage."

1996

Jan. 15 "Trial of Ista Defenders Postponed!"

Apr. 10 "MoF Gives away the Last Remnants of Pristine Old Growth Rainforest. Conflict of Interest Suspected."

Apr. 22 "Peaceful Protesters Sentenced on Earth Day."

Mar. 29 "An Urgent Request from the Forest Action Network."

May 4 "Interfor Stirs up Community to Protect Profits."

June 25 "Judge Finds 21 Ista Protectors Guilty of Contempt of Court."

June 27 "Judge Gives Nuxalk Defendants Suspended Sentences. Non-native Environmentalists Singled out as Ringleaders."

Nuxalk Nation House of Smayusta Media Releases and Community Flyers

1995

Sept. 10 "Nuxalk National Government."

Sept. 10b "Nuxalk Nation Position."

Dec. 13 "House of Smayusta Information Flyer."

Dec. 21 "Subject: Nuxalk Interview - Burial 'Corey Duncan'." (Letter to CFNR Radio)

1996

Jan. 10 "Nuxalk Chiefs to Visit Los Angeles."

Jan. 22 "Nuxalk Nation Under Siege."

Jan. 30 "Nuxalk Nation Community Flyer."

Joint FAN/HoS Media Releases

1996

Mar 21 "Ista Protectors Rounded up by RCMP Corporate Law Enforcers: Judge Orders Them to Be Held in Jail 40 Days to Await Trial."

June 14 Untitled.

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⁶³ WWW stands for "World-Wide Web", the part of the Internet that can be accessed through "Web Browsers" such as Netscape™. In the syntax of a bibliography, the positioning of WWW before the colon denotes it as a "place" of publication, though technically the longer URL refers to a physical location.

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