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220 Queen St  
Winnipeg Canada  
R3J 1K7  
March 24, 1987.

World Commission on Environment  
and Development  
Ladies and Gentlemen:

As a University Graduate trained in Science and Agriculture, with a family background of farming and having lived most of my life in the city I view problems from a varied experience.

As a 15 year member of the United Nations Association I have spent 40 years studying the whole environment of the city and country gradually seeing the holistic nature of the problem and any possible solution.

Paper ① was prepared to answer concerns I felt after personally hearing Maurice Strong, Dave Brower and Justice Thomas Berger, the Secretary-Generals of the U.N. and of the Commonwealth. This long time exposure to these people and others thru my membership in six environment and peace groups has had a huge impact on my life and mental attitudes. Papers ① to ⑤ are my Brief to your Commission.

Papers ③④⑤⑥ were prepared to communicate to National and Provincial Cabinets and business leaders and businessmen the need for radical change in innovation and procedures before any problems can be solved.

The Environment Must Be Considered First  
and Environment and Peace Groups must be  
Adequately Financed on a routine basis.

Excessive promotion of inappropriate western technology is a main cause of environment destruction and world debt, it hurts Brazil, Canada and Guatemala.

Ignoring population control in all countries especially Europe and North America prohibits real environment protection in the world.

2.

we need promote permanent solutions to problems the technical fixes so popular with those creating the problem. Tropical lists need preserving.

Put a spl Tax on tropical forest products used to advertise excessive buying of junk probs in Newspapers, Magazines.

Require pr of successful regeneration of tropical list in fifty square miles each year each major cutting lease.

Offer 100 sizes of \$10,000 average size. limited to 50 local groups to develop solar and o. stores to boil water and cook cereal hot & sunny tropical countries. Do this every year for ten years with local small business only being allowed to manufact. prize winning stores.

The Electrical Generation Industry is a major environment destroyer with huge subsid. to build hydro and Nuclear installations.

The USA is either 35% or 42% excess electric generating capacity when 50% is needed.

Ontario h. 45% excess electric generating capacity almost exactly equal to all the clear generating capacity.

In Canada burning wood provides exactly twice as much energy each year as all our nuclear electric plants.

Until we talk about local citizen control of technology, appropriate technology, an economic democracy and economic power for ordinary people, and equally required high quality environment impact studies no improvements are possible. Sincerely,  
Kenneth Embury

2-35

PRESERVATION OF TOPSOIL AND SOIL FERTILITY  
IN AGRICULTURAL AND FOREST REGIONS  
LAND USE POLICY CONCERNS ARE RISING

PREPARED FOR THE  
MANITOBA ENVIRONMENTAL COUNCIL  
LAND USE COMMITTEE  
APRIL 29, 1985

A BACKGROUND INFORMATION PAPER  
BY  
KENNETH C. EMBERLEY

## INTRODUCTION

### WHY SOIL PRESERVATION

Those who have visited the lands in the Middle East described in the Bible as a "Garden of Eden" with rich crop land and shady forests now find only deserts.

The Greek Islands that provided the timbers for the ships in the wars around Troy are just barren rock piles now.

Dr. David Suzuki says our technology assault on nature has aged our continent faster than any in history.

We have to ~~move~~ fast in a completely different direction if we wish to avoid producing huge new areas of desert and barren mountains here in North America. We have absolutely no choice.

### WHY WRITE ABOUT SO MANY THINGS

We are one people living on one world and most of our main problems are interconnected. They can only be understood as part of the whole and they can only be solved when treated as part of the whole. For years I have specialized in being a generalist.

### ARE THERE SOLUTIONS? IS THERE GOOD NEWS?

Many do not believe it but peace is really better than war and we need to say so.

Get to know some of the environmentalists, alternative technologists, meet women in the womens' movement and meet people in the peace movement.

Living in harmony with nature once we really begin to do so will provide so many benefits and improvements in our quality of life. Those that are doing it now find many benefits.

### INFORMATION SHARING

For years I have searched for information and new sources and innovative approaches to examining our problems and finding solutions.

In the month while I was writing this paper almost a dozen new vital pieces of information came into my hands, a number from new sources. Each provided inspiration as it fitted into place to complete the picture.

I have always taken dozens of papers to each conference to share my treasures with those sharing my interest in the whole world and its inter-connections.

### PURPOSE

I have prepared this paper and its list of almost 60 background papers to share with you some of the excitement that I feel in my work.

To work out by hesitant groping over most of a lifetime an understanding of one country's economic, political, industrial and natural systems completely opposite to what you thought twenty years ago; to find brilliant scientists, politicians, business people and lay persons sharing your ideas; to find each year more precise research confirming the problems and their severity steadily increasing; and then to find solutions being conceived, tested, confirmed and reconfirmed in practice; that is the exciting and cheerful story I try to communicate in this paper.

A copy of each of the footnote papers was supplied with the original paper.

Kenneth C. Emberley

PRESERVATION OF TOP SOIL AND SOIL FERTILITY  
IN AGRICULTURAL AND FOREST REGIONS  
LAND USE POLICY CONCERNS ARE RISING

1. The only source of permanent prosperity or survival is the ability of a nation to feed itself well.

2. Widely disbursed land ownership of farmland and city home lot land is essential to maintain democracy based on an independent and financially secure citizenry.

3. Controls: use of land  
: transfer from food production  
: contamination with poisons spread on land  
: contamination with poisons in the air and water  
: loss of productivity caused by man and nature.

4. Policy: Policy on use of land to raise food at lowest cost to benefit city residents and corporations.  
: Policy to use foreign competition to keep Canadian farmer income low.  
: Policy to increase size of land holdings, increase size of fields, size of machinery, increase size of debts, amount of energy and chemical input.

5. We have a crisis in our forests as planting for twenty years has barely averaged 20%.- 25% of trees harvested and no serious effort was made to design harvesting techniques to produce the most natural regeneration.

During this time provincial and federal profits equalled or exceeded those of the industry, and the provinces own most of the forests.

6. The crisis in farming and farmland degradation is too widely documented in scientific, farm journals and the media to be ignored.

7. Is it any wonder industry is looking for ways to attempt to solve the problem while making a larger profit and increasing its control of agribusiness and the land.

8. Scientists and technicians are looking at various narrow segments of the problem with an almost guarantee that while their jobs multiply no one simple technology solution is possible and not even a dozen technology fixes will do any good.

9. Governments closely tied to various industries carefully avoid the one or two possible solutions.

10. Aside from these nine details listed everything is going pretty well and under control.

IT IS NOT A SIMPLE ISOLATED PROBLEM

It cannot be examined or solved by only economic and technology manipulation of a few factors. In fact, this attitude is one of the main reasons we face economic collapse today on the family farm and environmental disaster in a very short time, maybe five or ten years - because of the increasingly unstable system.

Most modern economists and technologists view the farm the same way they do a city factory.

It is a few square miles of property of certain dollar value with certain physical properties. Like a factory with cinder block walls you can pour in varying amounts of dollars, chemicals, seeds, energy and machinery and vary the output at will to meet the needs of industry for raw materials for the imitation foods they manufacture and to meet the needs of government for export dollar earnings and products they desire.

In 1854 Chief Seattle described exactly the two contrasting views of the natural world and exactly described the world of science, technology and economics of 1985 with prophetic vision.

Chief Seattle's four page oration has been described as the most beautiful and profound statement on the environment ever made. Footnote 8.

He knew more than most modern experts. Until we modify our modern technology, science and machine worship, the land will not be preserved for our children.  
Footnote 29

#### DIFFICULT CHOICES OFTEN IGNORED

Capitalism	vs Communism
Political Democracy	vs Political Dictatorship
Economic Democracy	vs Economic Dictatorship
Good - Capitalist ?	vs Evil - Communist - Socialist ?
Democracies & Dictatorships White Advanced Technology	Democracies & Dictatorships vs Appropriate Technology
Civilian oriented economy	vs Military oriented economy
New Energy Production	vs Energy Conservation
Oppressive Centralized Technology	vs Decentralized Democratic Technology
Control and Destruction of nature	vs Working in Harmony with nature
System benefit mainly the elite	vs System with fair share benefits for less powerful
Technology chosen by elite	vs Appropriate technology chosen by various sectors in society
Aggressive military expansion	vs Legitimate defence needs



### THE BEST EXAMPLE OF CHOICES

World Conservation Strategy of United Nations adopted by Federal Cabinet Sept. 1982 to practice energy conservation, increase resource recycling, reduce pollution and protect genetic diversity.

VS

Federal Cabinet Industrial Strategy - 234 Mega Projects 90% Energy to produce more energy so we can continue to waste 35% of all we produce while destroying the environment especially in the frontier, the hinterland, the Arctic and the oceans. Footnote 9.

### SQUARELY FACING THE PROBLEM

The author of this part of the report had a number of personal experiences which have affected his perception of the problem and possible solutions and contributed largely to his files.

Almost every environmentalist has a similar story to explain why their concerns are valid.

The Mid Continent Dialogue between North and South in Minneapolis in Sept. 1979 addressed by former Gov. Orville Freeman also former USA Sec. of Agriculture.

His speech was a horrible collection of platitudes explaining the benefits of USA food multinationals dominating the production of food in third world countries as well as the USA.

As a result I spent a month writing and assembling a paper on the Conserver Society and dedicated the introduction to Orville Freeman. Footnote 10.

A series of Annual Futures Conferences of the Futures Society of Canada in Ottawa 1978, Kingston 1979 and Global Futures in Toronto 1980, exposed me to a diverse group of environmentalists and alternative technology advocates like me.

I also was privileged to share dinner with four of the leaders of the North American Futures movement and came away convinced their "technological fix" type of ideas was the problem not a possible solution. Footnote 11.

### BEGINNING TO FIND SOLUTIONS

Since 1982 I have attended the Federal Environment Minister's annual public consultations with 60 to 80 other environmentalists and alternative technologists representing over 200 organizations in Canada most of whom belong to "Friends of the Earth".

It has been the icing on the cake in a life seemingly steadily more involved and dedicated to preserving the environment through advocating less destructive technology that can offer more benefits to the people who need benefits.

Footnote 12

Footnote 13

The "Canadian Environment Network", our official name, has committed itself to locate funding for a research project to present to the Federal Cabinet by 1987 a "Sustainable Development Strategy" to carry out the policy goals of the World Conservation Strategy. Footnote 9 Plan A  
Footnote 13

#### CONFIRMATION OF DIAGNOSIS

- A. AMBIO - 1982 - Report of a Conference 10 years after the "Stockholm Environment Conference" produced lists of: ten Major problems needing research  
: ten Major problems needing active management to produce improvement. Footnote 14.
- B. New Internationalist May 1984, "Trick or Treat - The Sticky World of Food". A thirty five page report on the Multinational International High Technology Industry of Synthetic Food as part of our Industrial System of exploiting the land and people everywhere. This documented and confirmed my understanding from many other sources over many years of the size and scope of our industrial food disaster. Footnote 15.

#### THE STRUGGLE FOR A SOLUTION

Educating, through making information available on the problem and possible solutions is a key activity.

Lobbying professional groups and politicians is a key activity if the momentum in the establishment to continue land destruction is to be slowed.

To this end, in early 1984 I produced 5 sets of papers with extensive background material and supplied it to 5 of the 6 Liberal Leadership Candidates, <sup>Federal</sup> four of whom replied. <sub>Party</sub>

These papers addressed our problems on a holistic basis as it is the basic policy and one basic strategy of business and government which is the cause of our problem and must be changed before any real solution to any of our 20 main problems will be possible. Footnotes 16, 17, 18.

#### SOIL EROSION OUTLINE

The "Land Use Committee of the Manitoba Environment Council" decided their Main Winter Project for 1984-85 would be to examine "Soil Erosion".

A number of events had led up to this in the experience of various committee members. In particular, the first "Land Use Conference in Manitoba" in 1979 under the leadership of Mr. Runciman. Footnote 19.

The publication by the Manitoba Department of Agriculture in June 1983 of "Ecological Agriculture in Manitoba" by Vere Scott and Michael Janzen. Footnote 20

The "Soil at Risk" report of the Standing Committee of the Senate in Agriculture Forestry and Fishing in 1984. Footnote 21

Originally, the concept of seeking the one possible solution was replaced with the decision to examine two major systems being used to reduce soil erosion:

"Zero Tillage" recommended in "Soil at Risk" and

"Ecological Agriculture" recommended in "Ecological Agriculture in Manitoba".

THE NEED TO EXAMINE SOIL EROSION  
NOT AS AN ISOLATED DETAIL BUT AS  
PART OF A FARMING SYSTEM WITH PROBLEMS

Wind and Water Erosion, Salinity, loss of organic matter and fertility, and acidification all contribute to soil degradation. Footnote 1, p. 5.

Summer fallow, excessive tillage, larger, higher speed machinery, reduction of shelter belts and natural wood lots, the elimination of pot holes and speeded up spring drainage, have all caused land degradation.

A major cause of soil degradation is the industrial view of farming as a Mega Project of huge bare fields of Mono culture growing hybrid seeds often produced by seed companies owned by chemical and drug companies who choose seed qualities.

Manitoba has only a little more than 5 million hectares suited to annual production of cultivated crops. This is part of the one twentieth of Canadian land fit for farming. There is very little more available and some is being seriously damaged every year. Footnote 1, p. 3.

EXCESSIVE USE OF POISONS

In spite of a thousand fold increase in Agricultural pesticide usage in the US since 1950 (Rifkin and Howard, 1980; Krummel and Hough, 1979) the percentage of the current crop lost to pests (insects, weeds and diseases) is approximately the same; 33% (Pimentel et al, 1978).

Pimentel et al (1978) estimate that only an additional crop loss from 9-11% would be realized if no pesticides were used and no other alternatives were implemented. Footnote 2, p. 1.  
Footnote 3, p. 1.

According to Clark op. cit., p, 179, it took five times more nitrogen fertilizer to maintain the same yield of crop in 1968 as it did in 1949. In other words, five times the energy for the same result. Footnote 3, p. 3.

One billion pounds of pesticides are applied annually at the present time.

In fact, losses due to insects have doubled since the 1940's although there has been a tenfold increase in insecticide use. Footnote 3, p. 1.

The total effect of this major application of poison is little understood in its effects on soil, food, animal life and people, especially in the long term. The sterilizing effect is believed to be a factor in soil degradation to some degree.

#### CAUSE AND EFFECT

Replacing depleted nutrients chemically for convenience causes financial strain which promotes soil destructive farm practices to earn more money to pay bills.

The problems in agriculture include the increase in bankruptcies widely reported in all media. To a varying degree some blame it on the energy intensive nature of modern mechanized agriculture developed over a forty year period when political and economic control of Iran by the USA maintained a world oil price of \$2 a barrel while every other commodity price increased.

Another problem in agriculture is the steady increase in the size of farms deemed necessary to make a living with low prices blamed on international competition.

The cost of capital intensive farm debt is seen as a major problem. \$500,000 farms are purchased that need \$500,000 of machinery to operate them and annually require financing for hybrid seeds designed by seed companies owned by the companies that sell pesticides, insecticides and fertilizer.

#### OBVIOUSLY IN MANY WAYS THE SYSTEM HAS FAILED

In the USA 29 corporations own 21% of all the cropland. Footnote 3, p. 2.

In Canada we have the "AGRI-FOOD POLICY" replacing Agriculture and Farming. The increasing size of farms, mechanization of farms and reduced labor input are continued and escalated as Federal-Provincial-Industry Policy. Footnote 4, p. 3.

#### BUSINESS AND GOVERNMENT ARE DESTROYING FAMILY FARMS

There are an important fraction of the population who see a need to permit diversity and competing systems and technologies even in the Free Enterprise Capitalist System. Footnote 17.

There is clear evidence of the goal of the elimination of the family farm as a coordinated objective of government and business through choices of technology favoring:

- centralized control
- low cost food policy
- depopulation of rural areas
- accelerated elimination of small towns
- increased specialization in fewer crops
- greater dependence and instability with global marketing
- increased farm size
- increased capital intense and energy intense agri-food production
- increased corporate land ownership. Footnote 4

This is seen by some as application in Canada widely favored in other "Third World" countries". Footnote

This is not seen as a barrier to the ordinary lives or the rural areas of Manitoba or Canada. Footnote 22, p.

### CE - ALTERNATIVE

Ordinary rural people in Canada are collectively wise and maintaining a choice of lives in Canada by re-option of Family Farm and Small Town Living. They know that only a fraction of the research and development and subsidy is to "high technology", "high chemical" agriculture would allow culture and family farms to survive economically.

### REMEMBER THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

That was when capitalism and industrialization uprooted peasants living in modest poverty but surviving and moved to cities and work in incredibly unsafe dirty and incredibly unsafe dirty tenements.

It was the world of Charles Dickens and a middle class of successful entrepreneurs, it is proudly laid out though it took well over 100 years before labor working conditions at a pitifully slow rate.

### LOOK OUT - THE POSTINDUSTRIAL UTILITY

Not the continuation of the forty year life, more nuclear power, more centralization, more power, economics and politics, more computers and robotic fixes, more chemicalization of society.

These steady disruptions of our lives, pollution, waste, conspicuous display of luxuries and a desecrated environment by endless mega projects have given many people a "bad life" but have caused many more a "bad life" and are inevitable to an increasing number of people.

The demands that this lifestyle place upon the ability of the national system to survive. We continue to see serious disasters occurring in the very near future.

In Physics we are taught that action equals reaction.

Why should industrialists be surprised when their actions cause a huge world wide movement totalling trillions of major businesses.

It demands a whole new set of standards and goals and even a completely new life philosophy that replaces man as God's agent owning and controlling all creatures and the land, forests, lakes, air and oceans. Footnote 8

Footnote 31

Footnote 32

Footnote 33

### DEEP ECOLOGY

An idea as old as written records. An idea intrinsic to Christian teaching for almost the first half of the life of the Christian church and common in some of the great Eastern Religions around the world.

Humans are a part of the natural system and are interdependent on it and their reverence for God and His other creations requires they do not destroy His other creations but treat the seals, great whales, grass seeds, dairy cattle, chickens, river valleys, whooping cranes and precious farm lands and forests and their inhabitants including trappers and Indians with respect and reverence. They have a right to live and to continue their lifestyles. Footnote 23

Footnote 30

Footnote 42

### LIVE SIMPLY THAT OTHERS MAY SIMPLY LIVE

Footnote 24

### MAURICE STRONG

Maurice Strong said it and I heard him at the Global Futures Conference in 1980. "Businessmen are likely getting their last chance to show if their business system and its ethics are acceptable in the new modern world".

Another time he spoke of the need for drastic change in our attitudes.

Footnote 25

Footnote 39

### THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE-1972

The Stockholm Conference Report on pages 78 and 79 gives an exquisite description of the philosophy and understanding of the natural world necessary.

Footnote 26

### MR. JUSTICE BERGER

Mr. Justice Berger addressing a conference in Edmonton in 1981, explained it to us in basic English. He quoted John Armstrong, Chairman of Imperial Oil in a 1980 speech, "The Canadian Oil Industry should be moving into our most promising Atlantic and Arctic Properties like an army of occupation". That was the old no longer acceptable attitude still being applied in Chili, Honduras, Guatemala, Nicaragua and the Norman Wells Oil Fields in Canada in 1985.

He gave the same address a year later in Banff and a year later in Winnipeg and each time it stirred my heart. Both the USA and USSR old wasteful, consumptive, environment poisoning industrial systems must be completely modified to be environmentally acceptable - and more humane. Footnote 27.

### ENVIRONMENTALISTS - THE CHURCHES - UNIONS

That is certainly a very unusual group to come up with basically the same idea. In the last three years most of the major churches in North America have launched indepth analyses of our economic and industrial system and its weaknesses.

The churches that have completed their study have found the inhuman treatment of the unemployed and poor unacceptable and demanded basic changes.

I have in my files the statements of the Canadian Roman Catholics and Protestants and they make it clear Ronald Reagan and North American Industry policies are basically unacceptable. The policies of the USSR are apparently long considered unacceptable.

It would appear a Nuclear War in the USSR or Nicaragua is not justified to force on them policies not acceptable in Canada and the USA, to make them adopt our industrial system. Footnote 33

Footnote 34

Footnote 35

### ENVIRONMENT IN DANGER - VAL WERIER

The Winnipeg Free Press on March 13, 1985 published another of Val Werier's intelligent important articles. He describes the Audobon Report on the Canadian Environment and how it is being rapidly destroyed and a large part of the blame lies with our governments responding to their own and to industry's needs to be able to do what ever they want at least cost, least interference, least scrutiny and at highest profit.

Provincial governments more than but along with the federal governments have deliberately not created the institutions and the laws to permit proper controls to be put in place or to allow citizens even the minimum of legal institutions they need to protect themselves or their land or the natural environments from being poisoned or destroyed by business, government and individuals. Footnote 28

### FERNAND SEGUIN - DAVID SUZUKI

The Spring Issue of the National Research Council Publication "Science Dimension" includes two pages of guest editorials by these brilliant men, French and Canadian. Footnote 35

### FERNAND SEGUIN

Seguin worries that Science and Technology as they have increased in public importance have fallen in public esteem. Science is declining in popularity as a career as is engineering.

Traditional engineers so often in management and even biological scientists living in isolation are a problem not a solution. Most of our problems are in

human relations and our holistic relationship with nature - the public and individuals sense their declining importance - Insert by Author.

It is an extremely important article including demands for opening science and technology to full democratic public inspection and control to change its blind, undirected force.

He stresses the need for philosophical understanding of the responsibility of scientists for what they do.

He stresses the environment collapse approaching as we destroy wastefully our resources and the basic natural systems that have survived 50,000,000 years. He talks about the need to fit scientific activities harmoniously into society by citizens and decision makers.

#### CONTROL TECHNOLOGY - CONTROL SCIENCE

Once he opens up this can of worms we must then progress to the stage of modifying those technologies that do not fit harmoniously into society instead of always demanding society change to suit the technology that science, industry and government want.

African Bee Experiments - Ocean Ranger Design - Complete Pesticide and Drug Testing before Use and adequate Recall Procedures - Complete public monitoring and reporting of all Nuclear Power Subsidies - Full and Complete Health records centrally filed on every temporary and full time Nuclear employee in every nuclear facility with full follow-up on all who leave the industry - Proper full Public Hearings on all construction projects over \$1,000,000 by anyone.

THIS DEMOCRACY THING COULD BE DANGEROUS IF IT SLOWED DOWN HARMFUL  
ACTIVITIES THAT MAKE MONEY.

#### DAVID SUZUKI

He shows the depth of his humane understanding of people, an amazing quality not too common in scientists, but then he was a scientist who took half liberal arts along with his science so learned about people and society and nature.

He said this kind of mixed education should be absolutely compulsory for the elite 1/10 of 1% of our population who will be its business, scientific and political leaders when he addressed us in January 1985 at the University of Manitoba "Celebration of Life and Learning".

I say all lawyers and others who want to enter school board, city, provincial or federal politics must take either night school or summer school courses to qualify for office to give them this education most of them do not have at all now.

The article is on an interview with Germaine Greer, author of "The Female Eunuch", and what David Suzuki learned from her. He sees great merit in some of the fundamental points she makes.



In our faith in modern technology we often throw out longstanding traditional methods that are far better for third world societies (including the third of Canadians who are poor including our Indians and Metis).

We develop a machine costing millions to spot Downs Syndrome Fetus and after birth let them die but we will not force industry to clean up the poisons in the environment that cause these problems.

We find it easier to manipulate people than to marshal the social changes needed to clear up our environment.

He mentions the poisonous air of Los Angeles caused by refusing to control technology or human population and the poisoning of the great lakes (because business will let people die to increase profits and governments do not take their responsibilities seriously).

#### DAVID SUZUKI - UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

At "The Celebration of Life and Learning", and incredibly exciting event annually put on by the Student Union, an event almost ignored by the general public, the media and a majority of students, Dr. Suzuki presented an almost two hour address in the following theme:

#### SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY ARE ALMOST COMPLETELY OUT OF CONTROL

1. War on People is the focus of the largest percentage of scientists and engineers, research efforts and money (The new USA Budget has \$32 billion for military research and more under individual departments). Footnote 36

2. Development of products and technologies to make money or centralize power over people; regardless of whether it destroys the environment or is of any net benefit to most people or contributes to what should be the nations goals for its people's well being; is the purpose of the second largest group of scientists, engineers, research effort and money.

3. The percentage left over for all the important and vital things for the world's well being for nature and people is very small.

The author of this paper has come to the conclusion that present policies of increasing militarization of North American society, greatly accelerated since 1980, and the revival of the right wing business attitudes of the Teddy Roosevelt era guarantee two things in my lifetime. Footnote 37

Footnote 38

#### CHOOSE ONE

NUCLEAR WAR and the rapid destruction of most life, the environment and most creatures.

ECOLOGICAL COLLAPSE OF NATURAL SYSTEMS on which over four billion people depend for survival. Footnote 26

If present policies are followed they are both guaranteed and which comes first is irrelevant. In 5, 10 or 15 years one is bound to have occurred and possibly both, likely both.

How old will your children and grandchildren be when destruction comes to them quickly or slowly because of our War on Mankind and War on Nature.

#### END THE WAR ON MANKIND, THE WAR ON NATURE

The Ecologist in 1984 published a summary of a 400 page report:

#### THE SOCIAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL EFFECTS OF LARGE DAMS

This indepth analysis of over 20 of the largest dams all over the world has discovered so many unnoticed, ignored and concealed harmful side effects that it recommends that no new dams be built and all construction stopped until faults are begun to be corrected and until faulty design is remedied.

It is a dreadful indictment of one of our most sexy technology and political wonders of the world, flood and hydro dams. Footnote 30

#### RIVER DAMS AFFECT ESTUARIES AND THE OCEANS

The Pearce Water Commission in 1984 sent me two reports, when presenting my brief I asked for information, on estuary water flow. The two papers presented in the Halifax hearings detailed the effect of the flow out of Hudson Strait and the St. Lawrence being measurable in its effect on climate and fish harvest 2000 miles from where it leaves the river mouth.

They finally recommended that the interference with natural flows caused damage and maybe no more dams be built if we wish to limit our interference with the natural systems that provide us free with fish from the ocean. Footnote 40  
Footnote 44  
Footnote 45

#### DAM THEM

In March 1985 the "Environment" bulletin published a report on the massive program of the USSR to rearrange its rivers similar to the plans Alberta has had for almost 10 years and is steadily working at.

This report hints the problems these major dams create may be very similar to those of similar dams built in the western free world.

This would confirm other reports of the similarities of the problems of our so similar industrial systems. Footnote 40

#### I THOUGHT THIS PAPER WAS ON AGRICULTURE AND SOIL

It is but none of the traditionalists find it easy to believe that our greatest technology successes are failures, that our whole industrial structure is headed the wrong way toward slow or fast destruction.

So many believe that if we just fix the wobble on the left rear wheel or put a new red hat on the driver and go a little faster that the machine will race along the pot holed road and we will have a grand ride to fame and fortune again like the 1960's.

The Environmentalists opposition to Nuclear War, Regular Good Wars, Power Dams as presently constructed, Energy Waste, land and water pollution, Space Research for War, Excessive Chemical Application on farm land and the forests is part of a positive approach.

#### CLUB OF ROME - SCHUMACKER - LOVINS

For 15 years documentation has been accumulating proving that a better choice for the land and most people is easily available. Footnote 43

Alternatives, choices, decentralization, greater citizen power are all taking place all over the world. Read "Megatrends" by John Naisbitt. Footnote 41

In a democracy the government has a duty to permit the people to make choices in lifestyle and technology and this is what peace marches and environment protests are all about.

Abraham Lincoln and William Lyon MacKenzie showed us people have a right to fight to the death if necessary to force democracy on to governments and industry and the bureaucracy that supports them to an overwhelming degree.

#### A PLANET FOR THE TAKING - DAVID SUZUKI

If the CBC had spent \$100,000,000 producing this series it would have been the best and most economical use of money ever seen in Canada.

It is probably 20 times more important than the Olympics, The Queen's Tour, The Pope's Tour and Brian Mulroney's Election all together.

The ideas you see presented in this article have been building up over twenty-five years by thousands of the world's most eminent scholars and scientists and at exactly the same time by tens of thousands of ordinary people who sensed the increasing imbalance in our society.

This two page report in "MacLeans" Feb. 11/85 and a two page story in "The Canadian Forum" Feb. 85 describes the results of our war with man and nature and require that we change and live in harmony with nature. Footnote 46  
Footnote 47

#### SOIL EROSION CONTROL - SOIL FERTILITY PRESERVATION

The Land and Water Management Division of the Manitoba Department of Agriculture has a staff of seven, part of whose work is soil conservation. Footnote 1, Page 10

Zero Tillage is supported by the Senate Committee report "Soil at Risk" as the technique they see best suited to reduce soil erosion and preserve Soil Fertility. Other reports support this agricultural technique. Footnote 21

Organic Farming or Ecological Agriculture has been proven to reduce soil erosion and preserve soil fertility. Integrated Pest Management Draft Report, Footnote 2, Page 2

Northwest Coalition for Alternatives to Pesticides  
 Special Agriculture Issue, Footnote 3  
 Journal of Soil and Water Conservation, Footnote 7  
 Ecological Agriculture in Manitoba, Footnote 20  
 Acres USA, Footnote 43

### ECOLOGICAL AGRICULTURE

#### "Advanced Holistic Organic Farming"

More natural farming has been practised on a slightly increasing scale for thirty years in Manitoba. In almost every case it was undertaken as a method of solving problems in the advanced technology highly chemicalized farming system of mono culture.

# HONDO

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## LOUIS L'AMOUR'S CLASSIC OF THE WEST

There was something her father had said. "We do not own the land, Angie. We hold it in trust for tomorrow. We take our living from it, but we must leave it rich for your son and for his sons and for all of those who shall follow."

A FAWCETT GOLD MEDAL BOOK  
 Fawcett Publications, Inc., Greenwich, Conn.

This significant quote from a western novel was by a white woman living safely in Indian territory on a small ranch. Her father had taught her love of the land and respect for the different customs and lifestyle of her Indian neighbours who respected the natural world, and in return respected her father and her.

Similarly, Hon Justice Berger quotes from the French Canadian farmers and fishermen in "Acadia" who seemed to get along better with the Indians than any other immigrant group because of their attitude of caring for the land.

Footnote 27

### ALBERTA

"Maintaining the Agricultural Land Base in Alberta", a report of a Public Inquiry (Footnote 22) contains much useful information and many good ideas but ignores the basic causes of farmland destruction.

"Conservation of the Agricultural Land Base was Desirable", but certainly not essential. page 8

"Expansion of the Beef Industry is Seen as Essential to market the grasses and legumes grown for soil conservation" yet there is concern we eat too much meat already in North America, page 24.

"Agriculture can continue to be a viable contributor to the economic life of Alberta long after our non-renewable energy resources are gone", page 35. There was no mention that farmland was essential to provide food for Alberta citizens for the next 100 years.

"To most people it seemed only common sense to preserve the basis of a great industry and a great way of life that rears not only high quality crops but high quality people", page 8. There was no mention of the "Agri-Food Policy", (Footnote 4) that many organizations and individuals see business and government policy deliberately destroying the family farm.

### FARMING IN HARMONY WITH NATURE

The first goal must be encourage the cultivation of only those lands suited to cultivation.

The second goal must be to encourage the return to and maintenance in grass, forest or wetlands those soils best suited to those uses.

The third goal must be to encourage crop rotation including grasses and legumes where practical and their incorporation as green manure.

The fourth goal must be to encourage the quantity of production and export off the farm of only as much crop as will not harm the permanent fertility and soil stability of the land.

The fifth goal must be to encourage the production on cultivated land of only those crops and in such a manner that loss of soil and soil fertility is kept to a minimum and tolerable level. Footnote 6

The sixth goal must be to over a ten year period raise the percentage Canadians pay for food from 17% to 20% of their income with this annual increase in cost of only 3/10 of 1% going directly to support farmers on less than 5 sections of land who practice soil conservation.

The size limitation is put on in the belief that larger and corporate farmers are sufficiently prosperous and economically efficient they can more easily afford these practices themselves according to the long held belief in business and government that the economy of large scale operations is better. Certainly program of a different nature for mega farms and agri-business farms will be required.

THE FARM IS NOT

A RURAL FACTORY TO BE MINED UNTIL BARREN BY THE OWNER, INDUSTRY OR GOVERNMENT POLICY.

A BOTTOMLESS PIT TO EARN EXPORT DOLLARS.

THE MAIN SOURCE OF BANK INTEREST EARNINGS.

IN EXISTENCE ONLY TO BUY EXCESSIVE AMOUNTS OF OVER SIZED FARM MACHINERY.

IN EXISTENCE ONLY TO CONSUME EXCESSIVE AMOUNTS OF SCARCE OIL AND NATURAL GAS.

IN EXISTENCE TO CONSUME EXCESSIVE AMOUNTS OF POISON CHEMICALS AND HYBRID SEEDS BOTH PRODUCED MAINLY BY THE CHEMICAL COMPANIES.

IN EXISTENCE TO MAKE INDIVIDUALS, CORPORATIONS AND GOVERNMENTS RICH BY DESTROYING THE LAND.

FARMLAND QUALITY IMPROVEMENT BOARD

The gradual introduction of farm quality evaluation at time of sale and of periodic examination of farming practices by an evaluating committee of local farmers with outside expert assistance might be of help to good and other farmers once changes have been made in the system so farms have the choice of making a modest comfortable living without destroying their soil.

ECOLOGICAL AGRICULTURE SUPPORT

1. The University of Manitoba should hire an Ecological Agriculture specialist and include the study of this concept as part of the regular curriculum of the University of Manitoba, Degree and Diploma Courses, and as part of their regular research effort.

2. The Manitoba Department of Agriculture should hire an Ecological Agriculture Expert and gradually divert 1% a year of its funding and staff from high chemical High Tech farming support to ecological agriculture support.

Thus by the year 2000 A.D., 15% of its funding and staff would be emphasizing farming in harmony with nature. This would be a gradual steady change no more noticeable than took place during the last forty years but in a new direction demanded by the failure of the present system.

3. Ecological Farmers and Organic Farmers would be fully involved as 50% of the advisory and management committees designing the terms of reference, the continent wide advertising and selection of staff, the development of curriculum and department design and programs.

4. Freedom of Information is essential to promote technological democracy and freedom of choice. Unless people are allowed to hear about alternatives and their advantage they cannot intelligently choose.

5. The University Library, The Faculty of Agriculture Library, Department of Agriculture Library and Ten Regional Rural Agricultural Department Libraries must subscribe to ten of the most popular Ecological Agriculture Newsletters and Environment Magazines such as: Acres, USA, North-West Coalition of Alternatives to Pesticides, Ecology Action, The Organic Farmers of Canada Newsletter, Ambio, Harrowsmith, Science for the People, Environmental Action, The Ecologist.

One copy would be kept in the reference section and several would be available to borrow.

6. Ecological Agriculture in Manitoba by Vere Scott and Michael Janzen. This one research paper wisely ordered by the Manitoba Provincial Cabinet and bravely ordered to be prepared independently gives all that is needed to begin practising ecological agriculture and organic farming suited to Manitoba.

1000 copies of this valuable 200 page report should be prepared with 100 copies going to all major universities in Canada and the USA. Footnote 20

100 copies need to be made available to Canadian Environmental Groups and to Environment Networks, Newsletter organizations and research centers on gardening and agriculture in North America and Europe as requested by environmental organizations locally.

5 copies need to go to each of the libraries mentioned in item 5 above.

A copy should go to every municipal and community and high school library in Manitoba.

The balance should be available at half price to participants in the workshops and seminars outlined under "Recommendations for Action" in the publication.

The recommendations for action beginning on page XIV are as comprehensive and precise as could be desired and should be acted on now not in 10 years. Because of their clarity I enclose them in full as part of my main report.

ECOLOGICAL AGRICULTURE IN MANITOBAPAGE XIV

We limit our recommendations to one main recommendation with several related ones:

1. We recommend that the provincial government create an Ecological Agriculture Extension Service (EAES). The EAES would have as its main objective agricultural strategies. In particular, there is a need to collect, update or make applicable to the Prairies, practical information of alternative, or ecological techniques of farming and gardening. Some means should be available to disseminate useful information or to develop an information exchange service. Some of the functions of this EAES constitute our related recommendations and are listed below:
2. Seminars and workshops on ecological agriculture
3. Small farm/direct marketing program and center
4. Urban agriculture inquiry
5. The potential for increasing employment in ecological agriculture
6. Cornucopia Project-style inquiry: a provincial food system analysis
7. Survey of organic wastes in Manitoba
8. Demonstration farms survey
9. Instructional film on the techniques of biodynamic agriculture

In addition we endorse the excellent set of recommendations prepared by Stuart B. Hill in his (November 1982) report: Organic Farming in Canada, as well as the soil conservation measures recommended by the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation



Administration in their (November 1982) report: Land Degradation and Soil Conservation Issues on the Canadian Prairies - An Overview. They have been included with this report as Appendix F.

The recommendations in detail

2. SEMINARS AND WORKSHOPS ON ECOLOGICAL AGRICULTURE: Conduct a series of on-going consciousness-raising seminars and workshops on ecological agriculture.

The purpose of these seminars would be to bring together the old and the new in a context to enable people to work together in a positive environment without friction. They would be held primarily for interested farmers and agrologists. The January 1983 Organic Farming Conference in Brandon sponsored jointly by the Manitoba Department of Agriculture and the Ecological Farmers Association is an excellent example of what can be accomplished.

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A number of vitally important papers are added to the end of the Footnotes list beginning with footnote 49 because of their especial significance to:

Destruction of the Environment by State of the Art Technology  
 The Solution of the Problem of Nature Destruction  
 The Difference of opinion between individuals fighting for adequate democratic control of technology and major government and business right wing groups that label citizen activists as communists and terrorists because they oppose corporate goals.

### Footnotes

1. Soil Degradation in Manitoba - An Overview. David Fallis, Federal Environment Protection Service - Sept. 1984 - Winnipeg.
2. Integrated Pest Management - Draft Report.
3. North-West Coalition for Alternatives to Pesticides - Special Issue on Agriculture - 1982 - Spring Summer Issue, P.O. Box 375, Eugene, Oregon, 97440.
4. From Agriculture to Agri-Food. An analysis of Canadian Agriculture Policy as formed from 1967 to 1981 by Brewster Kneen. A background paper published by the Nutrition Policy Institute, RR #3, Scotsburn, Nova Scotia, B0K 1R0.
5. Ambio - Volume X, Number 1, 1981. The Hamburger Connection: How Central America's Forests become North America's Hamburgers by Norman Myers. Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, Box 50005, S-104-05, Stockholm, Sweden. Individual subscription - USA \$25 in 1981.
6. Toward A Sustainable Prairie Agriculture. Workshop with West Jackson. Land Institute - Salina, Kansas, USA. Sustainable alternatives in agriculture, energy, shelter and waste management. Perennial polyculture is their alternative.
7. Organic Farming: The Other Conservation Farming System. Journal of Soil and Water Conservation, Nov.-Dec., 1984, p. 357.
8. Chief Seattle - Environment Oration. Reply to USA President's offer for a large area of Indian land and promise of a reservation. Audio visual services - University of Washington, Seattle, USA.
9. Federal Cabinet 234 Mega Projects - Plan B.  
World Conservation Strategy - Plan A.  
See enclosed documentation on sources available from K.C. Emberley, 387 Truro St., Winnipeg.
10. The Conserver Society Evolution - K.C. Emberley.
11. Global Conference on the Future - K.C. Emberley.
12. Petition to Hon. John Roberts - K.C. Emberley.
13. For Environment Minister Charles Caccia, Sustainable Economic Development, K.C. Emberley.
14. Ambio - 1982 - 10 yrs after Stockholm.
15. The New Internationalist - May 1984. Focuses on issues of world poverty and unjust relationships between rich and poor worlds. 70 Bond St., Ground Floor, Toronto, M5B 2J3, \$22 one year.
16. Party Leaders Policy Meeting - Laurier Club - 1984. Major Issues Usually Excluded from Policy Discussion - K.C. Emberley.

17. Issues and Concerns Paper Two - K.C. Emberley. Policies supported by business and government vs alternatives.
18. Five Key Policy Areas - essential for a revival of democracy in Canada - for business revival and for renewing a political party - one of a series. K.C. Emberley.
19. Proceedings - Manitoba Land Use Conference - March 11, 12, 1981. Funded by Manitoba Government, Ducks Unlimited (Canada), Manitoba Pool Elevators and other private sources.
20. Ecological Agriculture in Manitoba - Vere Scott and Michael Janzen. A detailed report on the philosophy and reasons for it; practicing farmers in Manitoba numbering almost 70; recommendations to promote the practice; 40 pages of bibliography assembling conveniently for local people almost all essential reportings on fifty years of growth of ecological agriculture. Published in limited edition by Manitoba Minister of Agriculture, Winnipeg.
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22. Maintaining the Agricultural Land Base in Alberta - 1985 report of Environmental Council of Alberta.
23. Deep Ecology - A New Philosophy of our Time? by Warwick Fox "The Ecologist" p. 194. Volume 14 #5/6 1984. Journal of the Wadebridge Ecological Centre, Worthyvale Manor Farm - Camelford - Cornwall PL32 9TT- U.K.
24. Live Simply That Other May Simply Live. British Columbia Voice of Woman - Idea Center, 416 Wardlaw Ave., Winnipeg.
25. Alternative Courses for the Human Future. Maurice F. Strong First Iona Lecture, Iona College - Windsor, Ontario, 13 Feb. 1974.
26. The Stockholm Conference, A Friends of the Earth Publication, Out of Print.
27. The Human Side of Energy - 2nd International Forum Theme Address by Mr. Justice Berger, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Aug. 16. 1981.
28. Environment in Danger - Val Werier, Winnipeg Free Press, March 13, 1985.
29. Maskwa Project Newsletter - May 1985, Feature article from "RAIN". Jan. 1985 issue. "Teaching Children - Reaching the Community" with Conserver Society" - Understanding the Natural World" education.
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31. Harold Geneen - Chairman I. T. & T. - U.S.A. Today, April 23, 1985. Morality is not the point of a company; profit is. Portrait of Twisted Power.

32. Trilateralism - The Trilateral Commission and Elite Planning for World Management - Edited by Holly Sklar, South End Press, Boston, 1980.
33. "Reagan's Intent Doubted" - The GAZETTE - Montreal. The Five Year Blueprint, 126 page document, of the ideas of USA Secretary of War Caspar Weinberger, a complete defence guidance for USA cabinet policy for the next five years. Plus five addition pages of Newspaper Clippings indicating the policy of planning on a nuclear war is unwise and unnecessary.
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It is based on personal taped interviews with Ronald Reagan and top cabinet officers in 1980. How the US government has come under the control of men who believe that nuclear war can be waged and won. This is a 16 page summary written by the author for "Playboy" in December 1982.
35. "Science Dimension" - Issue #1, 1985 - National Research Council.  
Fernand Seguin - Science and Technology have fallen in public esteem.  
David Suzuki - We can't marshall the will to shift society to stop pollution and discrimination so we'll change people to fit into the new environment.
36. "Aviation Week and Space Technology" - Oct. 1, 1984.  
"Conferences Grant \$32.1 Billion for Military Research",  
plus additional funds in other departments not clearly identified.
37. Peace General: Major - General Leonard Johnson retired in 1984, after a distinguished 34 year career in the Canadian Armed Forces. The last four years he was commandant of the National Defence College  
Militarism infects the USA, USSR and Canada.
38. Militarism - "Making a Killing" - Ernie Regehr. In absolute terms Canada ranks sixth among the worlds arms merchants.
39. "Hearing about Water" by Peter H. Pearse. Inquiry on Federal Water Policy, 1984.  
"Encourage measures such as the recycling of liquid industrial waste", p. 10.  
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"There were frequent references to the conserver society, sustainable growth, an ecosystem approach and river basin planning as appropriate management approaches", p. 21.
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41. "Megatrends" by John Naisbitt - Warner Books.  
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43. ACRES - USA - A Voice for Eco-Agriculture. Box 9547, Kansas City, Missouri, 64133.
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45. A Glimpse of the Role of River Runoff to the Sea. It's not wasted, it's part of the pattern. A submission to the Inquiry on Federal Water Policy by Ronald H. Loucks - R. H. Loucks Oceanology Ltd., 24 Clayton Park Drive, Halifax, Nova Scotia, B3M 1L5, 14 pages.
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220 Queen Street  
Winnipeg, Manitoba R3J 1K7  
December 26, 1985

*United Nations Inquiry Commission into  
the State of the World Environment*

Dear Madam:

Happy New Year to you and all the people in the world.

This can only be possible if we increase our questioning of the morals and ethics of policies and decisions being made for us by our leaders.

New Years' resolutions for all of us:

1. Reduce war preparations, make fewer threats in all situations and pose less aggressively.  
In budgets and time devote an equal amount to peacefully solving differences at all levels in our lives, in governments, and in corporations.
2. Be more honest in our reporting and story-telling of both sides.  
Report on the USSR role in Afghanistan but balance it with a story on the Chili dictatorship put in place by the USA or a story on how the USA was satisfied that Nicaragua had a USA-inspired and -controlled cruel dictatorship for 50 years.
3. Explain that only radically new policies to preserve our farm land and forest harvests and reduce pollution will enable our economic system to survive and the people that live with and on it to survive with less extravagance, less waste, and less luxury.
4. The environment must be considered first in any policy proposal. Any program, technology, or project that seriously harms the environment will make us poorer, less healthy, and less well fed and more poorly housed in the future.
5. The violence in our society is a natural growth result of a society increasingly dedicated to less fairness, greater emphasis on hatred, fear, war production and environment destruction.  
Look carefully at the political, economic and religious connections of those promoting the above items, and expose them.
6. The vast majority of the people do not want a war or the steady increasing threat and talk of one. Examine carefully those who do.

220 Queen Street  
Winnipeg, Manitoba R3J 1K7  
December 26, 1985

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into the state of the World Environment*

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Look carefully at the political, economic and religious connections of those promoting the above items, and expose them.
6. The vast majority of the people do not want a war or the steady increasing threat and talk of one. Examine carefully those who do.

Most ordinary people want a job, a home they can afford, a wage that will support some modest level of comfort and the probability all their children will not be killed.

7. Some sanity must prevail or we will not survive. Probably the most hopeful sign is that there are over 500 small groups of people in Canada making a personal sacrifice in time, dollars and standard of living to help make this a better Canada to live in for all of us.

Environmental activists, peace movement members and many others in self-help and life-style groups are promoting in many ways an amazingly similar, different, improved life-style.

A life-style that is more in harmony with nature; to preserve our farm and forest lands from excessive destruction; promoting co-operation and self-help rather than excessive competition and initiative-paralyzing dependence; promoting diversity and innovation where monotony and monopoly so often dominate now; promoting more fairness and economic sharing in the community, nation and in world affairs; to improve quality of life for all.

8. In Canada the richest fifth of the population made 6 times as much as the poorest fifth, in 1983.

In the USA the richest fifth of the population made 7 times as much as the poorest in 1974. Under Carter and Reagan policies by 1983 the rich were 9 times richer than the poor, and they are not finished yet.

Most modern civilized countries divide their income more fairly than the USA (see p. 7, Oct. 20, 1984, Winnipeg Free Press).

9. Militarism, Star Wars, Free Trade are all policies the USA needs to support their unequal system and spread it more around the world.

Is it any wonder so many common ordinary people oppose USA government and business policies even if they like Americans individually.

Happy New Year!

Sincerely,

*Kenneth Emberley*

Kenneth Emberley.



## INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC PRIORITIES

### Outline of Basic Concept and Theme

1. Environment Preservation or improvement is the first consideration in evaluating every project over \$1,000,000, including government and military projects.
2. Jobs produced, wages earned, capital cost, appropriateness of technology, pollution, recycling value of product, hardness or softness of technology, direct and indirect subsidies, contribution to life-style must all be evaluated, particularly environment alteration.
3. Control of our own lives politically and economically by ordinary people must increasingly be the goal of technology choices and where rejected must be an informed choice.
4. Why?

### Necessary Policies to Achieve This Goal

1. Class One Environment Assessment Panels and Cost/Benefit Studies better than Mr. Justice Tom Berger's "Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry" - for every project costing over \$1,000,000.
2. The Consumer Society with conspicuous over-consumption and waste must be replaced with the "Conserver Society Concept" of thrift, modest consumption and cheerful leanness through inclusion in Assessment Panel discussions - and much more public discussion.
3. All military projects must be fully evaluated in public hearings of Environment Assessment Panels as well as civilian projects to reveal the real cost of preparations for war especially "militarization of space" through Star Wars.
4. Population growth must be stopped in all countries and then reduced considerably before any real Environment Preservation or Reduced Resource Consumption can be achieved.
5. Rights of Humans is just beginning to become popular in a few places to a limited extent. This must be expanded particularly to native, low income, aboriginal people and farmers.

Expansion of the concept must include the rights of animal species not to be completely altered and destroyed by genetic engineering, river valleys not to be destroyed by humans multiplying like lemmings, lakes not to be poisoned by technology so that all that live and drink there will be poisoned and forests not to be destroyed to the extent that whole continents and the planet will be so altered that the survival of many species becomes almost impossible.

The rights of farm land to be able to produce food must be protected as a first right to ensure the survival of a reasonably sized population with less suffering than is now tolerated.

See my proposal for a "New National Park System" to show appropriate technology working in harmony with Nature.

6. See the Great Tabulation on pages 20-21 of the "Age of Uncertainty" by John Kenneth Galbraith. This shows what each U.S.A. industry gives and receives from every other industry.

We need a tabulation of our own to show what each industry gives and receives in the way of National Resources of minerals, renewable resources, energy, pollution, environment destruction, taxes, subsidies, jobs, capital needs and national debt contribution, foreign exchange obligations and earnings,

contribution to hard technology - soft technology, centralized control - decentralized control, civilian economy - military economy.

7. Dr. David Suzuki's "Planet for the Taking," produced by the CBC is probably the most important event in Canada in the last five years to help us begin to examine ourselves and what we are doing to us and our world, and why.
8. Environmentalists funding by proponents of civilian, military, Crown corporation and government projects must be 1/10th of 1% of project estimated cost and final cost to allow reports of equal quality to those now made by proponents using tax-deductible dollars and tax dollars.

#### A Reasonable Balanced View

A democracy cannot function nor can free enterprise or any other system function unless there is a chance for balanced discussion of various views by supporters who are guaranteed some fair hearing through equality of some measure to study, report, research, inform, educate and share with the public.

This funding of an adequate amount to representatives of the general public has been gradually shown to have much merit.

Without the \$10,000,000, the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Hearings spent on professional quality hearings the project would have gone ahead in a rush of rhetoric, wishful thinking, and kindergarten quality studies done by government and business.

Today Canada would have been saddled with a \$40 Billion pipeline pouring out gas in Chicago that had to sell at over \$10 a thousand cubic feet to break even.

The recession and energy conservation has kept the price of U.S.A. Natural Gas at \$4 a thousand, and they wouldn't buy our gas.

Canada would be more bankrupt than it is. And remember we only got Justice Berger because the Trudeau Liberals were a minority government and the N.D.P. at that time insisted on a good environment analysis. That was the best money our governments spent in the last ten years to serve Canadians--the \$10,000,000 on the Berger Inquiry.

#### To Serve Canada and Canadians

By the year 1995 we must have in place a strong independent environment movement running their own research projects in co-operation with and using Public Interest Research Group Facilities in the universities.

Funding will be in the form of long term legal contracts from proponents of projects not the shameful and disgraceful type of funding provided by the Federal Government for the Beaufort Sea Environmentalists in the early 1980's.

## INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC PRIORITIES

### The Program-Environment Protection

#### The Good Life/The Just Society

Caring for the environment; desiring to reduce conspicuous consumption and waste; and a desire to reduce the huge stress and cost of preparing for war are uniting three great movements in a desire for a better life-style.

Environmentalists  
Peace Activists  
Conservation Life-style Pioneers

#### New Ideas Are Always Resisted

John Kenneth Galbraith in "The Age of Uncertainty" begins:

The ideas of economists and social philosophers shape actions and events even when we are unaware of their sources.

It is hard to believe the increase in public awareness of the "environment" as a crucial factor in our human survival, economic well-being or sickness, and a key factor in our physical and mental health. We need a decent place to live.

#### Equal and Opposite Reaction

A whole series of books detail the natural reaction to the massive escalation of environment destruction by population and technology; a demand to protect the environment:

Silent Spring by Rachael Carson  
The Population Bomb by Paul Ehrlich  
Limits to Growth by The Club of Rome  
Small is Beautiful by Schumacher  
The Stockholm Environment Conference by U.N.  
Soft Energy Paths by Amory and Hunter Lovins  
Poisoned Power by John Gofman, M.D.  
Cult of the Atom by Ford  
Fate of the Earth by Schell  
Malignant Neglect by Environment Defense Fund  
Circle of Poison by Institute for Food and Development Policy  
- Restricted Pesticide Marketing  
Is Technology Out Of Control? Dr. David Suzuki

The Energy Inefficiency of our whole continent and the Massive Environment Destruction of Mega Energy Projects, many exempt from Environment Protection Laws, were principal causes of increased Public Environment Awareness in the 1970's.

Accelerated Resource Consumption and increased environment destruction That goes with it is a major result of the huge escalation since 1979 in preparations for Conventional and Nuclear War.

The development and full scale production of at least ten major new weapons systems, some under development for fifteen years under four different U.S.A. presidents, will bring war fighting to space over many countries.

The Cruise Missiles researched and developed for fifteen years under Salt I and Salt II exemptions demanded by the U.S.A. at long last allows us to plan on a war in Northern Canada and Saskatchewan against the promised retaliating of U.S.S.R. cruise missiles when deployed in five years.

There is a steady diversion of funds and staff and the discouragement of public interest in health care, education, medical research and support services for the working poor who need government help to help themselves just as do energy companies and munitions contractors.

#### Population Time Bomb Is Here

So much of our noticeable lowering of quality of life is due to the increased population of almost 100,000,000 in North America in the last 40 years.

Paul Ehrlich addressed us in September 1985 at the University of Manitoba.

What put China on to their crash program of birth control was the discovery during a modern census completed in 1980 that they had 150,000,000 more people than they thought they had.

There are 20 countries in the world today facing a problem we could not solve in our modern rich country with all its technology, institutions and resources.

#### Doubling Insanity

A doubled population in one generation means finding twice as many schools, building a Toronto beside Toronto, a Vancouver beside Vancouver, doubling our National and Provincial Parks, finding twice as much farm land, finding twice as many fish in the rivers and ocean, creating twice as many jobs, producing twice as many toxic chemicals for Lake Ontario, twice as much smog for Vancouver.

Idiots at one time dreamed of this for Canada and the U.S.A. but like moose and wolves when the pressures begin to get too great and life becomes more difficult the people decided themselves we will not produce more babies, they don't deserve it.

#### Environmentalism - A Growth Industry In the 1980's To Equal The Computer Growth In the 1970's

To achieve this goal we must aim at the steady improvement in conditions each year until our program is fully in operation by 2000 A.D.

#### ENVIRONMENT ASSESSMENT AND REVIEW PANELS

They must be drastically improved until they meet these minimum goals by 2000 A.D.

Cover all Federal, Provincial, City, and Municipal and Private Business Projects of any kind costing over \$1 Million in the first year, planned or begun.

Cover thoroughly the concept of alternative technology comparisons to achieve the same net long term goal.

If more energy is needed, examine energy, conservation, and alternative sources to provide same net result.

If more suburban building lots are needed examine inner city growth alternative and desired population goal to retain or regain quality of life.

In licensing chemicals to treat bugs or people we must examine alternative treatments or the alternative of not treating at all as best meeting the social need of the nation to live more in harmony with nature.

#### Cost-Benefit Studies

We must examine all costs including environment; life-style; self-reliance vs. dependance; export orientation vs. National, Regional, and Local benefit; profit and tax use and profit and tax level in relation to other industries of less and greater national, regional and local importance; number of jobs and quality of work life and workplace health and safety; waste products and who pays for recovery, recycling and safe disposal of wastes without further polluting the land, air and water; relevance of the product to the national, regional and local goals.

Will more gambling increase low paying jobs, alcohol consumption and prostitution and increase abdication of government and business and individuals' responsibility to finance essential social services in an adequate manner through allocation of adequate tax revenue.

#### Quality of Panels and Studies

Panel membership and terms of reference for the panels and their studies must be initially determined by committees with equal representation from business, government and citizens representing the environment and general public.

Gradually by the year 2000 representation on the panels must increase the percent of environment and public interest groups to 50% and reduce business and government to 25% each.

These goals are essential because in Canada Environment Controls and Regulatory Bodies are much more ineffective than even the U.S.A.

So many projects are government-sponsored and government-subsidized in Canada, especially Crown Corporations and Provincial Hydro and Telephone Utilities, that government is strongly in agreement with business resisting every effort to examine the economic sense and environment effect of their projects.

So many professional bodies are dominated by members paid by business and government or funded directly or indirectly by them that little reliance can be placed on their independence and lack of bias of the part of many of their membership.

A small fraction in almost all professional groups maintain their independence and ability for unbiased analysis but in many cases they do this at considerable cost in dollars and become victims of harassment, intimidation and coercion by associates and their associations as well as by business and government.

#### Citizen Environmental Intervenors Funding

A statue more majestic than the one with the torch in New York harbor should be erected to Justice Thomas Berger and his environmentalists for saving us from the "Dome Petroleum Style" project on the Mackenzie River. It had gone from \$7 Billion to \$40 Billion in seven years.

Every project proposer would be required to supply long-time funding of 1/10 of one percent to support environmentalists and cost-benefit citizen intervenors until two years after the project becomes fully operational.

A year before the first public hearing a two-year contract for funding would be required and would always have one full year in advance funding guaranteed.

Semi-annual audited accounting reports would go to the hearing panel and to the proponent by the funded environmental recipients.

#### Environment Movement Goals

With every single million dollar or larger project funding environment studies, cost/benefit examinations and appropriate technology choices as alternatives there would be some considerable volume of work being carried out.

Many environment groups would be funding studies independently.

Public Interest Research Groups run by University Student Unions could expand and co-ordinate a number of studies into both current needs and long-term needs that have never been met by the universities, business, government and the conventional research-funding groups.

The Manitoba Environment Council would have to become completely independent with at least three times the present staff and level of activity as a beginning fully funded in yearly grants contractually guaranteed at least two years in advance from the Manitoba government.

The Canadian Environment Network would have to become completely independent with similar funding at three times present levels as a beginning.

#### Environment Research

The governments and business with similar goals have huge sums of tax dollars and tax deductible dollars to research and promote the technologies they favor.

The extremely one-sided emphasis on environment-destroying, job-destroying and health-destroying technologies is not yet counter-balanced, and these needs must be filled and soon.

Any year when \$50 Billion of Capital Projects was beginning would see a commitment of \$50 Million Dollars of long-term research funding being committed to round out and balance the analysis of the projects and the life-style and economics of our country. Ten years is all we have to get it fully operational if we are going to save our environment.

#### Time Table

We must apply the same rigid time tables employed by government to produce a balanced budget.

The most obvious benefit of the environment concern will be to help do this while at the same time producing more jobs, improving health and reducing government subsidies for unnecessary technologies.

We must not forget government and business dreams for the energy industry were based on \$90 a barrel of oil in 1990 so that ocean and frontier oil would sell at a profit. We would have needed 15% a year inflation each year from 1980 to achieve that goal.

The nonsense that it costs too much to plan intelligently, rationally, and let the public know the true costs and who pays for what and who benefits must be laid to rest.

#### Compromise - Negotiate

Sure, we must compromise and negotiate on details but not on the main goals or the main time table. That is not negotiable.

Kenneth Emberley  
Kenneth Emberley

## Life-Style Change - Permanently Solving Problems

### Reduce War Preparation

We can only solve the problem of escalating militarization of our society and industries by removing governments dedicated to aggressive posturing, threats and increased military budgets. The increasing war threat comes as much from North America as towards North America.

We can only reduce our army, C.I.A. and police if we change the policy that is determined to create more millionaires, put low wage Canadians earning \$4.00 an hour increasingly in competition with poverty-stricken Americans earning \$3.00 and Mexicans earning 90c.

As Canada under Mulroney joins Reagan increasing the incomes of the rich and lowering those of the poor our militarism is needed as much to control our own restless peasants as those in other countries.

Threats and violence must increase as the poor thinking they live in a democracy organize demanding a minute fair share of the country's wealth they help create and business, government, courts and police try to suppress groups that compete with the Canadian Manufacturers Association, the Law Society, C.M.A. and others who demand an unfair large share of the country's money, and want a still larger share.

### Sharing - Self-Help vs. Cut-Throat Competition

Most of our major churches in North America and even in the U.K. have made very detailed examinations of our economic system increasingly worshipping the Teddy Roosevelt era of cut-throat competition and aggressive imperial expansion into foreign countries.

Almost without exception they have issued clear-cut condemnations and clearly identified the unacceptable principles and practices and recommended cures.

Many of us intimately involved in the business community and studying it seriously know its flaws, its potential to change and improve and the power of the forces refusing to improve and share both the power and the wealth produced even a little bit more fairly.

The whole purpose of the funding of 1/10th of 1% to the citizens' groups is to permit a small amount of competition in the Free Enterprise system.

Where only one kind of technology is chosen and supported by the overwhelming power of government and business and the academic community you do not have any more democracy in your economic system than dictatorships allow in their political systems.



What do you think accounts for the incredibly large number of little groups of ordinary people banding together to struggle for a chance to run more of their own lives free of the one chosen technology that is taking their job away, lowering the quality of their food, delivering second rate health care, poisoning their bodies and their children. It is forcing their children to worship a system that does not permit effective citizen control, and in effect does not permit competing economic or other systems to exist or grow, or to receive the financial support or encouragement reserved for the chosen technology.

The incredible books by Jean M. Auel in the "Earth's Children" series beginning with "The Clan of the Cave Bear" describes after the most exhaustive research our ancestors' possible life-style 30,000 years ago.

Almost all primitive societies studied recently show they have only been able to survive by co-operation and developing a method of controlling their worst impulses and living in harmony with nature.

I believe many people have a deep inherited desire to live in a civilized manner, co-operating with God and nature and doing some good living but doing something worthwhile in life and not doing something very evil intentionally.

I believe these books satisfy a little understood inner hunger totally ignored even over this Christmas season as plans for war and threats went on uninterrupted and as other unacceptable policies and practices assaulted our better Christian impulses.

#### Competition In the Free Enterprise System

I believe the plan for a "New National Park System" demonstrating farming, forestry and industrial activity being carried on in a rational manner without destroying the land and wrecking unneeded havoc on the lives of the people involved is an essential step just as important today as was the creation of the first National Park in Canada at Banff over 100 years ago today.

The fact that many people think the idea ridiculous or unnecessary is the best proof I have that this is the time to present it. As mentioned right at the beginning it takes time to get radical new ideas widely enough known and understood to gain support and credibility.

#### Conclusion

Today is the day to begin educating on the need for the 1/10th of 1% Funding, Environment Assessment of all and every project including military, and our New National Park System illustrating appropriate technology in harmony with nature.

Kenneth Emberley

387 Truro St.  
Winnipeg, Manitoba  
R3J 2A5

November 27, 1984

Heritage for Tomorrow  
Canadian Plains Research Centre  
University of Regina  
Regina, Sask.  
S4S 0A2

Dear Sir:

Enclosed please find a proposal for an innovative addition to our national parks system.

The steady deterioration of farm soil quality, the steady deterioration of water quality and the steady decline in stable forest area require a response.

The Federal Cabinet has adopted the world conservation strategy.

The United Nations Environment Division is promoting a world-wide study of sustainable development strategies based on appropriate technology.

The Canadian Environment Network is committed to produce a Canadian paper by 1987 similar to the "Soft Energy Study" completed last year.

This proposal would put one of Canada's most important institutions at work with demonstration projects of living and working in harmony with nature.

Respectfully Submitted,

Crossroads Resource Group  
P.O. Box 1436  
Winnipeg, Manitoba  
R3C 2Z4

Per:

Kenneth Emberley  
Kenneth Emberley

KE/dl  
Encl.

## INNOVATION IN THE PARKS SYSTEM - Revised March 1986

The Heritage River Program is a wise innovation in our parks system and those who initiated it and put it into effective use are to be congratulated.

The present basic system in Southern Canada is to preserve 1% of the most rugged scenic beauty in as close as possible to a state of natural pristine beauty as it was before the White and Negro races came here.

The other 99% is being steadily and ever more rapidly raped as we strip our forests; erode, salinize and destroy the humus in our farmlands; and spread more mine tailings helter skelter. Toxic wastes and deliberately applied biocides and assorted chemicals are poisoning our forests, farmland and waterways, our food and the air we breathe.

In the northern frontier areas, if we are to save anything we must almost reverse the process and permit mining and commercial development on only 1% of the land in the Yukon and North West Territories.

### A NEW PARK SYSTEM IS NEEDED

#### A LIVING PARK - WORKING THE LAND WITHOUT DESTROYING IT

If we are to survive the mania for technological progress and the application of scientific principles to mass exploitation of the land we need a whole new series of parks across the nation as living examples of:

#### APPROPRIATE TECHNOLOGY IN HARMONY WITH NATURE

It makes no difference if it has to be a new national park system administered by Provincial Governments, initiated and partially funded by the Federal Governments and often in cooperation with city governments.

The job has to be done and we must examine how it could be done.

#### A GRASSLAND PARK FOR SOUTHERN SASKATCHEWAN

A Cooperative Management Committee of equal numbers of farmers, ranchers and town people with parks people and citizen environmentalists, in full control of management.

Ranches mainly or exclusively family owned harvesting cattle and antelope. Reduced density to assure soil preservation.

Family operated appropriate tourist trail riding trips run from the ranches who would operate approved tourist facilities.

Some ranchers, etc., believed this type of operation by locals who loved the land would best preserve it and would show a living example of decent people making a decent living, living off of but with the land they loved and cared for in perpetuity.

## RED RIVER VALLEY PARK

Begin with a nucleus of 3 or 4 farms managed in an ecologically sound manner maintaining tilth and humus content, reducing soil erosion, and increasing the soil quality. Chemical inputs would be at an absolute minimum with no herbicides, pesticides or insecticides of a chemical nature used.

The farmers would be making a modest, comfortable living while preserving their soil, reducing excessive mechanization, reducing excessive debt load and exporting off the farm only as much crop as the farmland could tolerate without self-destruction.

Farms could be added until the goal of 1% of Manitoba farm land was reached.

Eventually small blocks of land comprising a number of farms would be developed and spraying by aircraft would be prohibited within one mile of the perimeter. Virgin land could be set aside to provide a safe place for ecological agriculture.

## B.C. FOREST PARK

Begin with South Moresby being set aside as an untouched Heritage Wilderness Park of uncut virgin forest immediately.

Take at least 5 areas of at least 50 square miles each and experiment with a modern selective tree harvesting technique that promotes natural reforestation to the highest possible degree. Harvest one section every year, selecting only mature trees and leaving a few of the oldest, on a fifty-year rotation.

The present experiment of clear cutting has failed for four reasons:

- the high erosion especially on steep hills
- the low level of natural reseeding
- the inability over forty years of the government to recognize its moral responsibility to use some of the taxes collected in the forest to preserve and replant the forests on which the province depends for its economic survival
- the inability over forty years of the forest industry to recognize its moral responsibility to use some of its large influence with the government and the public to demand complete annual reforestation, either naturally through appropriate harvesting technique or reseeding manually through government programs on land the government owns

Two million hectares clear cut are not reforested and they would provide 20 years' work for 10,000 people if manually replanted by people receiving an adequate wage of \$8-\$9 an hour.

Canada's forests are a perfect example of the failure of government ownership and the failure of private enterprise to behave in a morally responsible or in an ethically responsible manner. An informed public must force them both to completely change their

management techniques.

The purpose of these areas is to show how our cedar, Douglas firs and other priceless long-lived trees can be managed in a responsible manner; a problem presently found insoluble by both government and business. Private companies, small and large, would be allowed to harvest under strict supervision.

This park system must be gradually and steadily expanded, adding 1% of the uncut forest land in the province each year until it covers 10% of unharvested forests in the province.

As the 2,000,000 hectares of unregenerated forest is manually planted and manually thinned it must be added to this park system. It should be completely planted in 25 years if we begin next year planting 10,000 acres and double the area planted every year, until 80,000 acres a year is being reseeded just in this one program.

The purpose of this program is to illustrate and carry out research to prove: that forests can be harvested sensitively and responsibly. Using a long rotation cycle with greatly reduced waste and without pesticide spraying, using much more natural reseeded because of appropriate harvesting techniques; using manual thinning you can preserve the forest; permit many to use the forest including humans, birds, animals, fish without being sprayed with poisons; and good harvests and modest income earnings can be achieved.

Naturally similar programs would be undertaken in each province because most are in desperate need of these corrective measures.

#### NIAGARA RIVER PARK

Take over in friendly co-operation a number of industrial parks and toxic waste dumps and show how wise businesses, thoughtful city governments and strong provincial and federal environment departments can all make money together and produce clean water for Lake Ontario.

Sincerely,

*Kenneth Emberley*

Kenneth Emberley

# Park can be awkward neighbor

By Laura Rance  
Winnipeg Free Press

**WASAGAMING** — Officials here are hoping a United Nations designation of Riding Mountain National Park as a unique ecological preserve will lead to a better relationship with area landowners.

Park superintendent Mac Estabrooks said he is waiting for final confirmation of the status, which would give the park and its surrounding area international recognition as a biosphere reserve.

It would be the third such reserve in Canada, and Estabrooks said he expects more research funds would be available to examine conflicts with neighboring landowners.

## Call of the wild/49

"Research is the answer to the long-term," Estabrooks said. "What we do in the short-term is only a Band-Aid operation." X X X

A biosphere reserve consists of a core of undisturbed landscape located next to land that is being managed to suit human needs through industries such as agriculture or forestry. X X X

The reserves, named by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, provide a way to document the effects of development on the environment so that good management policies can be learned.

Estabrooks said the 2,997-square kilometre-park south of Dauphin is an ideal location because it is the only national park in Canada surrounded by private land.

## Study conflict

As development creeps up on other protected areas, studies of the numerous conflicts over this park's preservation and resource-use policies will be applicable elsewhere, he said.

"There's no question we're going to need more money and more research but hopefully it won't come out of the taxpayer's pockets," Estabrooks said.

The area already draws scientists from around the world, but international recognition would make it more attractive to universities and research foundations which fund projects, he said.

Wildlife degradation, farmland flooding caused by beavers, and soil erosion from water flowing off the 500-metre escarpment have infuriated area farmers and local municipalities over the years.

Estabrooks said the problems are isolated but still a big headache for the landowners involved.

However, he said the park's policy of not meddling with the natural cycle has never been firmer.

The beaver, which farmer's complain flood pastures and which one study suggests cause \$750,000 annually, turned the park into a waterfowl sanctuary last year, he said.

The park was full of ducks at a time when populations on the North American continent are at their lowest recorded level, he said.

The same policy was responsible for phasing out logging and grazing privileges in the park by 1970, which to some people believe is a senseless waste of a valuable resource.

"There's been a history of poor communication between the communities and Parks Canada," Jim Irwin, chairman of the Riding Mountain Liaison Committee, said.

The committee of area municipalities and park officials was formed in 1981 to try to iron out their differences.

The area farmer and guest-house operator said residents generally support the park; they just wish they were compensated for some of the problems it creates.

He says he's enthusiastic about the proposed biosphere reserve because it will give local municipalities a say in management of the program.

The liaison committee would co-ordinate research efforts in the biosphere reserve.

"We don't have any money ourselves to fund the research, but we can set the priorities," the farmer and municipal councillor said.

A federal-provincial beaver control agreement has given farmers some relief from the industrious pests, but compensation for other damage is hard to come by, he said.

## Crops eaten

The provincial government will compensate farmers for crops eaten by wildlife, but that doesn't cover the full cost of the damage, he said.

"They (elk) trample more than they eat, but we only get paid for what they eat," Irwin said.

Estabrooks said once the extent of a problem is identified through research, the committee or the individual landowner is in a much stronger position to seek compensation.

Municipalities have asked for a comprehensive water management program for the 23 silt-laden streams flowing out of the park, which plug ditches and cause flooding, he said.

"Siltation has destroyed the commercial pickerel fishing in Lake Dauphin," he said.

The lake, north of the park, is less than a metre deep and is filling in at a rate or more than one centimetre per year, he said.

The park has more than 15,000 beaver, the highest concentration in North America. They migrate from the park and flood pastures and fields with their dams.

"I have one neighbor here who used to go out religiously every morning and dig out a beaver dam," Irwin said.

It's a waste of time to trap them, because their pelts are worth so little, he said.

But to some extent, area farmers may have been authors of their own problems.

A Canadian Wildlife Service official studying wolves in the area in 1979, warned farmers trapping the predators for pelts worth up to \$300, that they could face future beaver problems.

Statistics show the population of the area's wolves, which feed on beaver, has dropped by half in the past decade, while beaver numbers have exploded.

**Jim Irwin says his fellow farmers will welcome some say in the park's policies.**

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FOUR-PAGE SUMMARY

LIBERAL TASK FORCE ON PEACE  
SECURITY AND WORLD DISARMAMENT

The Honorable Jean Chrétien, P.C., M.P.

The Honorable Lloyd Axworthy, M.P.

submitted by  
Provincial Constituency of St. James  
Liberal Party in Manitoba

presented by  
Policy Chairman Kenneth Emberley  
387 Truro Street  
Winnipeg, Manitoba  
R3J 2A5  
888-5920

#### PUBLIC HEARINGS - INFORMED CONSENSUS

These public hearings are a vital method of communication and education. The members of this audience need to hear the other presentations and your responses. We need to test our identification of problems and possible solutions on each other in the community and the nation. We cannot agree on policy and certainly not change policy until a majority has reached a common understanding. In a democracy this can only be achieved by education and sharing of ideas.

#### CANADA'S LEVEL OF SOVREIGNTY PROTECTION

Of the modern industrial nations we welcome a higher percent of foreign ownership and control than is permitted in most countries. Four hundred years of French, British, and U.S.A. domination have left a distinctly subservient attitude among most Canadians. Free trade will give our resources to the U.S.A. to waste extravagantly.

#### CANADA'S ARMS CONTROL AND WORLD DISARMAMENT POLICY

Over-emphasis on the goals of the militarists in our society serves no useful purpose and creates great harm. The newly released Nuclear Winter Study of the "Canadian Royal Society" authorized by Hon. Charles Caccia is another confirmation of almost a guarantee of the killing of most Canadians, Americans, Europeans, and Russians in even a small nuclear war. We recommend that Canada as the sixth largest munitions exporter in the world should reduce its munitions' manufacture steadily with a 5% cut in total production annually. Incentives exactly equal to those previously available to encourage militarization of our industrial base should be continued to switch to a peace time industrial system. When 147 countries in the 38th General Assembly voted a resolution to support the ban on space militarization the U.S.A. was the lone opponent. We must ardently support the strengthening of the 1972 anti-Ballistic Missiles Treaty, and condemn any violation loudly. No major change for the better will be possible in our world disarmament policy until we face our hypocrisy in generally supporting world militarization and profiting from arms sales and piously talking about how much we love peace, and dabbling at it.

#### CANADA'S ROLE IN NORAD AND NATO

Canada should adopt an independent policy and from inside these organizations be a voice of moderation. Canada's director of our Defence College, Major General Leonard Johnston, just retired, joined twelve retired NATO Admirals and Generals and American Admirals and Generals working for the peace movement. These great men are very concerned with the militarization of our countries to the point where our whole emphasis in society is on aggressive confrontation, in business--labor relations and foreign affairs. The desire to behave aggressively, with threats and increasingly shout insults to intimidate is not acceptable.

#### CANADA'S PEACE KEEPING ROLE IN THE WORLD

Each new tie to the U.S.A. War Machine makes increasingly difficult our role as a peace keeper. Most smaller wars are conflicts on the borders of the two great powers' client states or inside them. We should only operate under UN guidance and we should strongly support the United Nations "Peace College" on Conflict Resolution and Reduced Confrontation.

#### POLICY ON NUCLEAR ARMAMENTS ON CANADIAN TERRITORY

Canada should insist on U.S.A. Nuclear weapons being kept out of Canada.



Even if this is officially carried out we have lost on three counts. Main airports including Winnipeg that can refuel a B-52 will be hit in the first exchange of ICBM's.

The five main Nuclear Reactors, whose waste fuel bays hold enough uranium and plutonium, used fuel, to multiply by one thousand the radiation that will be released by a nuclear weapon, will be hit first. The Litton Industries Cruise Missile Guidance Systems will in effect guide Soviet Cruise Missiles into Saskatchewan and into Canada's seaports.

The majority of the larger and older Soviet ICBM's are liquid fueled. Many take half a day or longer to get launched. Even the slow moving Cruise is a "First Strike Weapon" with the accuracy and power needed, against these slow launched old ICBM's, to destroy them before launch. The Soviet President has promised North America will get one back for each one sent. The very few "Back-Fire Bombers" will send them down through Saskatchewan for now. U.S.A. radar upgrading in Canada's north and U.S.A. plans to shoot Soviet Cruise Missiles down serves us right. The Cruise Missiles being tested over Saskatchewan today have no nuclear warheads; yet, just wait a bit, they are coming.

#### CANADA'S PARTICIPATION IN STAR WARS RESEARCH

It will only succeed if a treaty is negotiated and kept faithfully not to build decoys and many more cheap missiles to smother the system. If this kind of treaty will work why not have the treaty now to stop the MX, Pershing II, cruise missiles, S.D.I. and their Soviet equivalent?

#### JUST A SMALL WAR - WITH S.D.I.

If 5% of 8,000 delivery vehicles get through that could be 400 carrying up to 1,000 warheads. Where would you want to live in North America to avoid the 1,000 little and big radioactive clouds and the explosions on civilian and military targets and nuclear reactors and nuclear waste storage depots?

#### ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENCE - S.D.I.

What if they do not play fair and fight a skirmish war? The S.D.I. will be totally useless. Surprise and innovation like they used to go around the Maginot Line will go around this new Maginot Line in the sky, like the truck bomb in Lebanon. They could easily send in thirty little fishing boats to the seaports each with a five-megaton bomb no bigger than a large garbage can. They could easily slip in ten freighters up the Great Lakes, Hudson, Mississippi and Columbia Rivers. They could send ten little planes from Columbia with a Hydrogen Bomb hidden in the cocaine. They could send 20 new cruise missiles from ten new miniature submarines--into New York, New Orleans and Los Angeles. Why spend a Trillion Dollars to build a Maginot Line except for industrial profits?

#### THE COST - S.D.I.

This massive program will warp our industrial structure and social life like no other project in our history. It will require continual belt tightening by the laboring classes and divert money from programs to allow poor people to raise their own food, divert money from medical research, divert money from education, delay the rebuilding of the centers of old cities, delay the proper treatment of garbage, sewage and toxic wastes, delay the urgently needed repairs to almost a thousand major bridges, and many other normal activities in a civilian economy,

especially allowing people to self-help themselves to meaningful employment. Increased military production reduces civilian production and reduces total employment. It could be questioned, as it no doubt will be, if the type of democracy we have now could survive the completion of this project.

#### CANADA'S ARMED FORCES - THE REDUCTION OF WAR RISK FUND

Any increase in arms budget for strengthening Canada's forces must be matched dollar for dollar by money put into a fund to reduce the necessity for these armed forces and to reduce the need for constantly modernizing our forces' equipment at an unnecessarily rapid rate.

The fund must be paid out annually in equal amounts to the four following groups:

1. A section of our Secretary of State's office that will work to negotiate directly with the Soviet Union through the United Nations on Bilateral Arms Reduction and control and study the "Arms Race" and make proposals to the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.
2. A direct grant to the United Nations Peace College on Conflict Resolution and funds to permit CBC to carry on this vital work.
3. Direct funding to all peace and disarmament organizations and especially to the United Nations Association to permit doubling of permanent paid staff or the funding of two paid staff if none existed and guarantee five annual grants so some permanent worthwhile programs can be commenced. This would include groups like the Pugwash Conferences and funding to publish larger printings of newsletters.
4. Funding for a nation-wide campaign under established groups to assist every library in the country to balance its resource materials to balance the flood of pro-war publications.

The Trudeau Government creation of the "Center for Arms Control and Disarmament" and funding for peace groups was a grand initiative.

#### WHY AN ARMS RACE? - WHY THE HUGE ESCALATION?

There is a giant failure in our systems to examine if the system of education or government has deep basic flaws in its fundamental assumptions, teachings and methods of operation. Ralph Nader and University Public Interest Research Groups, Citizen Environment Groups and Now Citizen Peace and Disarmament Groups are doing this and the picture we have discovered in skillful scientific research and prolonged discussion of morals, ethics, religion and technology and science are all coming together with the most amazing clarity and unity. The major Churches and Trade Unions each separately have arrived at similar conclusions. Our common memberships provide a connection through an informal network.

#### DR. DAVID SUZUKI - A PLANET FOR THE TAKING

Dr. David Suzuki in his CBC series "A Planet for the Taking" examines in a very professional way this basic question of why there is an Arms Race. He also examines the damage to our natural systems of agriculture, forestry and water cycles needed for the survival of all the creatures on this planet including people. See this series if you missed it. No single event can be more helpful to you in grasping the several serious underlying causes of so many of our problems today and their possible resolution. He was a scientist who took half liberal arts along with his science so learned about people and society and nature.

DAVID SUZUKI - UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA - JANUARY 1985

At "The Celebration of Life and Learning," he presented an almost two-hour address on the following theme:

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY ARE ALMOST COMPLETELY OUT OF CONTROL

1. War on people is the focus of the largest percentage of scientists and engineers, research efforts and money (the new U.S.A. Budget has \$32 Billion for military research and more under individual departments).
2. Development of products and technologies to make money or centralize power over people; regardless of whether it destroys the environment or contributes to what should be the nation's goals for its people's well being; is the purpose of the second largest group of scientists, engineers, research effort and money.
3. The percentage left over for all the important and vital things for the world's well being for nature and people is very small.

CHOOSE ONE

NUCLEAR WAR and the rapid destruction of most life, the environment and most creatures. ECOLOGICAL COLLAPSE OF NATURAL SYSTEMS on which over four billion people depend on survival. If present policies are followed they are both guaranteed and which comes first is irrelevant. In 5, 10 or 15 years one is bound to have occurred and possibly both, likely both.

END THE WAR ON MANKIND; THE WAR ON NATURE

I have heard this theme repeatedly in various ways over a ten-year period from its limited tentative rough drafts beginning in 1975 to the clear cut precise definition in 1984 and 1985 at many conferences. The Secretary General of the U.N., and the Commonwealth, Aurelio Peccei, Dave Brower, Justice Berger, Maurice Strong, a recent PFRA report all detail the need for urgent drastic change.

OUR INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM IS FLAWED - WE ARE TOO GREEDY FOR POWER AND WEALTH

If you read books like "The Soviet Threat" or "Trilateralism" you would see two competing imperial empires each bent on growth, growth in power, growth in population, growth in consumption, growth in wealth, growth in waste, growth in profit at any cost. Only when we decide we love this beloved, beautiful land we live on more than the fun we get raping it to get richer quicker will we ever begin to change our industrial and educational and political systems to learn to walk a little more humbly without our big bully club. Only when we decide we love our fellow humans more than we love the extra wealth we get by cheating them out of fair prices for the things we buy from them because we share the U.S.A.'s military, economic, political and nuclear power to force them to sell on unfavorable terms; only then can the Arms Race slow down. Only when we decide to be less greedy in cheating our own Native People of their share, their fair share, of the good land that God put here for the white people; only then can we begin to lessen the Arms Race.

PIOUS HYPOCRYTES

We must open our eyes and see the disgusting hypocrisy we display by piously mouthing what grand peace-loving Christians we are. We cheerfully supported the CIA when they killed the President of Chile and put in a puppet ruler 6,000 miles away and seven years later when the Soviets did the same in Afghanistan right on their borders we proudly pointed our fingers and criticized from our virtuous position of innocence while the Chile dictatorship still carries on, with U.S.A. tolerance and support. We fly milk to Ethiopia but a root cause of the problem is that in most

of these countries as in our own agriculture, farming as a family enterprise preserving the soil for the children and grandchildren is considered irrelevant by most for the last twenty years. In most of these countries major international corporations co-operate with the local government to manipulate the people, the land and agriculture to produce more export crops to benefit the people who run the country, own large areas of farm land and have shares in the corporations. Canada and the U.S.A. supply the systems for major industries and the Arms Race to control the population and each year less local food is raised on smaller acreages of lower quality land owned by the peasants.

DEMOCRATIC CHANGE - NEGOTIATED CHANGE

The working people have had to make all the changes as technology and governments and business have completely revolutionized our society and many of the changes have not been beneficial. If you really and sincerely want International and National Security it can only be obtained by yielding to some of the demands of the people for change that will benefit common people. Negotiated change can only begin when you have studied your opponent, your competition whether that person is a laborer or Soviet official, and had the courage to really learn and understand his or her position and view of you and your position, and recognize their right to live like civilized people.

Respectfully submitted,

*Kenneth E. Emberley*  
Kenneth Emberley.

# The Church of the Rich

by David Barrett

Jesus did not carry money or own any. He had no silver or gold, no cash income, no property, no stocks or shares, no current account, no savings account, no hedge against inflation, no tax havens, no financial reserves. He had nowhere to lay his head. He lived in poverty but his impact on the world was enormous. He founded the original Church of the Poor, a fellowship of the oppressed, the exploited, the dispossessed. He commanded his first followers: 'Do not carry any gold, silver, or copper money in your pockets'. Today he has 1.5 billion followers who receive annual incomes totalling US \$8,500 billion and who own two-thirds of the earth's entire resources. On this basis, global Christianity has become overwhelmingly the Church of the Rich.

Worldwide average income is around \$2,400 per person each year. But because Christians are concentrated in the Western world, their average income is far higher at \$4,500. Non-Christians average only \$1,350. Since lifestyle depends on income, Christians across the world live on average at a level over three times higher than non-Christians.

The incomes of all Christians total more than six trillion dollars a year. The largest slice of this (43 per cent) is in Europe, the next (36 per cent) is in North America. The influential worldwide community of Evangelicals alone have personal income totalling just under \$1,000 billion a year.

Not all Christians belong to the Church of the Rich. Income distribution is unequal: whereas 52 per cent of Christians live in affluence and a further 35 per cent are comparatively well off, 13 per cent live in absolute poverty.

The degradation and agony of absolute poverty are shared by millions of Christians. Some 109 million Christians live in the world's twenty-six poorest countries. In all developing countries Christians living in absolute poverty number some 195 million. Of these, half live in Latin America, a third in Africa, the rest in

South and Southeast Asia. This is what we usually mean by the 'Church of the Poor'. By the world's standards, they have nothing.

How poor is the Church of the Poor? Here we meet a strange paradox. On the one hand, the answer is: shockingly, appalling, outrageously poor. It is surely outrageous that 750 million affluent Christians can continue to allow 195 million brethren in Christ to exist in abject poverty year after year. But from another point of view, the answer, surprisingly, is that this Church of the Poor in the Third World is largely financially self-supporting, with huge financial resources right there amid its membership and church income totalling well over \$300 million a year, enough to run major relief programs of all kinds.

Again, the major problem is that income distribution is grossly unfair. In the 'Church of the Poor' to which the 195 million belong, they exist in close proximity to some 20 million relatively affluent citizens, elite, fellow Christians above them. These include the hierarchies of Church leaders who control those churches, few of whom are poor and a number of whom have become very rich since taking office. Regrettably, these 20 million show less concern for the poor than many of their co-religionists in the Western world.

Yet another side of the paradox is that this Church of the Poor is poor only in material goods. They are far from being spiritual paupers. Spiritually, it is the Church of the Rich. Some of the richest and most dynamic forms of Christianity today, and the most rapid church growth, are to be found in these areas of material poverty and destitution. This Church of the Poor is the only part of global Christianity whose lifestyle is similar to that of Jesus on earth. They are the only Christians who are able with complete accuracy to proclaim, with the apostle Peter, 'Silver and gold have I none; but such as I have give I thee: in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, rise up and walk!'

In theory the Church of the Rich should give to the poor. Many confessions and communions assert that Christians should tithe, which means give away 10 per cent of their income. If all did this, the total would be \$647 billion a year. In practice, they give a third of this - something like \$101 billion. If we include every kind of Christian. If we restrict the definition to affiliated church members, their annual donations total \$160 billion. Forty-nine per cent of this comes from North America, 34 per cent from Europe. Africa contributes a mere two per cent, Asia less than one per cent.

These huge sums of money become more intelligible when reduced to what the average individual contributes. On the world level, the average church member gives \$76 a year (which is \$1.46 a week). As one would expect, individual giving is highest in the strongholds of the Church of the Rich (the affluent West) - \$212 a year in North America; is much lower in the Church of the Poor in Africa (\$20 a year) and in Latin America (\$15 a year); and is lowest (\$4.70 a year) in the Church of the Absolute Poor in South Asia.

Who are the immediate beneficiaries of all this wealth? Though Christians number only 32 per cent of the world population, they receive 62 per cent of the entire world's annual income - and spend 97 per cent of it on themselves. Put another way, each year North American and European church members spend \$4,500 billion on themselves personally and on their families. The Church of the Rich is at heart a selfish and self-serving church.

Of the remaining three per cent of Christians' income, a meagre one per cent, or \$60 billion a year, is given or donated to secular or non-Christian causes and charities; and about two per cent, or \$100 billion a year, is given or donated directly to Christian causes. This latter sum forms the vast bulk of what the churches and parachurch agencies across the world receive to run the worldwide Christian

church and its annual operations.

A voluntary 10 per cent cut in income the part of all church member Christians in Europe and North America could produce a 93 per cent increase in income the part of the entire 1.4 billion population of South Asia, or an 82 per cent increase throughout Latin America, or a 158 per cent for every soul in Africa. To a large extent, the global sharing by Christians money, wealth, property and goods could solve most of the problems of famine, poverty, disease, unemployment, dangerous water supply and so on. Because this is so, there is a sense in which Christians are to blame for the persistence of the present disastrous state of affairs. Every Christian with an income of over \$500 a year ought to be deeply concerned and actively involved in this problem. The least each should consider donating per cent of his or her income to Third World missions or charities, to studying preaching, writing or teaching about the situation. Every Christian who ignores this obligation lies under the solemn judgment of God.

Several centuries ago a Roman poet who was an avid patron of the arts is said to have surveyed the vast artistic riches he had amassed and to have gloated: 'No longer can the Church of Jesus Christ now say "Silver and gold have I none"'. True, Sire, a subordinate replied, 'but the neither can she now say, "Rise up and walk!"' Material wealth has always carried the risk of attendant spiritual bankruptcy. Today's Church of the Rich has vast resources capable of reaching the entire world for Christ. But unless these resources are immediately deployed so that end, this church will ultimately prove to have had minimal spiritual impact upon the world.

"As some point of comparison the gross national product of the US in 1983 was \$2,181 billion, of the UK \$450 billion (in prox.)

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IN SEARCH OF PEACE CONFERENCE - MARCH 7, 8, 1986

1. The "Star Wars - Free Trade" public meetings by the Joint Parliamentary Committee received a vast amount of excellent presentations all supplied free to them by groups all across Canada including most of this Conference sponsors. Many of our groups are still more or less isolated from other groups and their presentations.

We should strongly urge the Committee to complete its work, by depositing in each Provincial and Territorial Capital two copies of every single brief received both written and oral in a University where one copy could be borrowed and taken home for group study. So many of us are still trying to produce papers already produced last year by others but we don't know it exists.

2. I must get fatter before I can diet. I can't disarm until I have more weapons.

We must make a major effort to identify this giant fraud being played by the two super powers more or less equally.

They have refused for ten years to obey U.N. resolutions by a huge majority of the world's governments and peoples demanding sincere negotiations and real disarmament.

While the U.S.A. President reluctantly partakes in talks and propaganda exchanges the U.S.A. has steadily accelerated its production of offensive weapons, mostly of a first strike nature, and especially the cruise which once widely dispersed almost guarantees verifiable disarmament is impossible.

The "Star Wars" defensive laser which could shoot down missiles over the U.S.S.R. has now been shown to be equally an offensive weapon by only extending its range 50 to 100 miles as most people knew all along.

Stopping all research and development of all new nuclear weapons must be our first goal in reducing nuclear armaments.

More than anything else it is the profits from new weapons to be made that fuels the arms race and caused the invention of the "Star Wars Concept."

With five major new offensive weapons systems under way eventually costing over \$300 billion dollars a new gimmick was needed to inspire the public to sacrifice butter for more weapons, "Space Defence."

3. "Star Wars" - U.S.A. promotes war in space.

The U.N. General Assembly, the closest we have to a world parliament, has passed a major resolution demanding the super powers do not break the A.B.M. 1972 Treaty.

The U.S.S.R. has stated it will not.

The U.S.A. alone has said it will when it is ready in defiance of the wishes of most of the people in the world.

For over 12 years there has been an effective committee of equal numbers of U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. military and scientific experts to monitor this treaty and each side has many times stopped work on a variety of programs when they were shown to be liable to violate the treaty.

The two-year propaganda assault by the U.S.A. accusing the U.S.S.R. of violations is all fraud because if there was a shred of truth to them they could have been submitted to the committee and when proven the U.S.S.R. would have stopped.

The U.S.A. has already breached the treaty by test firing a third space weapon system, the "miniature homing device," while accusing the U.S.S.R. of leading the space arms race by developing two weapons systems.

Every time "Star Wars" is mentioned we must use the Canadian Bar Association "Star Wars" brief to remind everyone that we will be breaking international law while we help the U.S.A. with space weapons to break International Law, the ABM treaty.

4. Planning War - Talking Peace - Threatening

We must take over the peace talks just like this was a real democracy. We must monitor and intervene and chastise and expose hypocrisy and loudly condemn threats and intimidation, yes certainly, from either side.

5. Defence Strategy - Offensive - First Strike

Every new plan of the U.S.A. must be related to the 1981 128-page U.S.A. official military strategy paper that details pressing the Soviet Union into a corner and forcing it to become "capitalist" like the U.S.A. with much less sharing of wealth with low income people or we will have to launch a Nuclear War to destroy all the Communists in the U.S.S.R.

We must find the majority in the Peace, Environment, Lifestyle and Third World concerned groups who do not think Communism is so bad it is worth it to have a Nuclear War that will kill 1 or 2 billion people to kill off the opposition.

We must find or educate a majority in the Peace, Environment, Lifestyle and Third World concerned groups who do not think the U.S.A. style of capitalism as practised under Ronald Reagan and even Carter is so good we have a right to demand the rest of the world adopt that system or face Nuclear War and the deaths of 1 or 2 billion people.



That concept would be no more democratic than ordering all citizens in the U.S.A. to become Republicans or face death.

Most opponents the U.S.A. labels as "Communists" only want to be free of international and national control of their lives and their nations' economy by international and national elites that keep them in a state of poverty and servitude such as our laboring classes had in Canada and the U.S.A. before 1920 and the beginning of our modern civilized laws protecting working people, the poor, sick and disabled.

6. Star Wars - Perfect Defence - Joke

The same people that built:  
Three Mile Island  
The Ocean Ranger and  
Space Shuttle  
will build the perfect defence system.

Technology costing 1,000 billion dollars built over 20 years by 1,000,000 people in 1,000 factories and located over 5,000 miles cannot be perfect and only the simple minded technocrat could believe it will be.

7. Small ICBM, one of five major offensive weapons with MX, Pershing 2, Trident and Cruise makes a farce of the concept of defending the U.S.A. military bases only with Star Wars but leaving cities undefended.

Small ICBM strategy for 15 years, 1990-2005 A.D., is to force U.S.S.R. to use 4,000 or 5,000 missiles to be sure of killing all the mobile missiles driving around western U.S.A. in 5 States. Receiving 5,000 USSR rockets will hurt us.

8. Every military increase must be clearly attacked as an example of hypocrisy: talking peace but spending all our money on war preparation.

The budget has:  
\$6,000,000,000 for war  
\$ 3,000,000 for Trudeau's new Peace Institute.

See accompanying proposal to demand matching each  
military dollar increase in budget with a  
peace dollar increase in budget.

9. Canada and U.S.A. determination to build a Big B-1 Bomber force and a Big Cruise Missile force will force the U.S.S.R. to retaliate and bring Nuclear War to Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta.

Even our Provincial Government is trying to get industry to build the machines, radar and air bases that will bring war to Canada's North.



It violates our Nuclear Weapon Free Zone and we are promoting the violation.

*Kenneth Emberley*

Kenneth Emberley.

# Outer Space as Zone of Peace

GISELE MESNAGE

**new  
perspectives**

VOL. 14

5/1984

JOURNAL OF THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

X DURING THE course of the United Nations 38th General Assembly, the USA opposed a resolution aimed at strengthening negotiations to prevent the escalation of the arms race to outer space. It did so undisturbed by the fact that it stood in lone opposition to 147 countries which endorsed the resolution to keep outer space free of conflict.

X The resolution noted the mounting concern around the militarisation of outer space and called on the Conference on Disarmament to give this matter priority attention. It recommended that the Soviet proposal for the conclusion of a treaty on the prohibition of the use of force in outer space and from space against the Earth should be considered in these negotiations.

The Soviet Draft Treaty, which was submitted in August 1983, provides guidelines for reaching an agreement to halt the escalation of the arms race to outer space. It calls for the dismantling of all existing anti-satellite systems (ASATs) and for a ban on the testing and deployment of new ASATs, for a total ban on the testing and deployment of space-based weapons, for a commitment not to use manned spacecrafts for military purposes or to make use of space objects to destroy targets on Earth, in the atmosphere or in outer space. It provides for countries to retain their national technical means of verification.

X It is self-evident that the United States has no intention to negotiate any agreement that would interfere with its aim to dominate what it calls "the high frontier". X

Such plans have been brewing since around 1948 when conceptual designs for ray-weapons were reported to be circulating in the board-rooms of the US Defence Department. (See "Man and Space" by Arthur C. Clarke, Life Science Library, New York, 1965.)

In 1957, even before the US had successfully launched its first satellite, a research programme into anti-satellite systems was initiated under the code name SAINT for satellite interceptor. ("Technology Review",

Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) October 1981)

Contrary to Western media allegations that it had developed ASATs only in response to Soviet tests of "killersatellites", the US was the first actually to test an ASAT, employing nuclear warheads, in the 1960s with two tests taking place in the Pacific region in 1963.

In 1967, the US signed the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and other Celestial Bodies which outlawed the stationing of objects carrying nuclear weapons in outer space. But today, the US is developing weapons, such as the X-Ray laser and the

F-15 system is reported to be ready for full-scale deployment by 1987. Commenting on the system's efficiency, a Pentagon official boasted: "We could clean up the sky in 24 hours."

The drive to perfect a space-based battle station is part of the United States attempt to enhance its first-strike capability. The theory is that if the United States could shield itself from retaliation by engaging its space-based anti-satellites and antiballistic missile weapons, it could launch a surprise first-strike, with relative confidence, against the Soviet Union. The newly installed Cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe could play a vital role in such a strike because of the reduced warning time they would give the Soviet Union.

Scientists from around the world, including the USA, have warned of the unrealistic and dangerous nature of this policy. They point out that it will only lead to a new phase in the arms race and might jeopardize any gains made towards disarmament in the nuclear-weapons arena. But, in utter disregard of these warnings, the US is persisting in its military ambitions in outer space. Besides the development of space weapons, the US is also modernising its military satellites under such programmes as Navstar and Milstar, as well as its web of ground bases around the world. A centralised Space Command will soon interlink the four branches of the US military, based on the already operating US Air Force Space Command. The military sector will control its own space shuttle launches from Vandenberg base where they



electromagnetic pulse (EMP) devices, which, if deployed, would violate the Treaty. It is also doing research into the feasibility of deploying particle-beam and other energy-beam weapons which are not covered in the 1967 Space Treaty. It is for these reasons that it has not signed an updated agreement which would halt the development of these new weapons.

Tests are currently being carried out in airborne ASATs, such as the system employing a missile launched from an F-15 fighter plane as well as ground-based ASATs, such as the Excalibur project being tested by the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory in California ("The Australian", 3 March 1983).

Winnipeg Free Press,

Tuesday, November 20, 1984

## 'Space policy predicted'

VICTORIA — Marc Garneau, Canada's first man in space, said yesterday he thinks Canada will decide by next spring if it plans to take part in NASA's space station program.

Garneau said the whole question of spending money on space exploration, when there are so many domestic problems, is under review. He said he favors Canada being involved in space or the country will be left behind.

GISELE MESNAGE

Member, Australian Peace Committee (Australia)

S-35

EXCERPTS FROM SPEECHES AND INTERVIEWS WITH RALPH NADER

The most important issue facing us is the widespread feeling among people that they don't count in terms of affecting the uses of power in the world. And the costs of citizen inaction are sky-rocketing.

The nuclear weapons race is built on the backs of millions of people who didn't see themselves as having a role in furthering peace among nations. They felt that the powers that be controlled the situation, that citizen's efforts were futile, so year after year the politicians of respective nations have continued to build the arms race up--even though the people, of course, don't want this kind of thing to occur. The nuclear proliferation we see now is the result of three decades of people not facing up to the problem after Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and looking the other way.

Nothing fundamental changes in a society unless there is a fundamental change in how people use their time.

University, for instance, must give students an understanding of how to link knowledge to action, of how to achieve a higher level of justice and a higher level of peace. The world does not progress solely on the basis of expertise; it does not progress simply on the basis of knowledge; there has to be a humane animating drive to that knowledge. Otherwise, we can have plenty of experts and plenty of knowledge and end up in wars, end up in massacres, end up in pollution, end up in corruption, end up in discrimination, end up in destroying the rights of future generations. It is that blend of humane values with knowledge and a disciplined ability to connect the two that should be our highest achievements.

The reason why any dominant power in this society is dominant is because it determines the use of people's time or it tempts people into a pattern of time use that serves its purpose.

People need to become more conscious of the choices they're making. Once they do they become more aware of their talents and their potential and what they could be contributing. We can no longer say that we are carrying out our duties as citizens by simply voting or writing a letter or two to our ministers, MLAs and city councillors --as important as these activities are. We have to say to ourselves, "We're living in a complex society of dynamic power thrusts, day after day, and our citizen duties have to claim more of our time."

Also what we need are more self-defined consumer values rather than having consumer values shaped overwhelmingly by corporate values --which generally means very narrow, short term mercantile values, and even in the case of some conglomerates, empire building values.

Corporations run the media, and the decisions as to who gets on and says what are made by an increasingly smaller network of broadcasting conglomerates. In essence the same types of sales-maximizing institutions run the media as run the steel, agricultural, auto or oil industries. So the media is 90% entertainment, 10% news and 0% mobilization. By and large, the media represent corporate values, not consumer, not citizen values. The whole system is designed to deliver an audience to advertisers and rises and falls depending on how much of an audience is delivered.

Corporations (who no longer even have an allegiance to one country since they operate all over the world, playing one country against another) are deploying value systems that are extremely destructive to the future of society. They're not pushing solar energy, they're pushing nuclear power; they're not pushing natural foods, they're pushing artificial foods with artificial chemicals; they're not pushing natural seeds and making them more healthy to resist pests, they're pushing more chemicalization of agriculture creating more contamination of the air, water, soil. The corporations are short term predators in a world of technological complexity that inflicts a horrible penalty on societies that are short term. So these large multi-nationals are becoming dysfunctional. They really cannot be reformed they can only be modestly restrained.

True reform would be to displace the corporations with a much more co-ordinated economy. You displace the corporations by simply developing a greater and perhaps more profound awareness of genuine happiness in the society which would tend to displace the tobacco industry, the liquor industry and the valium industry. It is really a revolution in consumer values which will have the greatest effect on furthering a large self-reliant structure for the economy.

A lot can be accomplished through consumer groups and good communications systems, but the yeast for this change has got to come from a broader perception of human happiness by citizens which does not accord with the kind and price of goods and services now so monopolized by the large corporations.

Let's break the budget down and see how you can reduce consumption by wiser shopping, by more awareness and greater efficiency, by rejecting products and services that you've found you don't need.

This all comes from taking the microcosmic view. If you would look at the larger picture, you'd see that by growing a garden, for example, or recycling--teaching kids to repair their clothing instead of throwing them away--you'd get that budget to go down.

It doesn't pay to be too ethnocentric but we're entitled to look around the rest of the world and say, "Where else can people, expending a small portion of their time and intelligence and creativity, build power from the grass roots and accomplish so much?" We should realize that in terms of start-up-ability and our constitutional base and elbow room, we have a moral imperative to take a just co-operative and leadership role for the not so fortunate people of the world.

*- excerpts from interviews and  
speeches with Ralph Nader*

*- Presented by the Manitoba  
Public Interest Research Group  
(MPIRG)  
P.O. Box 106  
University Center (UMSU)  
University of Manitoba  
Winnipeg  
R3T 2N2*



# MPIRG

Manitoba  
Public  
Interest  
Research  
Group

## MPIRG IS:

- ☐ a university-based non-partisan non-profit organization to stimulate public interest research in Manitoba. As a public interest group with branches at each campus, MPIRG will be a bridge between the academic community and the world outside.
- ☐ modelled on the work of Ralph Nader (Nader's Raiders) and other environmental, consumer, law reform and educational groups in the U.S. and Canada.
- ☐ to collect reliable scholarly research on socially relevant topics such as job creation in a consumer society, peaceful conversion of war industry, human rights, health and safety, appropriate technology, farming and food, energy use and the environment. Research on business, government, engineering and hard-science topics is also welcome.
- ☐ to build up a resource library and list contacts with professionals, specialists, community groups and other universities which may provide further information. This centre would be open to students, the academic and the outside community.
- ☐ to prepare educational materials for universities, schools and the public. These may range from scholarly studies to public policy briefs, articles in college papers and major dailies, pamphlets, slide shows and film or TV scripts.
- ☐ to cooperate and exchange information with other university branches in Manitoba, OPIRG in Ontario, Simon Fraser University, UBC, and several Quebec universities; environmental law, human rights and other research groups in Canada, the States and Britain; local community groups such as churches, school and school boards, unions, senior citizens, native people, handicapped, naturalists, agrologists, etc.
- ☐ (each university branch) will create resource files, contact lists, & collect magazines and other materials on a variety of local, regional and national issues—materials not readily available in libraries, bookstores, or special research centres.

## SOME MPIRG RESEARCH TOPICS:

Files are being built up on the following topics. Student research on these, bibliographies, and resource people's names, are needed. Get your professor's permission so you can get academic credit for this research.

agribusiness  
aid to refugees; overseas students' needs  
alternatives to jail  
business history, corporate profiles  
business-government links  
chemicals, ecotoxicity  
clean air  
clean water  
consumer issues  
cooperatives, self-help  
corporate links with S. Africa, Chile, etc.  
educational materials for Northern schools:  
e.g. nutrition, gardening, native studies  
energy, energy alternatives, education  
food  
forest conservation  
freedom of information, human rights,  
civil rights, police & writs of assistance (search warrants)

future work for the handicapped  
future forecasting Manitoba:  
the year 2000  
health and safety  
housing, Winnipeg core area  
job creation in a non-war consumer society  
Manitoba industries: case studies  
native peoples  
new international economic order  
nuclear energy, waste, weapons  
peace education, industrial conversion  
rational transportation networks  
rural economic alternatives (REAP)  
secret service, RCMP  
soil depletion, Manitoba farming  
student job directory  
volunteer work in Manitoba  
women's issues

CONTACT MPIRG, Room 102 L, P.O. Box 106  
University Centre, University of Manitoba  
Winnipeg MB R3T 2N2

I AM INTERESTED IN

check off:

- ☐ helping on current research topic (which one?) \_\_\_\_\_
- ☐ having MPIRG work on the topic of \_\_\_\_\_
- ☐ becoming a Community Member
- ☐ becoming a member of local Board of Directors
- ☐ general mailings. Please put my name on list.
- ☐ information about specific issues. Mailings on \_\_\_\_\_

YOUR NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

TELEPHONE \_\_\_\_\_

## PROPOSED FUNDING

The most effective and democratic structure has proven to be PIRGs funded by students at each campus. An automatic but refundable (to conscientious objectors) fee is approved by a student referendum, then collected along with student fees by the university Registrar. For example, OPIRG is funded and run by students who pay \$3.00 per semester refundable within the first three weeks.

This funding method would give MPIRG a solid year-to-year base: to hire staff to aid student research, to run the resource library, and coordinate projects, to buy locally unavailable books and magazines, make photostat copies for research files, pay typesetting and printing costs.

Usually each campus branch employs one fulltime and one parttime staff. They organize public education programs such as the Supermarket Tour, outside speakers, films, slide & tape presentations, publications, debates, workshops. They also assist students and members of the larger community to find resources and gain skills.

Non-students can help MPIRG through their participation and advice, tax-deductible donations, purchase of educational materials. With the approval of the university Senate and student council, many PIRGs encourage faculty and community people to join by paying a \$5.00 yearly fee.

## WHO CONTROLS MPIRG?

MPIRG structure reflects both its cooperative, student-based and student-funded branch efforts, and its bridge between the university and the larger community. Directors, resource people, and educational materials may be drawn from this community. Provincial coordination of research is done by representatives of the branch Boards, elected annually by students. Staff people coordinate this research effort at the local level. Each local branch, with its staff, is accountable to its Board of Directors. The PIRG branch must satisfy all normal constitutional requirements for a student society: e.g. in elections, funding, and financial audits.

# MPIRG



Manitoba  
Public  
Interest  
Research  
Group



## WHAT CAN I DO?

### Students

☐ get your professor's permission to do research (for which you will also get academic credit) on public interest topics related to your courses. Give a copy to MPIRG. You can use our files in order to start your research. We may even be able to get some of your writing into print. In any case you will be helping together with others to develop a solid reliable body of research. Many small coordinated efforts will make big public education projects possible.

- 1-You do not have to change the world all by yourself, but you can help cooperate with other MPIRG volunteers in
- 1-rounding up research papers by fellow students and faculty
- 2-contacting outside organizations and resource people
- 3-preparing educational materials for publication
- 4-gathering new members here and at other universities
- 5-referendum. See the section on funding
- 6-Board of Directors candidacy and elections

### Faculty and community

☐ MPIRG structure should develop from cooperation among branches at each Manitoba university. Tell other professors, researchers and students about MPIRG and its need for research. Pass on this pamphlet, and encourage them to contact us. Let us know of items for our files.

☐ You are invited to participate as a resource person.

☐ You are invited to participate in the elected Board of Directors (7 to 10 people) in each branch. Board members may be faculty, student or community resource people, responsible for advising branch staff on day-to-day activities, research projects, and educational materials. Each Board also has delegates to a provincial executive which coordinates research and publication.

☐ You may make tax-deductible donations and/or buy MPIRG publications.

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Canadian  
Environmental  
Advisory  
Council

# **Sustainability of Farmed Lands Current Trends and Thinking**

G. F. BARTLEY, P. AG.

L. A. LESKINEN, P. AG.

Report No. 15

Enquiries concerning the work of the Council and requests for Council publications should be addressed to:

The Executive Secretary  
Canadian Environmental Advisory Council  
c/o Environment Canada  
Ottawa, Canada  
K1A 0H3



# Soil upgrading vital, study says

TORONTO (CP) — Canadian crop production will be cut dramatically unless radical changes are made to farming methods, a federal report warns.

Lost agricultural land and soil degradation — the declining quality of soil caused by the accumulation of salts, wind and water erosion and chemical changes caused by fertilizers and acid rain — are depleting one of Canada's most valuable resources, the report says.

"Without changes in present farming practices, future agricultural production will be dramatically curtailed," says the report for the Canadian Environmental Advisory Council. "Massive, sustained, long-term soil-conservation programs and policies by Canadian governments are urgently needed to ensure the sustainability of productivity of Canada's farmed lands."

From now on, "all townspeople, research agencies and all levels of government must remorselessly push farming toward conservation practices, and be prepared, for the good of the country, to shoulder the cost."

On the Prairies alone, the cost of controlling soil degradation could reach \$3.2 billion between 1983 and 2000, the report estimates.

However, soil degradation already is costing farmers about \$1 billion a year in less productive crops, said a Senate committee report last summer on the issue.

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## NATION

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The latest report, by C. F. Bentley, retired dean of agriculture at the University of Alberta, and L. A. Leskiw, a soils consultant from Edmonton, is the fourth federal study warning of the problem since 1983.

The federal Agriculture Department has spent about \$22.5 million annually on shared programs with Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Manitoba and Saskatchewan to help farmers learn about soil conservation methods and to finance experiments by individuals and farmers' groups.

Ottawa is also in the second year of a five-year joint agreement with the three Prairie provinces — spending \$17 million this year — to provide technical advice and grants to farmers to try out such conservation techniques as planting windbreaks, under the 50-year-old Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Administration.

But most recent reports on soil degradation call for many more millions of dollars from governments to farmers through direct subsidies, tax breaks or grants to aid with the initially expensive shift to new machinery and other conservation methods.

"I don't think nearly enough is being done," J. Stanley Rowe, a professor of crop science at the University of Saskatchewan.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The authors of this report were engaged in February 1983 to prepare a brief report constituting "an overview of current trends and thinking in the agricultural community on the impacts of land use and soil quality on agriculture, with particular emphasis on current trends including energy costs." The contract entailed a verbal agreement that one of the contractors would attend the following workshops and symposium as a means of ascertaining the current views of soil scientists regarding the sustainability of the productivity of farm lands under contemporary use: the 1983 British Columbia "Soil Degradation Workshop" at Harrison, British Columbia, February 17-18; the Alberta Soil Science Workshop at Edmonton, Alberta, February 22-23; and the "Soil Erosion and Crop Productivity Symposium" of the American Society of Agronomy at Denver, Colorado, March 1-3, 1983. Because of time constraints in the contract and the participation specified in the above meetings, there is emphasis in this report on conditions in Western Canada. However, the general principles are broadly applicable.

In order to obtain the opinions of a considerable number of soil scientists, in addition to those contacted at the workshops and the symposium, questionnaires were sent to a widely distributed array of soil scientists in Western Canada. The responses and co-operation obtained were excellent. More than thirty soil scientists responded, returning questionnaires and providing a large number of reprints, papers and other publications related to the topics concerned.

We are pleased indeed to acknowledge with genuine thanks and appreciation the fine support and assistance received from fellow agrologists. Many of their papers are among the references listed.

We are also pleased to acknowledge with genuine thanks and appreciation the very helpful editing done by Mr. Max McConnell, the Executive Secretary of the Canadian Environmental Advisory Council.

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## FOREWORD

### Introduction

This Report is a contribution to the national discussion on the future of agriculture in Canada. It supplements several recent thoughtful studies 1, 2, 3, and converges with them **X** in concluding that sustainable production from farmlands is threatened under current institutional and technological arrangements.

Soil degradation and loss of arable land from agriculture are issues that are not normally perceived as having a high profile from an environmental point of view. Yet these issues are creating a growing level of concern in many parts of Canada.

**X** More and more evidence points to diminishing levels of native fertility and to the mounting losses of some of our most productive farmland.

In an effort to obtain a comprehensive overview of these problems, the Canadian Environmental Advisory Council commissioned Dr. C.F. Bentley, P. Ag., and Mr. L.A. Leskiw, P. Ag., to provide a background paper on current concerns, focussing particularly on the broader impacts of changing land uses and diminishing soil quality. The Bentley-Leskiw Report leaves

**X** no doubt that without changes in present farming practices, future agricultural production will be dramatically curtailed. Unfortunately, efforts to correct the problems are hindered by continuing myths about high levels in both quantity and quality of agricultural land in Canada.

### Sustainability of Farmlands

In their assessment of agricultural problems, the authors present items of concern in three general categories that roughly indicate the extent of the farmers' control: those related directly to farm practices (in the farmers' domain); those mainly controlled by off-farm decisions (in the public domain); and those natural and external factors that can be controlled with difficulty if at all. The three are to some extent interrelated.

#### 1) In the Farmers' Domain

These include issues such as salinization, soil erosion, depletion of soil organic matter and plant nutrients, inappropriate cropping and poor soil management systems, soil acidification, and soil compaction. Although these are most affected by farm activities, remedial action will often require assistance to the farmer at the socio-political level.

Salinization — the accumulation of injurious quantities of soluble salts in surface layers of the soil — has plagued irrigated agriculture for thousands of years. Now it is developing as a major problem on considerable areas of dryland farms in western Canada. Rough estimates suggest that in some areas salinization may be spreading at a rate of up to ten percent per year.

Soil erosion, in particular the loss of fertile topsoil through wind and water, is also a serious problem. Although difficult to measure, there is little doubt that direct losses from soil erosion are significant, as are the unwelcome side effects of sediment pollution in water and air.

Depletion of organic matter and of key soil nutrients are also identified as concerns that mount each year where cropping practices fail to offset the annual nutrient losses associated with humus disintegration and removal from the farm of each year's production. Related problems such as acidification and soil compaction result from intensive farming practices as farmers attempt to maintain high productivity with increased application of fertilizers, and with other mechanized activities.

#### 2) In the Public Domain

Here are included such issues as land use regulations, conversion of agricultural lands to other uses, toxic contaminants, and land disturbances such as strip mining.

Land use regulations in particular are singled out as a subject of major concern as increasing amounts of prime agricultural land are diverted to other uses, frequently without a future recovery option for agriculture. Despite Canada's massive land base, only eight percent is suitable for continuing arable agriculture. Less than half of one percent can be classed as excellent to very good, and most such land is situated in highly populated corridors where alternative land use schemes are rampant. As prime agricultural land is lost, agriculture is shifted to much less productive land — and there are serious economic limits on how long this can continue. At the public policy level, means to stem the seemingly irreversible flow of land out of agricultural use must be found.

Strip mining and other land disturbances, while they affect smaller areas, have a potential nonetheless for reducing the agricultural land base. Such damage can be alleviated or offset by a responsible public policy approach that guides

environmental planning so as to maximize benefits over a long time horizon.

### 3) Natural and External Factors

Bentley and Leskiw note that soils, climates, and demographic characteristics of the farm population have a substantial impact on the types and successes of farming in different agro-ecological regions. While many of the challenges posed by external factors are beyond the direct control of either the public or the individual farmer, much can be done by recognizing the constraints, and then developing policies and management programs that both maximize the opportunities and minimize the potential failures.

Finally, surveying the three classes of problems, the authors conclude that radically new but practical long-term soil conservation policies and programs are needed to ensure the sustainability of Canada's farmed lands. To achieve that goal, they say, society must be convinced that the need for the advocated programs exists — and that the benefits will be real. As argued in the Sparrow Report<sup>2</sup>, the issues must be kept alive and before the public.

### The CEAC Perspective

The Canadian Environmental Advisory Council perceives current farming difficulties as part of a larger picture involving threats to all renewable resources and to the economic enterprises associated with them. Furthermore, the difficulties are world-wide and not confined to Canada. Lester Brown writes:

Although the economic crisis of the eighties is exacerbated by economic mismanagement, its roots lie in the depletion of resources, both non-renewable and renewable . . . (The) unprecedented quadrupling in world food demand within 50 years is putting more pressure on many of the world's soils than they can sustain.<sup>4</sup>

Clearly, major environmental problems often grow incrementally and imperceptibly from policies and practices that have appeared to be benign. Today such policies and practices in agriculture, as well as in other renewable resource fields, must be challenged before they work irreversible harm on Canada's environmental wealth.

In a country such as ours where the economy visibly depends on the country's renewable resources, maintenance of that base should be a prime priority. Yet as stated in one of the working documents related to Council's submission to the Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada<sup>5</sup>:

Canada's renewable resources are in highly serious stages of erosion and debilitation. Across the board we have eaten into the "capital" stock and have failed to maintain the quality

and quantity of those resources necessary for their continued productivity . . . Canadians are still carrying with them the frontier psyche, viz. "There is always more over the hill."

Environmental crises reflect wrong attitudes and questionable goals. In previous reports Council has stressed the importance of an ethic based on awareness of interdependencies, devoted to maintaining the functional diversity and beauty of the world.<sup>6</sup> For too long many Canadians have conceived their environment as merely a store-house to be plundered, rather than a living environmental system whose sustainability requires foresight and care. Because the earth's ecological systems have not been valued as sustainers and preservers of life and life's activities — including national economies — no ethical-economic sense of obligation toward them has been evoked. With little sense of environmental responsibility the prevailing view has been that whatever pays best today is best and, indeed, is necessary. Catastrophes reported almost daily in the media prove that such logic is false.

### A Conserving Agriculture

In Council's view, two major agricultural questions have to be faced: How can the productivity of the land be sustained, and who are to be the conservation farmers of the future? X The questions are related, and neither can be answered satisfactorily except in the context of sound environmental goals. As a major land use to which a substantial population is directly or indirectly wedded, agriculture over the long term has to be seen as part of a total environmental strategy that aims to sustain food production in integration with care of diverse landscapes, organisms, air, and water.

Soil erosion is not only an agricultural loss; it is also a cost in sediment pollution borne by aquatic ecosystems. Heavy fertilizer use may burden the environment, perhaps acting synergistically with acid rain, even as it boosts production of the target crops. Thus land use practices are central elements in environmental issues, and environmental protection translates into good land use.<sup>7</sup> Quoting the Standing Senate Committee on Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry:

Soil conservation cannot be dealt with in isolation from related issues such as water quality, land use, wildlife management, fisheries and forestry.<sup>2</sup>

Nor can soil conservation be separated from the contributions of good husbandry and stewardship made by those who wish to live on, and farm the land. Is it a coincidence that future prospects for both the soil and the rural family are endangered? It is also questionable if the family farm can survive without the concurrent survival of the rural community.

A major part of the problem with respect to current soil degradation and land misuse relates to a market-place which

X is very much oriented to the short run. Economics is not adept X  
 X at valuing the future. Thus farmers are encouraged if not compelled to adopt practices and cropping patterns that are inconsistent with long-run productivity. Since most farmers cannot survive if they ignore the short run in the interests of a longer term gain, the unavoidable result is land use that conflicts with production sustainability.

X High costs of inputs and low prices for farm outputs force X  
 farmers to draw down their soil's capital. Mined-out soils are less the product of ignorance than of economic forces shaped by rising energy costs on the one hand and by cheap food policies on the other. In the present climate, farmers simply cannot internalize the costs of rebuilding the soil and stay solvent. Without attention to such realities, all the talk in the X  
 X world about conservation farming is strictly academic.

For similar reasons, land diverted from agriculture to other uses is rarely evaluated with respect to long-term production potential, nor with an eye to predictable and increasing future needs for food. Given this improvident view of tomorrow, social programs and policies need to shift focus, placing greater emphasis on future profitability rather than on that of today, thereby allowing the market system to effect the needed changes in land use practices. The Environment Council of Alberta, for example, has recently suggested that compensation payments for agricultural land threatened by withdrawal be set at six times its current productive value.<sup>8</sup>

This is social cost pricing. As argued in Environment Canada's submission to the Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada, far from neutering market economics, social cost pricing can help to restore the true efficiency of the market system.<sup>9</sup>

Logically, then, Council places the major responsibility for encouraging ecologically sustainable agriculture squarely on the non-farming population and on the governments whose members are largely drawn from it. We are overwhelmingly an urban society; the rural population is small. Those policies and programs that will either nourish agriculture and rural communities or force both into decline are largely in the hands of townspeople and legislators. Quoting Fairbairn in his report sponsored by the Agricultural Institute of Canada:

To date, the urban majority has instinctively and remorselessly pushed the rural minority into a pattern of mining the land: larger farms, ever more monstrous machines, and costly rivers of chemicals.<sup>1</sup>

Now, from 1984 on, all townspeople, research agencies, and all levels of government must remorselessly push farming toward conservation practices, and be prepared for the good of the country to shoulder the costs.

Dr. J.S. Rowe  
 Member  
 Canadian Environmental Advisory Council

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## ***We are pleased to introduce you to:***

### **DR. ROSALIE BERTELL**

*A world-renowned expert on low level radiation. Director, International Institute of Concerns for Public Health in Toronto.*

### **MS. MURIEL DUCKWORTH**

*Founding member of the Voice Of Women (VOW) and CRIAW, member of the Order of Canada. Active in peace, education and women's groups activities.*

### **DR. GEORGE IGNATIEFF**

*Retired Canadian diplomat, he was at different times Canada's Ambassador to N.A.T.O. and the U.N. Currently Chancellor, University of Toronto.*

### **MR. LUIS HERRERA CAMPINS**

*Former President of Venezuela, lifetime Senator and parliamentarian. One of the organizers of the Contadora group of the South American countries.*

### **MR. STEPHEN LEWIS**

*Ambassador and Representative of Canada in the U.N. Former leader of the N.D.P. Party in Ontario.*

### **MR. FERGUS WATT**

*Executive Director, World Federalists of Canada.*

### **DR. FRITJOF CAPRA**

*Dr. Capra has done research in high-energy Physics. He has written extensively about the philosophical implications of modern science.*

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# **IN SEARCH OF PEACE**

## ***Program***

**a conference to  
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**March 7 & 8, 1986  
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This conference revolves around the idea that the nuclear arms race, fueled by international antagonism, is a danger to all humanity. The format of this event includes a process for synthesis of individual concerns, so we may better understand what alternatives we need to create. Your input and feedback are crucial to the success of this gathering!

Hear these internationally recognized resource people as they share with us their ways of understanding and solving the problems of national animosities.

Participate in this opportunity for people in Manitoba to share with each other and the resource personnel, our views on international tensions and what WE can do!

# Friday, March 7, 1986

- 5:30 Registration
- 7:00 Dinner  
Chairperson: Jack London,  
Faculty of Law,  
University of Manitoba
- 8:15 Opening Remarks & Welcome:  
Premier Howard Pawley
- 8:45 Introduction of Keynote Speaker:  
Waris Shere, Director of  
International Education,  
Red River Community College
- Keynote presentation by  
Stephen Lewis
- 9:30 Questions & Responses
- 10:00 Small Group Discussions
- 10:30 Refreshments/Meet the  
Resource Personnel

# Saturday, March 8, 1986

- 9:00 Opening Remarks:  
Leo Duguay, M.P.  
Chairperson: Waris Shere—  
"Peacemongering & the  
Politics of Survival"
- 9:10 Dr. George Ignatieff
- 10:00 Questions & Responses
- 10:15 Refreshments
- 10:30 Concurrent Sessions  
A. Chairperson: Janine Gibson-Grant  
Peace Movement—  
Impact & Impetus  
Muril Duckworth
- B. Chairperson: Dr. John McKenzie  
Health Concerns in the  
Nuclear Age  
Dr. Rosalie Bertell
- C. Chairperson: Dr. Ken Osborne  
Conflict Resolution—  
The CONTADORA Experience  
Luis Herrera Campins
- D. Chairperson: Louann Buhr  
International Network for  
A Second U.N. Assembly  
Fergus Watt
- E. Chairperson: Kris Breckman  
Modus Vivendi East & West—  
Post Summit  
Dr. George Ignatieff
- 11:30 Questions & Responses
- 11:45 Lunch  
Keynote Speaker: Dr. Fritjof Capra,  
"Paradigm for a Peaceful World"

- 1:45 Concurrent Sessions—Repeated  
A. Chairperson: Terri Gray  
Peace Movement—  
Impact & Impetus  
Muril Duckworth
- B. Chairperson: Lesley Hughes  
Health Concerns in the  
Nuclear Age  
Dr. Rosalie Bertell
- C. Chairperson: Martin Zeilig  
Conflict Resolution—  
The CONTADORA Experience  
Luis Herrera Campins
- D. Chairperson: Dr. Brendan  
MacDougall
- Westminster International Network for  
A Second U.N. Assembly  
Fergus Watt
- E. Chairperson: Cindy Burkett  
Modus Vivendi East & West—  
Post Summit  
Dr. George Ignatieff
- 3:00 Refreshments
- 3:20 Panel: "Where Do We Go  
From Here?"
- 4:00 All resource persons to participate  
Moderator: Lloyd Axworthy, M.P.  
Summing Up  
Dr. John McKenzie, Physicians for  
Social Responsibility, Manitoba
- 4:15 Refreshments, Goodbyes
- Manitoba Peace Associates are very grateful  
to the following sponsors for their generous  
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Canadian Institute for International  
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### ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENCE - S.D.I.

What if they do not play fair after building a 95% effective system for 1,000 Billion Dollars to stop them.

Remember Vietnam and earlier General Washington, who fought a skirmish war with irregular troops. Remember the Vietcong tunnels up to the edge of U.S. air bases where a \$5,000 rocket could destroy a \$20 million dollar U.S.A. planes two times out of three.

All they have to do is redraw the blueprints they used for the truck bomb in Lebanon, surprise and innovation like they used to go around the Maginot Line will go around this new Maginot Line in the sky.

They could easily send in thirty little fishing boats to the seaports each with a five megaton bomb no bigger than a large garbage can.

They could easily slip in ten freighters up the Great Lakes, Hudson, Mississippi and Columbia Rivers.

They could send ten little planes from Columbia with a Hydrogen Bomb hidden in the cocaine.

They could send 20 new cruise missiles from ten new miniature submarines--into New York, New Orleans and Los Angeles.

How well will S.D.I. work?

### STATE OF THE ART TECHNOLOGY - S.D.I.

A few years ago a new weapon system on a fighter plane was rated 66% efficient in destroying its target. Only later under questioning was it discovered that when it fired successfully (66% of the time) it destroyed 66% of its targets. That is quite a bit different.

Please keep in mind how important it is that the new S.D.I. technology work 95% perfect over a distance of 5,000 to 10,000 miles on earth and in space every hour of every day for ten years.

Beside previously listed flaws in basic design and concept, remember our record in advanced technology: The African Bee Project, Three Mile Island, Diablo Canyon and the Ocean Ranger.

2-31

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6. 112. 8-35

Any increase in arms budget for strengthening Canada's forces must be matched dollar for dollar by money put into a fund to reduce the necessity for these armed forces and to reduce the need for constantly modernizing our forces' equipment at an unnecessarily rapid rate.

#### THE REDUCTION OF WAR RISK FUND

The fund must be paid out annually in equal amounts to the four following groups:

1. A section of our Secretary of State's office that will work to negotiate directly with the Soviet Union through the United Nations on Bilateral Arms Reduction and control and study the "Arms Race" and make proposals to the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. to constructively assist Arms Control Negotiations. It must have an advisory committee representing the peace groups dedicated to peaceful resolution of conflicts.
2. A direct grant to the United Nations Peace College which holds meetings around the world on Conflict Resolution. A part of this fund would be used to permit CBC to carry regular programs on the national network at least an hour a week on this vital work totally ignored at present. A part would be used to fund a college meeting in Canada each year.
3. Direct funding on a small scale to all peace and disarmament citizen organizations and especially to the United Nations Association. First funding would be to permit doubling of permanent paid staff or the funding of two paid staff if none existed and the funding would guarantee five annual grants so some permanent worthwhile programs can be commenced. This would include groups like the Pugwash Conferences.  
Funding would gradually expand groups' ability to publish larger printings of newsletters and larger distribution including school libraries and businesses and professional people who have such great difficulty in finding information in the regular publications to which they usually subscribe.
4. Funding for a nation-wide campaign under established groups to assist every library in the country to balance its resource materials by the inclusion of books, periodicals and newsletters to balance the flood of pro-war publications and news reports in our daily newspapers raising hysteria so similar to that before World War II.

The Trudeau Government creation of the "Center for Arms Control and Disarmament" and funding for peace groups was a grand initiative and I know the M.P.'s here today worked to get it finally passed long after it was needed.

#### BASIC QUESTION YOU DID NOT ASK US

##### WHY AN ARMS RACE? - WHY THE HUGE ESCALATION?

There is a giant failure in our education system and our government system. There seems to be no desire at all to examine if the system of education or government has deep basic flaws in its fundamental assumptions, teachings and methods of operation.

\* Ralph Nader and University Public Interest Research Groups, Citizen

Submission of the Canadian Bar Association to the Special Joint Committee on  
International Relations on Canada's participation in research on the Strategic Defence Initiative.

By David Matas

Winnipeg

August 2, 1985

The CBA wishes to present nine propositions for the consideration of the Committee. These positions have been developed with the assistance of Lawyers for Social Responsibility, the B.C. branch of the Canadian Bar, which has its own committee on nuclear issues, and the national CBA committee on nuclear issues, which met this Sunday in Toronto.

1) The NATO treaty imposes no obligations on any member to participate in the Strategic Defence Initiative (S.D.I.)

The NATO treaty obliges the parties to maintain and develop their collective capacity to resist armed attack. NATO's collective capacity to resist armed attack is based on a force plan. The force plan is approved by the alliance council.

Although the force plan is secret, there is no reason to believe that S.D.I. is part of the plan. In the contrary, because of express S.D.I. opposition by the NATO members, there is every reason to believe that S.D.I. is not part of the force plan.

The force plan, in any case, does not impose a legal obligation on the signatory countries. Canada has never felt legally bound to its defence contribution to NATO. Canada has viewed its obligations as only a best effort commitment.

There is a sense in which S.D.I. goes against the NATO treaty. The treaty emphasises consultation and acting in harmony in defence matters. Yet S.D.I. was initiated unilaterally by the U.S. rather than by the allies together after consultation. The invitation by the U.S. to have the alliance participate in S.D.I. has caused a strain on the alliance, with some signatories reluctant to participate.

2) There is no specific obligation in the NORAD agreement requiring Canadian participation in S.D.I.

An earlier version of the NORAD (North American Aerospace Defence) agreement specifically stated that it did not involve any commitment by the Canadian government to take part in an active ballistic missile defence agreement. The present version does not have that statement. The present version says only that the US and Canada will seek ways to enhance co-operation in the surveillance of space and in the exchange of information on space events relevant to North American defence.

S.D.I. is more than just surveillance of space. Canadian participation in S.D.I. would be more than just an exchange of information on space events. While the earlier version of the agreement is clearer than the later version on the issue, the later version is not a complete reversal on the issue of Canadian participation in an anti ballistic missile (ABM) defence.

3) The Canada U.S. defence Production Sharing Arrangements impose no legal requirements that Canada participate in S.D.I.

The Defence Production Sharing Arrangements (DPSA) are arrangements with the U.S. The DPSA do not obligate Canada to share in the production of any defence item. All the arrangements do is facilitate any sharing in the production of a defence item which the two countries want. The arrangements give Canada access to the U.S. weapons market. No Canadian export licences or permits are required. The only requirement is that the weapons trade between the two countries be kept in rough balance.

4) S.D.I. conflicts with the Anti Ballistic Missile Treaty.

The A.B.M. treaty requires parties not to "develop test or deploy ABM systems or components". The purpose of SDI is to develop test and deploy an ABM system or components of that system. While research is not a violation of the treaty, SDI proposes going beyond laboratory work to field testing. Field testing is a violation of the treaty.

It is wrong to engage in a course of conduct if the whole purpose and intent of that conduct is to commit an illegal act. If the SDI is illegal at its conclusion, it should be stopped at its inception, rather than begun. Beginning S.D.I., which is an expensive and ambitious venture, creates a momentum towards illegality that should not exist.

Soviet violations of the ABM treaty do not justify S.D.I. There are mechanisms in place under the treaty for dealing with violations. The treaty establishes a Standing Consultative Commission (SCC) to adjudicate upon matters of compliance and interpretation. The SCC consists of U.S. and Soviet negotiators. It has been able to settle every issue that has been brought before it. Where there has been a real violation, found as such by the SCC, the violation has been stopped. Where there have been disputes about the interpretation of the treaty, the disputes have been sorted out, to the satisfaction of both sides. The Americans have not brought any of the current list of alleged Soviet violations of the ABM treaty to the SCC.

Similarly, Soviet "Star Wars" research does not justify SDI. The Soviet Star Wars research is at nowhere near the level proposed by SDI. While research to keep pace with the Soviets is justified, SDI goes far beyond that. Research to keep pace with the Soviets can be justified as a means of monitoring

Soviet technology in order to assess their compliance with the treaty. That sort of research is not, by its nature, directed to development of an ABM system.

It has been argued that SDI is justified because it has value as a bargaining chip in the current disarmament negotiations. The response to that argument is that it is unjustifiable to threaten to break one treaty in order to negotiate another. Even if the tactic succeeds, and a new treaty results, what is the value of such a treaty? A treaty negotiated under the threat of breach of an earlier treaty itself runs a grave risk of being easily broken.

5) Canadian involvement in SDI would conflict with an ABM treaty commitment not to provide to other states "technical descriptions or blueprints specifically worked out for the construction of ABM systems."

Canada, itself, is not a party to the ABM treaty. Canadian involvement in SDI would, nonetheless, lead to a breach of the treaty, an American breach. A joint research effort would involve Americans providing to Canadians information in violation of the treaty.

One reason for Agreed Statement G under the ABM treaty, that prohibits transfer of ABM technical descriptions or blueprints, is to prevent proliferation of ABM systems. It is meant to prevent an ally from building an ABM system that the treaty signatory, by the treaty, cannot build.

That is not, however, the only reason for the insertion of that provision. It also applies to joint research efforts. Even if the transfer of information to Canada is not for the purpose of having Canada build an ABM system, but to have Canada help the US in developing, testing and developing an ABM system, the transfer is still a violation.

While it is theoretically possible to conceive of a joint research effort that does not involve transmittal of technical information from the U.S. to

Canada, realistically that is what will happen. A joint research effort is going to involve the transmission of technical information from the U.S. to Canada, as well as transmission of technical information from Canada to U.S.

6) Deployment of what is developed through SDI would violate the Outer Space Treaty.

The preamble to the Outer Space Treaty of 1967 commits parties to "the use of outer space for peaceful purposes." Whether the technology developed through SDI is considered offensive or defensive, it is designed for use in war.

The treaty prohibits the placement of nuclear weapons in outer space. One element of SDI is the nuclear powered X-ray laser. The energy needed to power the x-ray laser requires a nuclear explosion.

That nuclear explosion can take place in space, in which case it is a violation of the Outer Space Treaty. Or the explosion can take place on earth. In that cases it would be a violation of the Partial Test Ban Treaty of 1963.

7) S.D.I. is a violation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

The Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) commits the parties to "pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to the cessation of nuclear disarmament." The non nuclear powers who signed the treaty signed it on the basis that the nuclear powers would respect that commitment. The non nuclear powers agreed to remain non nuclear on the understanding that the nuclear powers would work to becoming non nuclear themselves.

S.D.I. is not a step toward cessation of the nuclear arms race. It is an escalation of the nuclear arms race. S.D.I. is not a negotiated initiative with the Soviet Union. It is a unilateral initiative. S.D.I. is not part of a new nuclear arms control agreement. Rather, it puts into doubt nuclear arms



agreements that have already been signed, such as the ABM treaty and the Outer Space Treaty.

The Third Review Conference under the NPT is about to begin, in September of this year. One option always open to non-nuclear countries that have signed the treaty is to withdraw from it. There are countries with existing or emerging nuclear capability that have yet to sign the treaty including Brazil, Pakistan and South Africa. If the nuclear powers are not respecting their own commitment to work towards cessation of the nuclear arms race, the incentive to new members to sign the NPT is weakened, and the incentive to existing signatories to withdraw is created.

8) Canada would be violating international law by assisting the U.S. in violating its obligations under international treaties.

As mentioned earlier, the ABM treaty is a Soviet American Treaty. Canada is not a signatory. Yet, if Canada were to assist the U.S. in violating the treaty, it would not <sup>be</sup> the U.S. alone that violated international law. Canada as well, would be in violation of international law.

Because Canada has not signed the ABM treaty, Canada is not bound by it. Canada would not violate the ABM treaty by developing its own anti-ballistic missile defence, in isolation from the U.S. The situation is different when Canada is assisting the U.S. in an American development, testing and deployment of an anti-ballistic missile defence. There is an international legal obligation on non signatory states not to aid a signatory state in the breach of its treaty obligations.

With other treaties, the obligation is more direct. Canada is a signatory to the Partial Test Ban Treaty, the Outer Space Treaty and the Non Proliferation Treaty. When SDI violates those treaties, Canadian participation in SDI is more than just aiding an American violation. It is a direct

Canadian' violation.

Canadian assistance to the U.S. in a U.S. violation of its international treaty obligations would be a violation of international law, whether the assistance took the form of direct government assistance or sub-contracted private assistance. Even with sub-contracted private assistance, through the Canadian Commerical Corporation, the Government can not claim that these private sub-contracts are independent from the Government and do not commit the Government internationally.

9) Banning nuclear weapons, rather than SDI, is the appropriate response to the nuclear threat.

Claude Thomson, the national president of the CBA, in a speech he gave recently to the Twelfth Conference on the law of the World, in Berlin, called on the international legal community to determine that nuclear weapons are unacceptable in law. He called for a complete and universal denunciation of nuclear weapons.

It is important not to draw any false analogies between conventional warfare and nuclear warfare. We cannot say that just because radar and anti aircraft weapons have been useful in conventional warfare, ABM systems should be developed to meet the nuclear threat.

When it comes to nuclear war our first concern has to be not how to defend against it, but how to prevent it. If all we think about is defence, and not prevention, , we are courting disaster. Anything other than an absolutely infallible defence would be catastrophic. And infallibility is beyond human capacity.

S.D.I. is not directed to prevention. It is directed to defence. By escalating the arms race and violating international treaties, S.D. I. goes against prevention. The CBA believe that declaring nuclear weapons illegal and banning them, because that is directed to prevention, is the wiser course to follow.

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New

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NEW DIRECTIONS FOR CANADIAN URBAN POLICY:

WINNIPEG'S CORE AREA INITIATIVE

Prepared for an International Conference on

Urban Revitalization, Jerusalem, Israel

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**Winnipeg, February 1986.**

It is difficult to pinpoint precisely either the time or the cause of death of Canadian urban policy. My own guess would place the former at some point around the mid-1970's, and would attribute the latter to a complex and lethal combination of governmental and popular lassitude. The universal, post-recession preoccupation with macroeconomic concerns seems to have largely obscured the nexus between the overall vitality of the national economy and that of our major urban centres.<sup>1</sup> Whatever the cause, however, it is clear that whereas the late '60's and early '70's had seen a tremendous burst of interest in "the urban scene" from academics, the media, and eventually even from government itself, the decade from the mid-1970's to the present has been singularly bereft of major policy initiatives at the urban level.

The formal demise of the federal Ministry of State for Urban Affairs in the late 1970's may not have markedly hastened this trend, but it was certainly an apt metaphor for it. Since that time, the federal government has virtually abandoned any pretence of attempting to rationalize or horizontally co-ordinate the spending and activities of the legion of its departments and agencies active in Canadian cities. Not only that, but there seems to be a good deal less activity to co-ordinate. Federal "disengagement" has become the new order of the day, and it has merely been accelerated, not invented, by the current national government. One can discern the seeds of disengagement in the housing field, for example, at least as far back as the National Housing Act amendments of 1978. A further and even more dramatic reduction in the federal housing presence is anticipated in 1986. Similarly, in the field of industrial development, a major reduction in the federal government activities in Canadian cities took place through program changes occurring in 1983. The past decade has seen federal urban initiatives restricted either to such individually praiseworthy but isolated megaprojects as Toronto's Harbourfront, or to the "normal" but apparently unconnected activities of its departments which happen to be spending billions of dollars in our cities. It seems as though an integrated and comprehensive approach to urban problem-solving has suddenly gone completely out of fashion. Perhaps an implicit judgement has been rendered that Canada's urban economic and socio-economic problems have all been solved, or at least have attenuated to the point where today's

1 This is a connection which writers such as Jane Jacobs have recently attempted to restore. See Jacobs, Jane, Cities and the Wealth of Nations: Principles of Economic Life (New York: Random House, 1984).

minimalistic and haphazard approaches are now adequate. If that indeed is the judgment, then I beg to differ.

### The Core Area Initiative

Indeed, there is now compelling evidence that an integrated and interventionist urban strategy is not only required but can actually work. That evidence is provided by a remarkable experiment in urban policy intervention presently underway in Winnipeg—the Core Area Initiative. Currently in the fourth year of its five-year mandate, the CAI has attracted considerable interest from policy-makers in Europe and the United States, but surprisingly little from elsewhere in Canada, where it might far more readily serve as a model for inter-governmental co-operation on urban problem-solving.

The Core Area Initiative is a \$96 million, tri-governmental urban revitalization strategy which was launched in 1981 in response to a constellation of inter-related physical, social, and economic pathologies in Winnipeg's declining inner city. The city's core area (covering fully ten square miles and housing nearly 100,000 people) had been suffering from a litany of problems which would be painfully familiar to many other North American central cities. Although declining in absolute numbers (a problem in itself), Winnipeg's core area population contained an ever-increasing concentration of disadvantaged and special-needs residents. The core area's unemployment rate was double the city-wide average, and its incidence of families below the poverty line was five times the average.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, in recent years the core area had absorbed a substantial number of native and other ethnic immigrants, many of whom lacked the educational and vocational skills required to compete effectively in the urban job market. In addition, the core area's housing stock was aging; in some areas as much as 40% of it was formally classed as being in poor condition.<sup>2</sup> And finally, the downtown proper was losing a progressively larger share of its retail market to competition from suburban shopping centres.

While these problems may be all too common to other Canadian, American, and European cities, the solutions adopted by the Core Area Initiative in response were not. Indeed, the CAI is arguably the most ambitious and

1 Institute of Urban Studies, Core Area Report: A Reassessment of Conditions in the Inner City (Winnipeg, 1979), 53.

2 Institute of Urban Studies, Housing: Inner City Older Type Areas (Winnipeg, 1979) iii.

comprehensive urban revitalization effort ever undertaken in North America. While there have been a number of truly remarkable urban redevelopment projects undertaken in Canada (Harbourfront, B.C. Place, the Halifax and St. John's waterfront projects) and in the United States (in Baltimore, Minneapolis, Portland, and Battery Park City in New York, to name but a few), none has had the combination of substantive breadth and intergovernmental delivery structure of the Core Area Initiative.

### The Substantive Mandate

The breadth of the substantive ambit of the Core Area Initiative's programming is literally unprecedented. To date the CAI has implemented over 1,000 individual projects, including the following:

- \* The creation and capitalization of the North Portage Development Corporation, which is currently undertaking a \$200 million, mixed-use development on ten acres of prime, publicly acquired downtown land;
- \* The creation of over 3,000 jobs and training opportunities for disadvantaged core area residents;
- \* The planning and development of \$21 million worth of new market housing (260 units, four projects);
- \* The rehabilitation of over 4,000 existing older homes;
- \* The recycling of 30 privately owned heritage buildings;
- \* The establishment or expansion of 140 small businesses, ranging from "upscale" restaurants and nightclubs to a small manufacturing concern operated by a recent immigrant family from Southeast Asia;
- \* The planning and development of 330 units of co-operative and non-profit housing (ten separate projects);
- \* The completion of 140 community facilities and services projects worth over \$40 million and ranging from a Chinese cultural centre to a program to improve pre-natal nutrition for high-risk inner city women;
- \* The formation and capitalization of six community development corporations, which are undertaking neighbourhood-based capital projects with a combined value of \$20 million;
- \* The completion of a \$3 million inner city education program (fifty-one separate projects, ranging from special reading enrichment programs for disadvantaged pre-school children to those designed to combat adult illiteracy);
- \* The development of two major new arts centres;
- \* The completion of land assembly, site planning, and preliminary negotiations towards the development of 100 acres of downtown railway lands.

To date, the Core Area Initiative's own budget of \$96 million has already directly catalyzed an additional \$400 million in private and public sector investment in CAI and complementary projects. Collectively, these initiatives represent a comprehensive assault on the physical and socio-economic deterioration which had characterized Winnipeg's inner city, as well as constituting one of the very few practical applications of the old planning theory nostrum that urban problems are all inter-related and must be approached from a holistic rather than a single-issue perspective.

### The Delivery Structure

This substantive breadth would have been patently unattainable were it not for the second unique dimension of the CAI: its tri-governmental delivery structure. The project's \$96 million core budget is derived from equal contributions from the federal, provincial, and city governments. Major policy and budgetary decisions are taken under the political direction of a tri-level Policy Committee comprising the senior regional federal minister (currently the Honourable Mr. Epp), the provincial urban affairs minister (the Honourable Mr. Desjardins), and the Mayor of the City of Winnipeg (His Worship Mr. Norrie). Operational direction is supplied by a senior management committee with deputy minister-level representation from each of the three levels of government. A fourth critical actor is the Core Area Office, whose general manager chairs both the Management group and the Policy Committee, and whose staff delivers roughly 40% of the overall budget directly and co-ordinates the balance of the program delivery done through the various line government departments.

While not without its attendant difficulties, the integral involvement of three levels of government has provided major advantages, the most obvious of which is a multiplication of resources. To begin with, the CAI's budget of \$96 million would itself have been well beyond the financial capability of any of the three partners acting individually. In addition, the three levels of government have already invested a further \$170 million in direct support of CAI projects. This has allowed the CAI to focus and co-ordinate over a quarter of a billion dollars worth of public spending on an integrated package of mutually-reinforcing programs. Without the central unifying focus of the CAI, it is clear that much of this investment would have been either scattered and dissipated or else completely non-existent.



Nor have the strictly financial resources of the three levels of government been their only important contribution. The technical and managerial expertise of the staffs of the three governments have been indispensable to the delivery of all of the CAI's programs. Perhaps even more important than the expertise, however, is the framework provided by the tri-level structure itself for focus, co-operation, and co-ordination, both horizontally within each jurisdiction and vertically among the three governments. While the CAI's procedural requirement of tri-level unanimity is sometimes exceedingly difficult to achieve at the outset of a project, once attained it allows an unprecedented array of public resources to be marshalled and focussed on the same target. The monthly, deputy-minister level meetings of officials of the three governments (in itself a most novel practice in Canada) help ensure that any required complementary assistance will be provided and "red tape" cut wherever possible.

This advantage should not be underestimated, for a typical CAI project may derive its public sector funding from as many as a half-dozen sources. The creation of Artspace, one of two major new arts centres developed by the CAI, is a case in point. In order to execute this project, a marriage between the space requirements of the local arts community and the architectural resources of the historic warehouse district had to be effectuated. As a first step, an inventory of both had to be undertaken. Subsequently, a 50,000 square-foot, privately owned heritage building was optioned and purchased. A new, non-profit umbrella arts organization with twenty different member groups was organized from scratch and then staffed. Capital and operating funding had to be identified and put in place. Among many other things, this required the attainment of a partial exemption from municipal property taxes for the renovated building, which required the approval of City Council as well as changes to provincial legislation. Much of the construction work will be undertaken through a special federal employment program which employs and provides income supplements for people formerly on unemployment insurance. In all, the project required either funding or active legislative support from no fewer than nine government departments. In the absence of a strong commitment from a central agency such as CAI with strong linkages into and across government departments, a project of this complexity would have been manifestly impossible.

Nor is the value of a co-ordinated, multi-governmental strategy limited to the amplification and focussing of public resources. The CAI has

already catalyzed over \$250 million in private sector investment as well. Initially, private developers and entrepreneurs exhibited a considerable (and well-merited) scepticism about CAI, and there was no discernible change in the investment patterns which had seen disproportionate capital flows to the suburbs. However, after two years or so, once there was tangible and widespread evidence of the scale and therefore the seriousness of government's commitment, there was a palpable shift in the attitude and subsequently the investment patterns of the private sector. Once private investors became convinced that the CAI represented both a focussed and an enduring public commitment, they were prepared to put their own money at risk. I am persuaded that any less massive, tangible, and convincing display of public policy intent would have failed to catalyze anything close to the present level of private investment.

The key here is focus. The CAI's greatest single achievement to date may well have been the forging of a single, highly visible, and reasonably cohesive project identity for what we have already seen to be an extremely diverse set of activities. Government departments and private businessmen alike had to be convinced that there was a sufficiently focussed critical mass of activity to justify further, complementary investment. Indeed, there are no fewer than seventeen government departments directly involved in the CAI, yet under normal circumstances not one of them has the slightest organizational reason to preoccupy itself with Winnipeg's core area. This is by definition most true of the massive federal departments such as C.E.I.C., C.M.H.C., and D.R.I.E.,<sup>1</sup> for whom the city's core area is simply one of literally hundreds of legitimate supplicants across the country clamouring for scarce departmental resources.

Two things were required, and fortunately both were forthcoming. The first and most important was the will on the part of the key politicians from the three governments to make extraordinary deflections in normal departmental activities in order to reinforce rather than dissipate the CAI's momentum. The second was a vehicle with the time, resources, and mandate to preoccupy itself exclusively with the core area. This was a special-purpose central agency, the Core Area Office, whose sole raison d'etre was the mobilization, focussing,

1 Canada Employment and Immigration Commission, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, and the Department of Regional Industrial Expansion.

and delivery of public and private investment in the core area. In the absence of such an agency, it is quite probable that the "normal", centrifugal tendencies of both the marketplace and the government departments would have prevailed, and dramatically reduced the CAI's impact.

### Community Control

There is also a third dimension of the CAI which, while perhaps less unique than either its substantive scope or its tri-level delivery apparatus, has been no less instrumental to the success: the degree to which the CAI has provided for decentralized, community-based decisionmaking and delivery for many of its programs. Scope for community input into CAI activities ranges from a purely advisory role in some program areas to the devolution of actual spending authority in others. As an example of the latter, the CAI has devoted \$12 million of its core budget to the provision of community facilities and services in the inner city. Over 140 separate projects have been undertaken, ranging from the construction of ethnic cultural centres and thirty-four day care centres to the delivery of a program designed to reduce inner-city infant mortality through improved maternal pre-natal nutrition. The final decisions on which proposals are accepted and which are rejected rest with a nine-member community board appointed by the senior politicians from each level of government (the Policy Committee). This board comprises a broad cross-section of citizens with special expertise related to the critical inner city social issues, and it has tended to function in a remarkably non-partisan fashion. Another significant example of the devolution of spending control from government to community organizations is to be found in the work of a number of the CAI's community development corporations. The CAI has established no fewer than six such corporations, each active within a different geographic area within the core area, and each with a different program mandate. What the six community corporations have in common, however, is that within overall budget envelopes centrally established by the CAI, each has a tremendous degree of autonomy over how that budget is spent. Each corporation has its own board of directors composed of local area merchants and residents, and the CAI supplies a budget for each to hire its own small program staff as well as providing capital budgets ranging from \$500,000 to \$1.4 million. The basic thrust of the overall budget is initially negotiated between the CAI and each community corporation, and then the corporations are basically left to administer the projects themselves and to make the myriad of decisions required for their successful implementation. Projects undertaken through the community development

corporation vehicle have ranged from an eight-block streetscaping and storefront improvement project to the purchase and recycling of an abandoned gas station into a first-class, 220-seat performing theatre. In this latter example, the community corporation is using the ongoing revenues from the operation of the theatre and its associated parking as seed money with which to launch non-profit housing and social service projects. The ultimate significance of all six examples, however, lies at least as much in the organizational growth and development of each group as it does in the particular physical or social projects undertaken.

#### CAI - The Next Phase

At the time of writing (December, 1985), intense, tri-governmental negotiations are underway over the fate of the CAI experiment. At this point, it appears very probable that the CAI will be extended for a further five-year term, albeit with a somewhat revised program mix and emphasis. In many respects the renewal of the CAI will be as politically remarkable as was the agreement which originally established it in 1981.

It should be recalled that the 1981 decision was and remains unprecedented in Canadian urban political history in that it united three disparate levels of government under a single financial and decisionmaking structure. This marriage has not always been a placid one. The mandates, priorities, ideologies, and partisan stripes of the various governments have varied substantially enough that generating and implementing \$96 million worth of agreed-upon program content would have been extraordinarily difficult even without the two changes of government which have occurred over the life of the project. Now, the tri-level debate over the renewal of the CAI is taking place in a political context where only one of the three governmental signatories to the original 1981 agreement is still in power. In addition, the municipal government in Winnipeg is dominated arithmetically by suburban councillors, and ideologically by an anti-interventionist ethos which strongly resists policy initiatives of any kind, particularly those lying outside of a very traditional and minimalistic interpretation of local government responsibilities.<sup>1</sup> The federal government is facing the omnipresent spectre of deficit reduction, as well as a litany of legitimate but competing spending priorities from across the country. How then, in such apparently inauspicious circumstances, will it be possible to renew the

1 I elaborate on this argument in Kiernan, "The Politics of Quiescence: the 'Reform Experience in Winnipeg'", in Magnusson and Sancton (eds.) City Politics in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), pp. 222-254.

initial agreement for a further five-year term?

Part of the answer can be found in the arcane world of intergovernmental political calculus. In the case of the first agreement, while no individual government found every single ingredient of the negotiated program smorgasbord wildly appealing, each found it on balance to be an acceptable basis for investing \$32 million in return for the guaranteed expenditure of \$64 million by the other partners. This time around, in 1986, essentially this same political calculus is still at work, and it is now further reinforced by the considerable benefit of four years' actual experience with the tri-level beast. There is by now, I think, strong empirical evidence that tri-governmental partnerships can work, can rationalize, co-ordinate, and focus public expenditure, and by so doing can also catalyze and focus substantial private sector investment.

What is perhaps politically even more important, this evidence seems to have influenced the perceptions of a surprisingly broad cross-section of individuals and interest groups throughout the city. A 1984, Gallup-size survey evenly split between inner city and suburban households indicated that fully 82% of the respondents favoured renewing and extending the Core Area Initiative.<sup>1</sup> More recently, in September of 1985, the Core Area Initiative's Policy Committee (the two senior government cabinet ministers and the mayor) held a series of public hearings on the future of the CAI. Over one hundred oral and written briefs were submitted by organizations as disparate as the Chamber of Commerce and the Indian-Metis Friendship Centre, and yet all were in support of extending the program for a further five years. While it must be conceded that there was more than a hint of self-interest in several of the briefs supporting CAI, and that different groups emphasized different dimensions of the project, it nonetheless seems to me that any public program capable of generating that breadth and diversity of support deserves careful examination for its potential application elsewhere.

#### Tri-Level Urban Partnerships: The Wave of the Future?

Indeed one might even have the temerity to go further and suggest that tri-governmental partnerships will become the prevalent model of the future for urban planning and development in other cities. There are a number of reasons

1 Public Attitudes and Perceptions Concerning Core Area: Redevelopment Results Group, Winnipeg, March 15, 1984, pp. 7, 12. This finding was all the more remarkable to CAI staff in light of the consistently negative treatment of CAI in its early stages by the principal local newspaper.

why if this is not so, it ought to be.

At the federal level, increasingly severe fiscal constraints are strengthening the pressure to streamline and rationalize federal activities, and to harmonize them better with those of provincial governments. This is already done to some extent through a series of bilateral agreements under the E.R.D.A. (Economic Regional Development Agreements) system, but the CAI remains the only Canadian example where this approach has been extrapolated to include a third, local government partner.

From the municipal perspective, the Core Area Initiative has been an unmitigated financial and programmatic bonanza, notwithstanding some tactical rhetoric to the contrary as the local politicians warm up for tri-level negotiations. The CAI's three government partners have contributed a total of \$170 million towards CAI projects, over and above the core budget of \$96 million. Of this complementary amount, the City has contributed precisely 14%. Thus a total municipal investment of \$56 million has directly levered the expenditure of a further \$210 million by other governments, in addition to \$240 million worth of private investment. In other words, the City's \$56 million expenditure has generated additional investment of \$450 million, a leverage factor of over eight to one! Moreover, the bulk of the CAI's activities have directly added new and rehabilitated housing, commercial, and institutional space to the City's tax rolls. Even the CAI's employment, training, and social programs, so frequently disparaged by local politicians as irrelevant to the municipal mandate, have had the direct effect of removing hundreds of people from the City's welfare rolls.

It is not so many years since Canadian cities were demanding formal constitutional recognition, and requests for greater financial and legal powers continue to be heard today. Yet it seems to me that a far more promising (albeit subtle) method for cities to gain access to dramatically increased spending and programming power would be through the aggressive pursuit of intergovernmental agreements similar to the Core Area Initiative. Senior government resources are becoming more and more scarce, as federal disengagement from general, nationwide programs becomes even more pronounced and provincial budgets continue to be squeezed. This fact, coupled with the chronic pressures on what are relatively static municipal revenue bases, suggests that Canadian cities need to become far more skilled at the intergovernmental relations game. They need to become much

more adept at identifying those increasingly scarce senior government resources, and then integrating them with local priorities by negotiating formal, tri-level urban development agreements.

For senior governments, tri-level agreements represent an opportunity to spend their money far more efficiently and with greater impact than is currently possible. For local governments, they represent a form of alchemy whereby chronically meagre municipal resources can be magically transmuted into program impacts eight to ten times larger than anything remotely attainable unilaterally. For private investors, tri-level agreements represent a massive, tangible, and focussed expression of government commitment, and therefore a more stable and attractive environment in which to do business. And for ordinary taxpayers, who normally don't give a damn which level of government is paying for which program, they seem to simply represent a sensible way to go about making their cities more enjoyable places to live, work, raise children, shop, and participate in cultural life.

In the absence of such tri-level arrangements, the 80% of Canadians who live in our urban centres will have to content themselves with a public policy which, on its best days, achieves the status of benign neglect.





# TEN DAYS FOR WORLD DEVELOPMENT

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## Why are People Hungry?

**Introduction to  
TEN DAYS  
FOR WORLD DEVELOPMENT  
January 31 -  
February 10, 1986**

### What is Ten Days for World Development?

"Ten Days" is an inter-church development education/action program sponsored by the relief and development agencies of the Anglican, Catholic, Lutheran, Presbyterian and United Churches in Canada. As such, it is an *issue-raising* program aimed at consciousness-raising and action, not only among Canadian church members but among all Canadians. **It is not a fund-raising program.**

Since its beginning in 1972, it has focused on a number of important development issues such as the New International Economic Order, food, work, trade, and aid. On occasion, it has highlighted specific geographic areas illustrative of development needs and hopes. In the past three years Central America has been the area for study and action.

### A Place to Begin—Ten Days 1986

The Ten Days for World Development program (January 31 -February 10, 1986) with its theme "Why are People Hungry?" will enable us to move beyond a focus on the "victims" to help us understand why people are hungry in the first place. It will guide us in a study of hungry people's relationship to society and its agencies, in order to get at the questions of power over food and food-producing resources — who has it



*When people are starving, immediate food aid is vital. But have we thought beyond the emergency response to what is needed to eliminate hunger in the long term?*

and how is it used? The program will lead us to identify local, national and international priorities which block people's access to food. It will make it possible for us to meet people from the Third World who will tell how they have addressed hunger in their countries.

And it will help us clarify just what responses, along with emergency aid, are necessary. Finally, the program will equip us to press for effective Canadian policies and practices that will address the underlying causes of hunger in our world.



# Panel Personalities



Mosi Kisari

Mosi Kisari is founder and present program officer for the Research and Development Consultancy Service of the All African Conference of Churches in Nairobi, Kenya.

Born in the village of Shirati, Tanzania, he is an articulate spokesman for aid recipients in Africa. Kisari stresses that world hunger is fundamentally a problem of justice, not of charity, overpopulation, or inadequate resources.

"It's no use," says Kisari, "restricting the issue of hunger to one of famine relief. It has to be seen in the full context of poverty and economic development."

Mosi Kisari takes a special interest in small scale rural development, as the most effective means to meet the hopes and improve the living conditions of the people he encounters in his work. He himself was born and raised in a peasant community. His MA degree, from the University of Reading in southern England, is in Rural Social Development. Recent copies of an A.A.C.C. newsletter, which he edits, focused on an analysis of myths about world hunger as well as the dilemmas facing voluntary agencies in wealthy countries that seek to help Africans.

Mosi Kisari approaches questions of hunger and development from a profoundly Christian perspective. "Jesus walked among the people," he points out, "and he related particularly to those who were excluded from the society of his day."

Thus Kisari advocates the role of a political pressure group, which is an integral part of social action for development, for the Church.

**"FAMINE: CAUSES  
AND REMEDIES"  
ROOM 3C01  
UNIVERSITY OF  
WINNIPEG  
WED., FEB. 5  
7:30 p.m.**



Robert Smith

The Right Rev. Robert F. Smith was elected Moderator of the United Church of Canada in August, 1984.

Dr. Smith is not satisfied that enhancement of its own identity will solve the tensions which exist in the United Church today.

"It will be much more significant," he says, "if we identify with the world Church and look for a unity which transcends nationalism."

Powerful experiences in Dr. Smith's life have been the encounters with people from 'the suffering Church'—in Northern Ireland, South Africa, Central America, Korea, and the Native Church in Canada. Dr. Smith finds that 'the suffering Church poses the kinds of questions that lead us out of a parochial identity.'



Charles Elliott

Charles Elliott, author of seven books including *Patterns of Poverty in the Third World* (1975), has worked in more than 40 developing countries on four continents. Elliott is a respected writer, broadcaster and theologian as well as one of the world's foremost experts on the economics of international development.

"I don't believe," Elliott emphasizes, "that development is all about modernization. It's much more about the way in which power is distributed, used and abused."

Elliott is convinced of the need to reorganize relationships between the rich and poor nations of the world, so that they should be based no longer on domination and subjection.

Charles Elliott's latest book, *Praying the Kingdom: Towards a Political Spirituality* (1985), received the Collins Biennial Religious Book Award. In this book, Elliott wrestles with the feelings of helplessness and powerlessness that affect many concerned people in the rich countries when they try to deal with questions of hunger, poverty and global injustice. He remains firm in his belief however, that 'there can be no spirituality without action, without politics.'

Charles Elliott is currently holding an inter-disciplinary professorship at the University of Bristol, England and he is preparing a documentary series for BBC-TV on the subject of international theologies.



# TEN DAYS FOR WORLD DEVELOPMENT

## Hunger: The Roots of the Problem

In 1985, like never before, the haunting images of the world's starving people filled our living rooms. Now more than ever concerned citizens are asking "Why are people hungry?" In this article, freelance writer Pat Wells discusses some of the underlying causes.

The African famine of the last year is unique. Unique in its catastrophic proportions. Unique in the overwhelming global response it has generated. And certainly unique in its media coverage. There can hardly be a spot on the globe touched by radio or newspapers or television where the famine is not common knowledge.

What has been less well publicized and less well understood is the extent to which such "natural" disasters are "man-made". The present African drought is directly linked to the rapid spreading of the Sahara and Kalahari Deserts. But the Sahara region was once the breadbasket of the Roman Empire and it is estimated that three quarters of the desert in Africa has been produced through over-cultivation, over-grazing and deforestation.

Whether you survive any given catastrophe depends very much on where you live. There are on the average 3,000 deaths per disaster in low-income countries as compared to 500 in high-income countries. Also, governments which have been attentive to the living conditions and the environmental impact on the population before disaster strikes have far fewer fatalities. Niger, for example, over the last few years has experienced acute drought but because of a deliberate policy of rural development, has had little starvation.

Other factors are not so obvious and cannot be as easily localized.

### Colonial Leftovers

In a recent statement, members of the Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians explained why, in their opinion, people are hungry.

*The principal cause of the modern phenomenon of the under-development of the peoples of the Third World is the systematic exploitation of their peoples and countries by the European peoples. From the end of the 15th century a large-scale and unprecedented expansion of the European peoples brought most of the rest of the world under their military, economic, political, cultural and religious domination. They plundered the riches of the Americas, Asia and Africa. Gold, silver, precious stones and raw materials were taken to add enormously to their capital accumulation.*

*The colonizers undermined the economy of the colonies for their advantage. They made their colonies suppliers of raw materials based on cheap labour and markets for their finished goods. They forcibly expropriated fertile lands of the oppressed peoples, set up plantations of sugar, coffee, tea, rubber, etc. They transported millions of peoples from one country to another to serve as slaves or indentured labour. Paying a mere subsistence wage to the workers and charging high prices for their exports, the colonial powers were able to add further to their capital stock (on which European industrialization and the prosperity of the northern nations rests).*

During the nineteenth century, Spain and Portugal gradually discarded their American colonies. Then, beginning in the late forties with India, and gathering momentum through the fifties and sixties, Britain and the other European nations withdrew from Asia, Africa and the Caribbean. One by one they lowered their flags from impressive government buildings and tiny out-post stations and theoretically, went home. Except that in most developing countries today, there are more expatriates than there were thirty years ago, and their economies continue to operate according to those terms laid down by the former colonizing powers. With the land tenure, marketing system and infrastructure (roads, rail links, ports) all designed to favour colonial production, the now independent states, not surprisingly, continue to produce those crops and mine those minerals which will meet the needs of the North.

### The Export Trap

According to the Third World theologians:

*As political independence was gained by these colonies, beginning with the Latin American countries in the last century, a new form of exploitation consolidated itself. In Latin America, Spain and Portugal lost their dominance, to be replaced by Britain, the USA and other Western European countries as the economic colonizers.*

*In Asia and Africa too, the gaining of political independence led generally to the transfer of power to the local elite that continued the economic system established by the colonial*

4. powers. Since the 1950s, the mode of economic exploitation by the USA. Western Europe and Japan of Third World countries has been further strengthened by the horizontal and vertical integration of companies. We have thus the growth of giant multinational corporations, based generally in the USA. Western Europe and Japan, that have enormous economic, political and cultural power over entire lines of production and commerce.

Many Third World countries still rely on a few, or even one commodity for their principal export earnings - cotton in the Sudan, coffee in Guatemala, rice and sugar in the Philippines. The world market for these and other raw products is dominated by a handful of transnational corporations. The cocoa crop, for example, which uses up thirty-five per cent of Ghana's arable land, is controlled by four international giants - Cadbury-Schweppes, Nestlé, Gill and Duffus, and Rowntree. These companies annually purchase sixty to eighty per cent of the world's cocoa, and so dictate world price. To reverse colonial patterns is far from easy.

### The Political Run-Off

Canadians tend to look with cynicism at the well-advertised corruption and frequent coups and revolutions of the Third World. (The next government will certainly be as bad or worse than the last!) We too easily forget the long centuries it took for northern peoples to stabilize their own political institutions and the short political fuse that was tossed over to most colonies at independence.

Consider, for instance, the results of the Berlin convention of 1884. In that year the European nations sat down to carve Africa into neatly convenient segments. Tribes which had been traditional enemies were crudely thrown into the same national package. The civil war in Ethiopia, in which for twenty years the old Amhara empire of the

north has struggled to free itself from the south, is but one of the ugly fruits of this arrangement. Civil war, in addition to a huge expenditure of national income, and a frightening loss of human life, results in lowered agricultural production, the destruction or neglect of crops and livestock, and a flood of refugees straining the resources of the poorest economies.

As problematic as the political divisions, are the left-behind European parliamentary systems. Generally they bear little resemblance to traditional local forms of government and have, more often than not, proven unworkable. Then add to this the creation of a colonial elite. By the time of independence in Asian and African colonies this administrative group has been carefully groomed to continue control of the population through the military, police and civil service, to keep the colonial economic machinery intact, and to consequently expect a suitably high standard of living. Since their political support is based in the cities, they have tended to ignore the needs of the peasant farmers. The farmers, on the other hand, often lack the simplest tools, and live where roads are poor or non-existent. They may have no access to workable market places and often watch their saleable food rot because of the lack of storage facilities. Finally, discouraged by low produce prices (cheap food is needed to prevent urban consumer unrest) they have little motivation to produce more than what is needed for their own family's immediate needs. Tony Jackson of Oxfam has commented on the African situation that "Farmers haven't forgotten how to grow food. They are being priced and taxed to underproduce."

### External Debt

Because developing nations have been so closely tied into the First and Second World economic systems, they have been hard struck by the recent world recession, forced to watch their income from exports shrink dramatically, while the cost of imports, particularly oil, swells. Most of them,

already heavily in debt, have had little choice but to dig themselves deeper into the same dependent hole.

Brazil is an extreme but not untypical example. Borrowing heavily in the 1950's for industrial development (later for resource development and luxury imports for the elite), the country was soon unable to make repayments. It now has an external debt of one hundred billion dollars and has been involved in a long series of "rescue" operations, primarily by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The IMF here, as elsewhere in developing countries, has insisted that in order to pay back its loan the receiving government introduce austerity measures (such as capping wages), cut back on social/development spending, devalue its currency, open itself up to more foreign trade and investment and emphasize export crops at the expense of subsistence farming. What this means to the average worker in Rio is unemployment, lower earnings and a kilo of beans costing a day's wage. **FREE TRADE**

Caught in this kind of squeeze, the government's chief pre-occupation becomes not development to meet the needs of the people, but a constant search for ways to meet the next round of debt payments. And in order to avert further social and political unrest the temptation is to fall back on more direct military control — repression of civil rights and increased military expenditure.

**"When the elephants fight, it is the grass which is trampled"**

(an African proverb)

Third World countries now annually import approximately \$25 billion in military hardware. (Ethiopia with the largest army in Africa — 300,000 men — spends about \$440 million a year.) That's money which must come out of the same pot as education, health care and rural development — as well as emergency relief programs.

As serious but less well known is the fact that a number of Third World countries, most notably

Brazil, Chile, South Korea, the Philippines, India and Pakistan, are pinning many of their hopes for industrial development on the manufacture of weaponry. Brazil each year is selling \$2 billion worth of arms and is the world's fifth largest arms exporter. While this does bring in export dollars and create some jobs, it's an extremely inefficient way to build an industrial strategy. Investing money, technology, and human skill in the military economy drains those same resources from the civilian economy. Third world countries, following the example of northern countries, have failed to ask themselves whether they wouldn't have gotten more jobs and a stronger economy by putting their scarce resources into meeting civilian needs.

The arms trade and military involvement have been further exacerbated in recent years by the super powers exporting their cold war throughout the developing world. The Soviet military support to Ethiopia of \$2.5 billion and the establishment of U.S. bases in surrounding Sudan, Somalia and Kenya is only one of the more obvious examples. U.S. military aid to the area has risen from \$51 million in 1981 to \$135 million for 1985. Foreign military aid has encouraged a regional arms race there and led to an additional drain on extremely scarce resources.

During periods of intense competition, the United States and the Soviet Union have competed with each other for "spheres of influence", or friendly and supportive relations with the governments that each of the great powers viewed as important to its own security. In securing their own interests, both countries have made little apology for supporting governments that were repressive or engaged in a war against their own people. Too often, the result has been a blockage in the natural movement of peoples to gain control of their own lands and other resources and so to adequately provide for themselves.

In 1948, George Orwell projected the cold war scenario in his nightmarish book *Nineteen Eighty-four*. In its vision the world would

never return to peacetime economics. Historically, between wars, people had been able to meet their basic economic needs. In Orwell's future, although there were no global conflicts, only "skirmishes" on the margins of the empires, people were kept artificially poor (and hence controllable) through vast, continuous, military spending.

In 1984 more than \$800 billion was spent on arms and an estimated 15 million children died from starvation and hunger-related diseases.

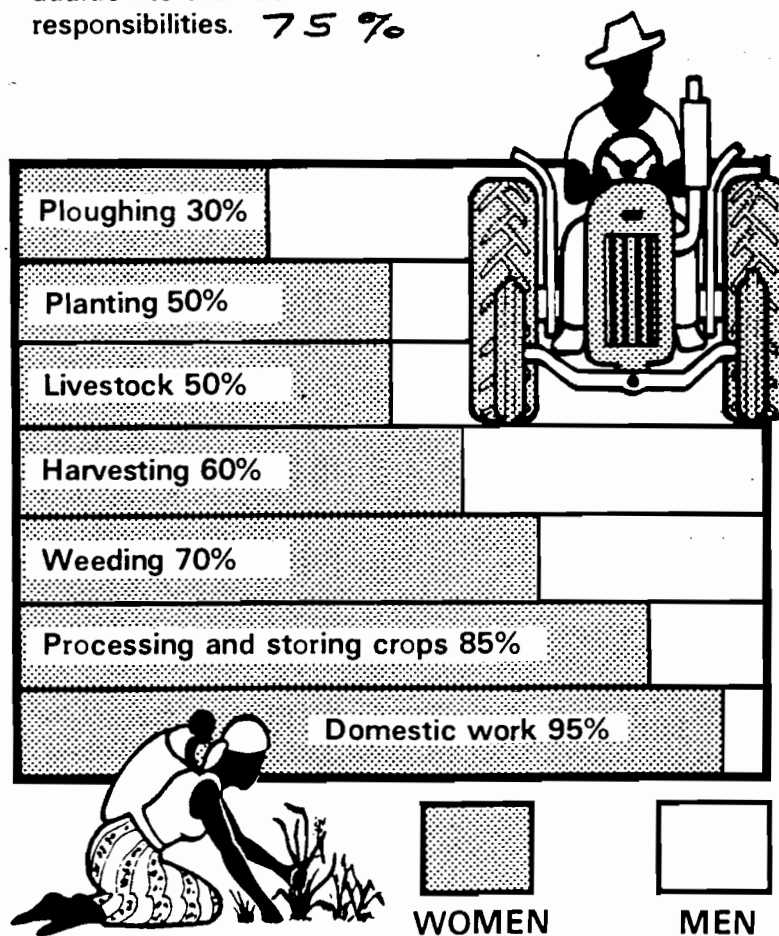
### End Results

The facts. The analyses. But today,

as anyone who watches television knows, they wear a tragically human face and it is primarily that of the rural poor. Ironically, as the non-producers (lending institutions, governments, land lords) gain greater control over the producers, it is those who actually work the land who are becoming poorer and hungrier - a phenomenon by no means restricted to the Third World. Because throughout the developing world, but particularly in Asia and Africa, women are the main food producers, it is they who are bearing the full brunt of the present situation. Often bur-

## DIVISION OF LABOUR

Women in Africa do up to three quarters of all agricultural work in addition to their domestic responsibilities. **75 %**



Women own 1% of land.

Source: UN Economic Commission for Africa.

dened with the triple task of growing subsistence crops, providing labour for cash crops, and carrying out domestic duties, they are working longer and harder - on average a sixteen hour day - and still haven't enough food for their families. Certainly until their problems are recognized and they are given the agricultural assistance they need (appropriate technology, credit schemes, guaranteed access to land), millions in the Third World will continue to go hungry.

## Aid

Unquestionably, much foreign aid and most relief aid does get to the right people at the right time and in the right place, and the mainline churches, even by independent evaluations, have a good field record. (In fact the reality of many Third World situations, especially in Latin America, is that the local "established" church is the *only* organization which is identifying strongly with the poor and responding to their needs.) Certain types of aid, however, can be a negative factor in an already negative situation.

In the early 1950s Ivan Illich, then a parish priest in Puerto Rico, refused to let his congregation accept food aid. Arguing that "the plows of the rich can do as much harm as their swords," he was convinced that it could only generate dehumanizing dependency. His predictions, for most countries which have received outside assistance, have proved alarmingly accurate.

Only 10% of the three billion dollars worth of food aid now distributed annually goes to emergency situations. (1984/85, because of the African famine, was an exception.) The other 90% often has the effect of depressing local food production. It competes with local producers, creates tastes for foreign foods which can't be grown locally, and leaves the receiving government free to ignore long term food policies. Both the European Economic Community and U.S. food aid have been criticized in recent years by inde-

pendent analysts for shaping their aid policies to get rid of their own food surpluses and open markets for their own agricultural goods.

Government-to-government military aid of the type given by France to the Mobutu Government in Zaire and the U.S. in Guatemala, is patently cynical and self-serving, given the human rights records in those countries. And contributions of even relatively disinterested countries like Canada usually have strings attached. Normally 80% of Canadian financial aid must be used to purchase Canadian goods and services - an arrangement which clearly benefits us, but may be of dubious benefit to the recipient.

If we have learned anything from the halcyon days of aid giving in the 50s and 60s, it is that the people who benefit must be intimately involved in deciding what type of project is needed and in implementing it. Unhappily this still isn't always the case and too often both governments and aid agencies opt for the quick fix, the megaproject, which leaves those most in need of assistance untouched.

It isn't finally that aid per se is a bad thing. Food aid in emergencies is absolutely vital. And massive financial injections are essential if badly deteriorated situations, like that in drought-stricken Africa, are to be turned around. The questions are rather how that aid is used and who receives it. Is it being directed at the women who are the food producers (not primarily at men), at governments with an honest record of support for the rural poor (rather than the urban elite), at small local co-operatives (rather than large corporations)? Or, in terms of alleviating global hunger, is it aid which works?

*Pat Wells is a freelance writer who lived in Lesotho for several years. She is an active member of the Burlington, Ontario Ten Days for World Development Committee.*

## Recommended viewing

"Roots of Hunger: Roots of Change" (1985) — 28 min. colour film focusing on the causes of hunger in Senegal and on the hope created by an appropriate development project in one region of the country. Highly recommended as supplement to Ten Days' program. Available from Anglican Church of Canada, 600 Jarvis Street, Toronto, Ontario M4Y 2J6 or from AVEL depots across Canada.

(addresses on this page).

"Why is Africa in Crisis?" — 28 min. video cassette. Dr. Kimpianga Mahaniah of the African Desk of the Aid Agency of the World Council of Churches, is interviewed by Rev. Rod Booth, about the basic causes of the present drought and famine in Africa. It deals with the 500 years of exploitation of the Africans — the slave trade, colonialism, land use by multinationals, etc. and suggests some solutions.

"An Interview with Susan George on 'Why People are Hungry'." In March, 1985 David Pollock, former national Ten Days fieldworker interviewed Susan George on the 1986 theme of Ten Days. This 25 minute video tape (Beta and VHS) is available on loan or for purchase (approximately \$35.) from the Human Rights Research and Education Centre, University of Ottawa, 57 Copernicus, Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6N5 (phone 613-231-3492).

## AVEL Addresses

Vancouver: - 1955 West 4th Ave.,  
V6J 1M7

Edmonton: - 4744-99 St. T6E 5H5

Winnipeg: - 120 Maryland St.,  
R3G 1L1

Toronto: - 5th Floor,  
85 St. Clair Ave. East,  
M4T 1M8

Montreal: - 3480 Decarie Blvd.,  
H4A 3J5

Sackville: - Box 1560, E0A 3C0  
St. John's: 320 Elizabeth Ave.,  
A1B 1T9  
(filmstrips only)

## Recommended action

The national action focus of the Ten Days program is directed toward encouraging Canadian government aid policies that will address the root causes of hunger. To take action on this, we recommend that you:

1. Study the articles on aid and suggestions for action in the Ten Days Leaders' Kit and action leaflets.
2. Join with others in your community in meeting with your MP to express your concerns.

# TEN DAYS PANEL DISCUSSIONS

University of Winnipeg  
Room 3C01  
7:30 p.m.

Monday, February 3, 1986

'THE EFFECTIVENESS OF FOOD AID IN DEVELOPMENT'  
Ed Tyrczniewiez - University of Manitoba - Moderator

Panel:  
Wilbert Loewen - Canadian Foodgrains Bank  
David Hutton - CIDA - Director Food Aid Coordination & Evaluation Centre  
Roy Atkinson - Former President - National Farmers' Union  
United Church Representative

Wednesday, February 5, 1986

'FAMINE: ITS CAUSES AND REMEDIES'  
CCODP designated moderator

Panel:  
Charles Elliott - Britain  
Mosi Kisari - Tanzania  
Robert Smith - Canada

Thursday, February 6, 1986

'LOCAL FOOD MARKETING SYSTEMS'  
University of Manitoba designated moderator

Panel:  
Major Food Chain Representative  
Inter-Agency Group Representative  
Olga Foltz - Manitoba Anti-Poverty Organization  
Ken Murdoch - Social Planning Council of Winnipeg

## University of Manitoba Council Chambers

11:30 a.m. — 1:30 p.m.

MONDAY FEB. 3	TUESDAY FEB. 4	WEDNESDAY FEB. 5	THURSDAY FEB. 6	FRIDAY FEB. 7	MONDAY FEB. 10	TUESDAY FEB. 11
'CHRISTIAN RESPONSE TO HUNGER'	'MILITARISM AND HUNGER'	'WOMEN AS FOOD PRODUCERS'	'WHY IS THERE HUNGER in CANADA?'	'HUNGER in AFRICA'	'FROM FAITH TO ACTION IN BRAZIL'	'WHY IS THERE HUNGER- AND WHAT CAN WE DO ABOUT IT?'
Panel:  World Evangelical Students Fellowship  Canadian Lutheran World Relief  Catholic Committee on Development and Peace	Focus on CENTRAL AMERICA  Film and Discussion	Speaker: Darlene Henderson  Film: 'Half the World's People'  Discussion	Speaker: Doug Martindale	Discussion	Film and Discussion	Speakers: R.A. Gallop (Plant Science)  John Loxley (Economics)
FORUM AFRICA - PRAIRIES To be aired on VPW - Channel 13 - January 27, 1986					SPONSORS:  Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship Salvaide Student Christian Movement United Church Chaplain Orthodox Christian Fellowship Lutheran Student Movement Inter-National Students Organization	



# Focus on Resources

Tim Anna

-University of Manitoba-Department of History  
"Central America-Foreign Debt and its Link to Malnutrition"  
474-8451 or 474-9613

Rev. Joseph Bissessar

-Former Moderator of Guyana Presbyterian Church 772-6324

Dr. Judith Campbell

-Slides-"Medical Program of Feeding Centre in Ethiopia 1985"  
947-1517 or 489-4839

George Harris

-University of Manitoba-Department of Agricultural Economics-"Aid and Development" 474-9436

Darlene Henderson

-MCIC and National Farmers' Union  
"Women in Agriculture and Development" 453-6231

Zeeba Loxley

-Idea Centre-"South Africa-Hunger in a Land of Plenty" 477-0064

John Loxley

-University of Manitoba-Department of Economics-"Effectiveness of Food Aid" 474-9274 or 474-9207

Strini Reddy

-Chairperson of Anti-Apartheid in Manitoba/Co-ordinator of Manitoba Coalition of Organizations Against Apartheid-"How Apartheid Affects Hunger" 269-8833 or 775-9741

Eric Rempel

-Mennonite Central Committee-Audio/Visual-"Root Causes of Ethiopian Famine" 475-3550

Gustav Sevenhuysen

-University of Manitoba-Foods and Nutrition Department-Slides "Organization of Refugee Camps in Ethiopia" and "General Nutrition Issues in Africa" 474-9554

Len Siemens

-University of Manitoba-Faculty of Agriculture-"Famine Caused by Soil Degradation" 474-8278

Sari Tudiver

-MCIC-"Women and Development/International Health Issues" 453-3494

Ed Tyrczniewiez

-University of Manitoba-Faculty of Agriculture-"Effectiveness of Food Aid" 474-9801

Mavis Webb

-South American YWCA International Development Committee-"Food Programs in South America" Slides 774-1846

Susan White

-Oxfam Canada-Slides-Northern Ethiopia/Eritrea and Tigray-"Drought, War and Famine"-Mozambique and Angola 452-9382

"Conventional wisdom" focuses on the victims of hunger and always sees them as people lacking something — food and money, of course, but also technology, skills, knowledge (and, in the worst cases, even intelligence). What if, on the contrary, we regarded these millions of poor people as a rich national resource who lack only power, the power to control their own environments and the circumstances of their lives? By up-ending it, we shall discover that the problem of hunger is not one of technology or organization but of politics; morally, the issue is not charity, but justice.

— Susan George from  
*Ill fares the land:*  
essays on food,  
hunger, and power

*The weather does not create disaster for the world's poorest people. The weather does no more than tip the balance for people already living on the brink of survival.*

From *Cultivating Hunger: An Oxfam Study of Food, Power & Poverty* by Nigel Twose

*In food systems dedicated to eliminating labor, poor people are a drag on the economy, not the asset they would be if labor-intensive food systems were designed. World capitalism would prefer that such "useless" people disappear — at present, starvation is one avenue towards this end.*

— Susan George from  
*Ill fares the land:*  
essays on food,  
hunger, and power

## ARTICLES

- 35** FOUR WAYS TO WALK A DOG      MICHAEL LENEHAN  
Canines are highly qualified for the position of man's best friend, though the on-the-job training takes time. Professional dog trainers disagree—sometimes bitterly—about which methods work best, and why. But all assume that where dogs are concerned, man can play God, and should.

- 100** DO WE NEED TO BE NO. 1?      DAVID M. GORDON  
Not according to the author, who believes that the United States should shun foreign-trade policies designed to restore the nation's global dominance. Our goals instead should be economic self-sufficiency and a gradual disengagement from the capricious world economy.

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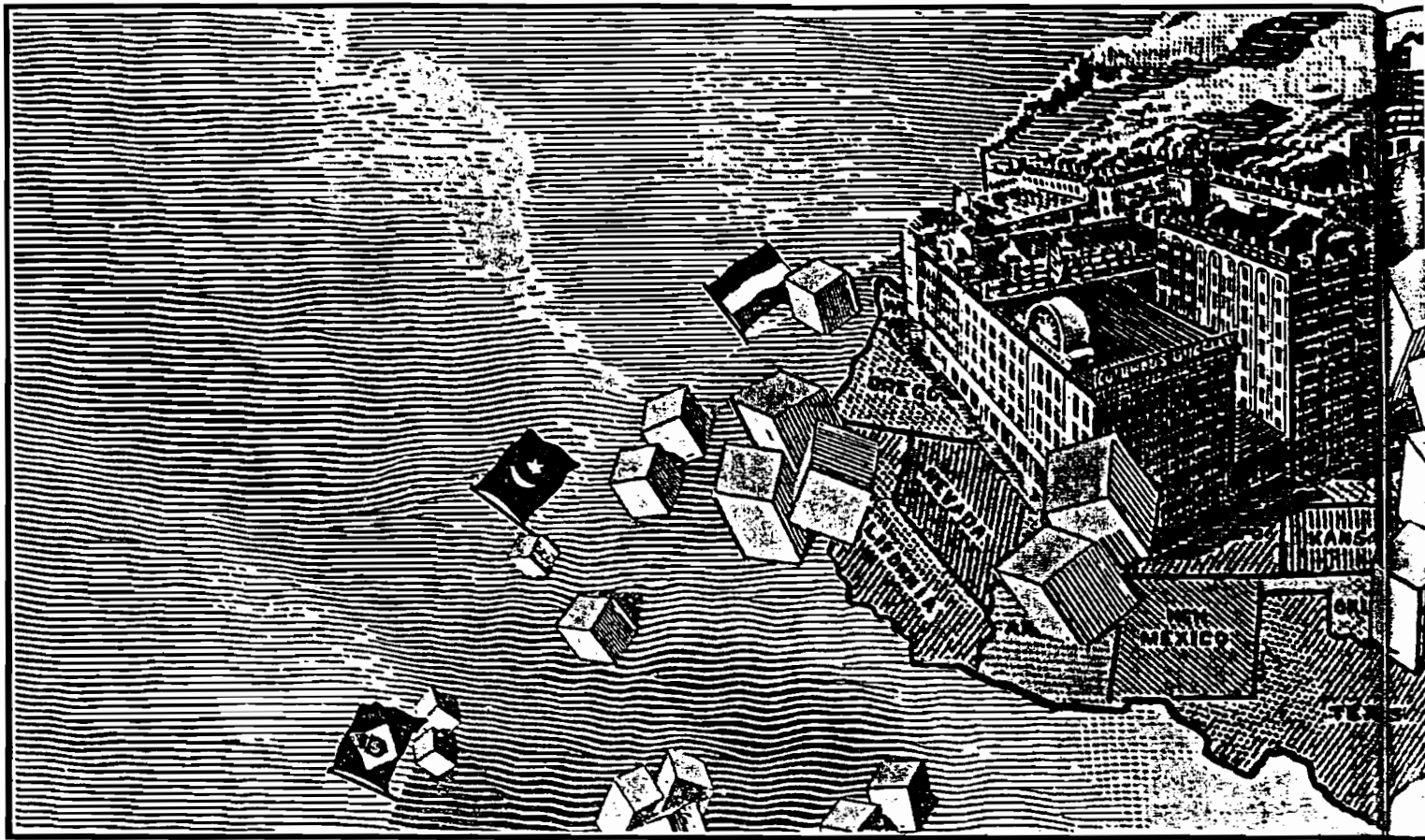
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*An argument for a trade policy that would seek to  
insulate the U.S. economy from the pressures of the world economy*

## DO WE NEED TO BE NO. 1?

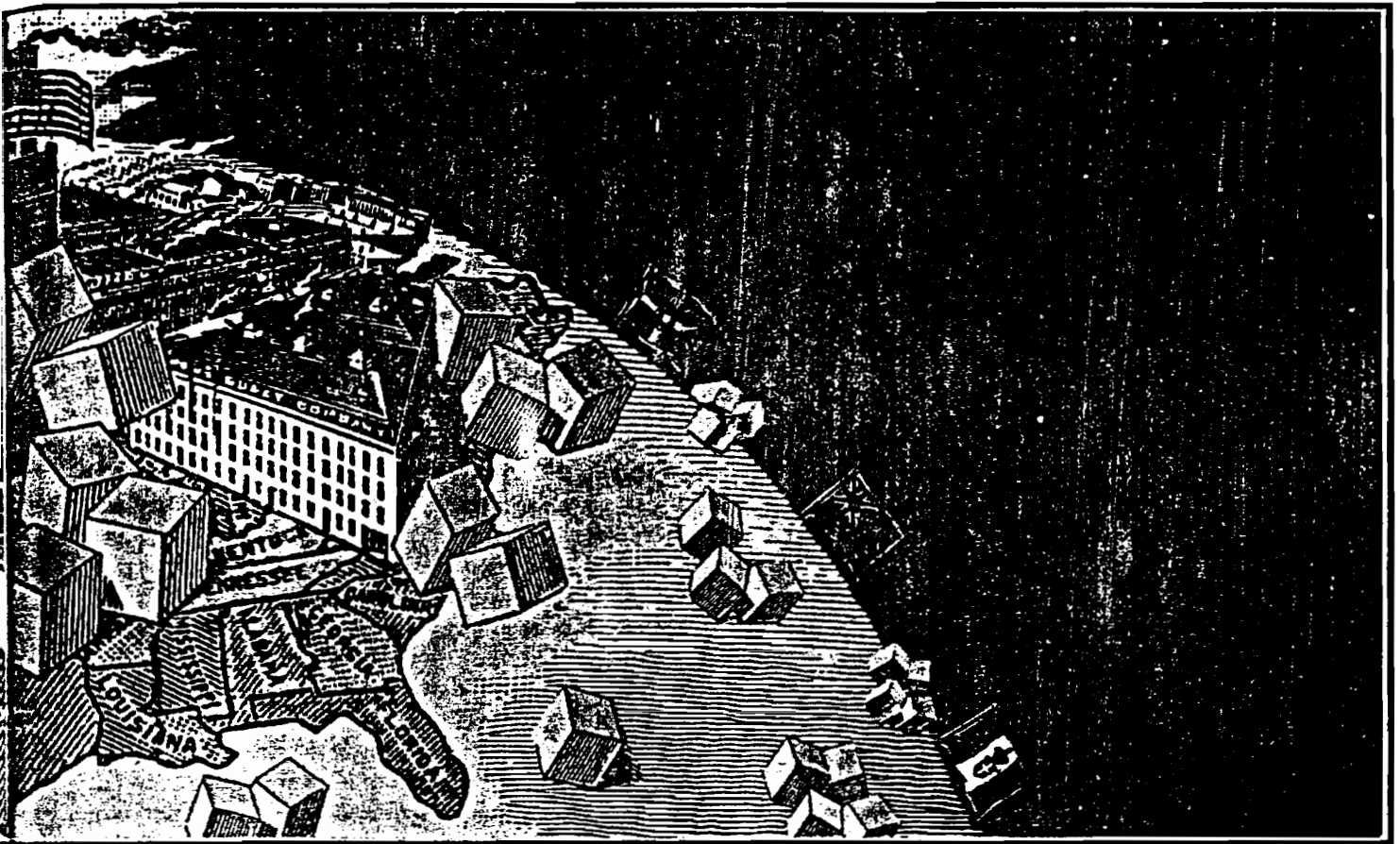
BY DAVID M. GORDON

JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES RECALLED IN 1933 THAT, LIKE most Englishmen, he had been brought up "to respect free trade not only as an economic doctrine . . . but almost as a part of the moral law. I regarded ordinary departures from it as being at the same time an imbecility and an outrage." And yet, Keynes went on, he was now firmly of another opinion on the matter. He had come to sympathize "with those who would minimize, rather than with those who would maximize, economic entanglement among nations." Britain should aim to be its own master. A policy of increased national self-sufficiency, he wrote, "is to be considered, not as an ideal in itself, but as directed to the creation of an environment in which other ideals can be safely and conveniently pursued."

In the United States of the 1980s, with the foreign-trade issue moving to center stage, Keynes's words are worth bearing in mind. Political attention to foreign economic policy is warranted and probably overdue, because the glo-

bal economy has been casting longer and more-threatening shadows across the United States for several years. The terms of the current debate, however, are fundamentally misleading. The political airwaves reverberate with the conflict between free trade and protectionism, but that is a false and outmoded choice. Another, more basic choice about foreign economic policy has been overlooked: Should the United States sponsor foreign-trade policies designed to restore U.S. global dominance? Or should we reduce our dependence on a capricious global economy, concentrating on putting our own house in order without seeking to be number one in world trade?

I shall argue that we should not seek and do not need to be number one. Strategies that pursue international primacy not only are economically unreliable but also pose a political threat to democracy at home and peace abroad. We should begin instead to work toward greater independence from the world economy, seeking self-sufficiency not so



much for its own sake but, as Keynes concluded, in order to provide wider domestic room for political maneuver—opening the space for efforts to forge greater security, democracy, and equality at home.

But first, why are the current terms of debate—free trade versus protectionism—so wide of the mark?

Free trade remains the standard by which many policy proposals are judged, even though they often include interventionist elements. The rhetoric of free trade still appeals powerfully to President Reagan, despite his Administration's recent policy shifts from a strong free-trade emphasis to modest policy intervention seeking export promotion and dollar devaluation. Witness some representative presidential hyperbole from late 1985:

Our trade policy rests firmly on the foundation of free and open markets, free trade. I, like you, recognize the inescapable conclusion that all of history has taught: the freer the flow of world trade, the stronger the tides for human progress and peace among nations.

The logic of the free-trade argument is straightforward: market exchange works best when markets are most open and competitive. Any barriers impeding the international movement of goods, services, capital, and workers—whether tariffs or quotas—will only undermine the effective discipline of market competition, reducing productive efficiency or raising prices or both. It is in everyone's interest, both domestically and internationally, to let the invis-

ble hand of the market pull the strings no matter what the results—whether a Youngstown or a Singapore.

To generations schooled in neoclassical economics free trade sounds like an irresistible and probably irrefutable idea. (Who could possibly be against access to less expensive shoes?) But pure free-trade policies, which are still used as the intellectual benchmark of the debate, suffer from two critical flaws.

First, free trade is an idea whose time comes primarily whenever a single nation dominates the global political economy. As one expression of laissez-faire economics, free trade reached its first ideological apogee during the decades of Pax Britannica—the peak period of British dominance of the world economy, in the mid-nineteenth century. Britain, because no other nations could yet contest with it economically, richly benefited from the free circulation of goods within the Empire and beyond. In his magisterial survey of economic thought and ideology Joseph Schumpeter wrote:

The superiority of England's industry in 1840 was unchallengeable for the calculable future. And this superiority had everything to gain from cheaper raw materials and foodstuffs. These were no delusions: so satisfied was the nation with what it took to be the results of this policy that criticism was almost silenced until the depression of the eighties.

Given the historical parallels between the respective periods of British and U.S. global dominance, it is little

wonder that the rhetoric of free trade gained such a strong foothold in the United States following the Second World War. "Like *Aequilibrium Britannicum* before it," Michael Moffitt concluded in *The World's Money*, "*Aequilibrium Americanum* depended upon the political, economic and military power of the United States." Indeed, the U.S. share of global industrial production in 1950, according to the best available data, was higher than the British share in 1850. Whether under British or under American auspices, free-trade policies exploited the pliancy and economic subordination of colonies and junior trading partners, which were effectively forced to tolerate the open circulation of advantaged and highly attractive imperial goods.

That kind of international domination is now all but irretrievably lost. The modern world has nearly 200 nation-states. A number of countries, particularly those in northern Europe, now rival the United States in per capita income and are fast gaining on it in worker productivity. Several countries or blocs of nations, including Japan, the Soviet Union, and the Common Market, have begun to compete with the United States in absolute economic size and muscle. In the modern international political economy, barring a miraculous restoration of U.S. global hegemony (more on this possibility later) it is unrealistic to expect other nations to tolerate free circulation of U.S. exports if that does not advance their own economic interests.

Those seem, for better or worse, to be the prevailing political realities. The second flaw in pure free-trade policies is an economic one. The U.S. economy has been losing its advantaged position for decades, not just over the past several years of soaring dollar values. From 1950 to 1979, for example, the U.S. economy's share of total world trade declined from 17 percent to 11 percent, while the combined Japanese and Common Market shares doubled, rising from 17 to 34 percent. One of the most important reasons for this declining advantage has been lagging U.S. productivity growth. From 1960 to 1979, to focus on the period immediately preceding the rapid rise of the dollar, the ratio of U.S. manufacturing productivity to that of our leading competitors fell by 40 percent; in contrast, the same ratio for Japanese manufacturing increased by 150 percent. Pure free-trade policies would do nothing to reverse this erosion of comparative advantage—except foster the hope that the pressures of competition will somehow induce U.S. firms to try harder.

But there is little reason to believe that increasing market competition, by itself, will reverse the relative productivity decline of the U.S. economy. For example, the erosion of relative U.S. manufacturing productivity was just as rapid in the years from 1973 to 1979, when the institution of free exchange rates intensified international competitive pressures, as it had been in the previous period of fixed exchange rates, in the 1960s and early 1970s. Unfettered competition leads to great uncertainty about the future, leaving many firms reluctant to make long-term investments in their future productivity—as long as the future looks so unpredictable.

Furthermore, as exports continue to slump and the trade deficit widens, total demand for U.S. products lags. This leads to lower levels of exploitation of existing plants and equipment and, other things being equal, to even feebleness productivity growth—since firms use less effectively what they already have in place. (This effect has been particularly sharp since 1979, as soaring dollar values have compounded our trade deficits.) Our productivity problems are amplified, not resolved.

In the meantime, while free-traders wait for the pressures of competition to spur U.S. business initiative, other governments are providing investment subsidies, aid in market promotion, selective protection from international competition, and support for research and development, and their industries are exploring new products and technologies. "As a result," a recent *Business Week* editorial observed, "many businessmen and members of Congress feel strongly that the U.S. is increasingly a free-trade patsy in a world of protectionist pickpockets."

In short, if government policy promotes nothing more than free trade and open markets, the U.S. economy is likely to experience continuing trade deficits, a loss of employment, and cyclical instability. If it responds simply with intermittent dollar devaluation, that will add substantially to inflationary pressures and make financing the federal deficit increasingly difficult. These arguments do not close the book on the free-trade approach, since it needs to be compared with its alternatives. But they do suggest that it has serious political and economic weaknesses. "Market principles and forces have to be used," Lester C. Thurow concluded in his recent book, *The Zero-Sum Solution*, "but 'leaving it to the market' is a recipe for failure." And while we wait, many voters will, not surprisingly, rebel against the harsh side-effects of free-trade medicine.

This likelihood, of course, makes the protectionist response politically salient. The strongest advocates of protectionism are those most politically sensitive to the plight of U.S. workers displaced by intensifying foreign competition. Whether through higher trade tariffs or actual quotas on foreign imports, pure protectionist policies are short-term efforts to cushion the blows of international economic combat.

The fundamental problem with protectionism, as many free-traders repeatedly insist, is that the harsh realities will not go away. If anything, they are likely to grow harsher as a result of protectionist initiatives.

This short-sightedness seems fairly obvious along the economic front. If U.S. industries are disabled because of increasing competitive disadvantage, protecting them from international competition without establishing other policy supports will very probably compound the disadvantages over time. Afflicted U.S. industries are likely to stand still while their foreign competitors race ahead. "In short," the Brookings economist Charles Schultze argues, "we will be strongly encouraging these protected industries to become even more uncompetitive than they are now."

The political problems seem likewise self-evident. If we move toward more-restrictive trade policies, what is to prevent our chief competitors from copying us? What is to guarantee that our temporary trade-balance gains in reduced imports will not be swamped by our subsequent losses in exports? What is to prevent an increasingly generalized trade war from leading to sharp contractions in international trade and to an increasingly general economic slump?

THE CHOICE BETWEEN FREE TRADE AND PROTECTIONISM is hardly inviting. (This may explain why the critical arguments on both sides of the debate sound more persuasive than the constructive proposals.) In the end, both positions have an intrinsic flaw: they treat only the symptoms of America's troubles in the global economy. Both play a waiting game: free-traders ask us to wait for that promised moment when open markets and perfect international competition will finally whip us into competitive shape; protectionists ask us to wait, period.

Fortunately, these are not our only choices. Their superficiality has driven many people to consider more-basic solutions to our international economic problems. Two schools of thought have emerged that share a determination to change the nature of our economy's links to the global economy. One seeks to deepen our international involvement through aggressive efforts to restore U.S. power in the global economy, the other to reduce that involvement through increasing domestic independence and increasingly cooperative international economic relations. Each asks not how we can transform our needs to suit international economic pressures but rather how we can transform those international economic pressures to suit our needs.

The first of these two alternatives, which I shall call the Staying on Top strategy, after the book of that title by the conservative analyst Kevin Phillips, has begun to occupy a position at the center of the political spectrum. It proposes what Phillips calls a "strategy of industrial competitiveness."

The Staying on Top strategy relies heavily on export promotion and the promise of America's growing high-tech industries. (President Reagan, despite his disavowals, is moving toward this strategy and away from pure free-trade policies, with his recent promises of selective export supports.) Domestically the strategy would mean active government intervention to promote public planning and coordination which would foster large-scale capital investments, research and development, marketing, and export expansion. Internationally it would mean aggressive responses to other governments' protectionism and export subsidies, and attempts to out-hustle and outbid them for markets and favors. Preoccupied with Japanese success in world markets, the Staying on Top strategists would have us emulate Japan through intensive business-

government cooperation. "In fact," Kevin Phillips observed, "fierce debate over and reaction to the Japanese challenge are probably a precondition of our economic mobilization." Whether expressed in old phrases or in the language of "new ideas," this general approach is attractive to younger politicians in both parties—the Gary Harts, Bill Bradleys, and Richard Gephardt among the Democrats, and proponents of the Conservative Opportunity Society among House Republicans.

There is a considerable range of emphases within this general approach—from sophisticated trade planning to pugnacious jingoism. But a common thread runs through almost all recent discussions within this camp: a determination to restore the United States as the dominant power in the global economy. The strategy presupposes that the interests of U.S. citizens are tied to the relative international strength of the U.S. economy. It takes for granted what the *Business Week* Team, writing in *The Reindustrialization of America*, termed a "fundamental correlation between the nation's strength as a trader in an increasingly interdependent world economy, its domestic prosperity, and the augmented political influence that a competitive economy will enable the United States to exert around the world." Aggressive images of competition permeate the discussion. Even an egalitarian like Lester Thurow can lapse into the language of the high school locker room or the war-room council table: "To be successful in the world market a country must organize itself to win," Thurow argued in *The Zero-Sum Solution*. "From now on Americans will have to learn how to invade foreign markets with exports from America." And Phillips called for the "emotional equivalent of war." He wrote:

A genuine confrontation . . . may now be in the offing for the United States: the challenge of reestablishing our global economic primacy, and doing so in a world very greatly changed from the era of comfortable American trade and industrial leadership that obtained before Vietnam.

A SECOND POSSIBLE STRATEGY WOULD PROMOTE A transition away from domestic dependence on the global economy and toward international cooperation with our friends and allies abroad. Rather than aiming to beggar our neighbors, it would concentrate on tending our own front yard—so I call it the Front Yard strategy. To many readers the very idea may seem archaic, a relic of nineteenth-century visions of isolation and insulation from an unknown and threatening world, but that is not an accurate view. The Front Yard strategy does not propose mindless protectionism. It would pursue more-effective domestic production of necessities—such as energy, clothing, and transportation—not indulgent succor of backward industries. And it would take full account of the technical achievements of the modern age. For, indeed, modern developments make economic self-sufficiency more plausible and attractive, not less so.



The initial, short-term steps dictated by the Front Yard strategy are these:

- Chart the sectors of the economy that are experiencing the most rapid increases in foreign imports, and explore concrete domestic alternatives to those imports—for example, federal subsidies for developing conservation and renewable-energy alternatives to imported oil.
- Negotiate trade agreements that not only aim at reductions in tariffs but also seek multilateral treaties allocating imports and exports for each nation participating. At the moment we have few such agreements, and those we have are largely obsolete. We need, in effect, to update the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), first negotiated nearly forty years ago, through either a new general treaty or a set of bilateral or multilateral agreements.
- Establish programs during the transition to a Front Yard economy which are aimed at cushioning the costs of adjustment for U.S. workers in affected industries, emulating (for example) the Japanese program for “structurally depressed industries.”
- Adopt specific proposals such as recently debated legislation for a domestic-content requirement for automobiles. Such measures are less protectionist than quotas, because they both encourage production in the United States—under domestic-content legislation foreign firms would be mandated to invest and produce in the United States—and expose U.S. enterprises to the best of foreign technical and managerial practice. (This proposal, despite widespread sponsorship in the House, has effectively been stalled by opposition in the Senate and by diffuse free-trade skepticism.)
- Institute plant-closing legislation that would to some degree protect workers against the sudden flight of capital abroad, by making advance notification and indemnification provisions for plant shutdowns and sudden shifts of investment abroad, and by removing current tax incentives for domestic firms to invest abroad.

These are only short-term steps. The Staying on Top and Front Yard strategies differ most profoundly in their long-term objectives for foreign economic policy.

**T**HE FIRST DIFFERENCE CONCERNS PRODUCTIVITY growth. The two strategies agree that faster growth of domestic productivity is the best possible response to the international economic challenge, and both criticize free-traders and protectionists alike for failing to address the underlying sources of slow productivity growth in the U.S. economy. But the two strategies sharply diverge over how to speed up productivity growth.

The Front Yard strategy builds upon what my colleagues and I call “wage-led productivity growth,” which would strengthen the whole economy by promoting fuller employment, wage growth, and wage equalization. This strategy would speed up productivity growth by creating more customers for business, by pressuring corporations to make more-efficient use of their increasingly costly labor

force, and by giving workers more of a stake in the way their companies and the broader economy perform. These objectives could be pursued through the medium term by policies aimed at, for example, faster economic growth, the creation of a public-jobs program, labor-law reform to reduce barriers to unionization, a substantial increase in the minimum wage, and legislation to require equal pay for jobs of comparable worth.

Staying on Top strategists, in sharp contrast, can hardly be accused of advocating higher wages. When confronted with the prospect of U.S. workers’ having to accept lower-wage employment, they respond with analytic diffidence, arguing that lower, more-flexible wages are good for the economy—if not for the workers who earn them. High-tech entrepreneurs are now some of the most passionate opponents of labor unions in the United States. A *Business Week* feature on the “new corporate elite” noted, “With the exception of corporate rejuvenators who have inherited unions, virtually everyone else in the service and high-tech areas will do anything to keep organized labor out.”

This important difference between the strategies is not simply over the justice of higher or lower wages; much more critically, it is over the most effective strategy for increasing economic efficiency. Improving international competitiveness depends on changes in unit labor costs—which are a product of both wage costs and labor productivity—and not just on changes in relative wage levels. One can therefore seek to improve the competitive position of U.S. industries through efforts to reduce wage growth or to increase productivity growth. My colleagues Samuel Bowles and Thomas E. Weisskopf and I have argued not only that rapid productivity growth helps create room for continuing wage growth but also, more important, that rapid wage growth and wage equalization can help foster productivity growth and actually improve the competitive position of the United States. Since rapid wage growth and wage equalization would benefit the vast majority of Americans, wage-led productivity growth has great potential political appeal. But where would the money to finance both wage growth and more rapid investment come from? In our book, *Beyond the Waste Land*, we argue that both investment and wage growth could be financed by the dividends provided by a more stable high-growth economy.

In the current anti-union political climate these arguments may seem counterintuitive. But historical experience suggests that they are plausible. The example of a number of European countries in the postwar period, it can be argued, indicates that rapid wage growth can help stimulate rapid productivity growth, and therefore that rapid wage growth accompanied by rapid productivity growth is consistent with significant increases in an economy’s shares of world production and trade. Even in the postwar United States there have been short periods when rapid wage growth has been consistent with improving international competitiveness. From 1960 to 1966, for example, real hourly earnings in U.S. manufacturing rose at an

average annual rate of 3.1 percent a year—fructiferous growth compared with the actual decline in real hourly earnings from 1978 to 1984. Those rapid wage gains did not keep the relative competitiveness of U.S. manufacturing firms, measured by their relative unit labor costs, from improving over those same six years—at an average annual rate of 2.6 percent. How was that possible? Productivity growth was more rapid than wage growth, and the difference was greater for us than for our competitors.

There is more than a simple coincidence of numbers in these experiences. When workers are faced with demands for wage concessions and threats of job loss, they commonly resist efforts at improving productivity through either technological change or work reorganization. But when offered job security and promises of stable wage growth in the proper management climate, they can actually take the initiative in spurring productivity growth. At the huge, reorganized auto-assembly plant in Fremont, California, for example, the new (joint) Toyota-General Motors management team has provided contractual guarantees of job security which are the strongest in the U.S. auto industry, substantial increases in fringe benefits, and advance consultation with workers on layoffs, production-schedule changes, and major investments (wages themselves are protected at prevailing U.S. industry-wide union scales). Workers have responded enthusiastically to the changes in the work climate, cooperating through work teams to try to improve the quality and the speed of output. The key is the workers' stake in the future of the enterprise. Bruce Lee, the union regional director, concludes, "We've ensured that the positive attitude and commitment [management] expects from our members is matched by respect for and attention to the needs and desires of the workers."

But aren't U.S. workers' wages too high in any case? Critics often point their fingers at the U.S. auto and steel industries, in which production workers' wages are arguably the highest in the world. Don't these two examples demonstrate the risks of rapid wage growth? In fact it appears that poor management strategy, not excessive workers' wages, was the principal long-term cause of the erosion of those industries' international positions. Ira C. Magaziner and Robert B. Reich concluded in *Minding America's Business* that "the U.S. steel industry's underlying assumptions about the steel business prevented it from making the aggressive investments in modernization that were needed to match the pace of Japanese investment." Especially in recent years, lagging relative productivity, not rising relative wages, has been the chief problem in both industries. For example, U.S. auto workers' real average hourly wages declined by more than five percent from 1978 to 1984, while real earnings for their Japanese counterparts increased by nearly nine percent. Why did the cost advantages of Japanese cars improve so dramatically over this period? Japanese productivity continued to increase while U.S. productivity stagnated. And the rising value of the dollar relative to the yen added another 14 percent to the cost advantages of imported cars.

A SECOND DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE STAYING ON Top and Front Yard strategies involves plotting our trade targets. Staying on Top strategists argue in favor of accepting increasing international economic interdependence as a fact of modern life and of expanding exports to the rest of the world, while Front Yard strategists propose that we begin a slow transition toward greater economic self-sufficiency in those goods and services we need most.

Some statistics can help clarify how the strategies differ. In 1966 imports totaled 4.9 percent of the gross national product, exports 5.5 percent. By 1984 the import share had doubled to 9.8 percent while the export share was lagging at 8.9 percent, resulting in a net goods-and-services trade deficit, in 1984 dollars, of \$64.2 billion. The Staying on Top strategy would have us close the widening gap between imports and exports through aggressive efforts to increase the rate of growth of exports while tolerating the continuing growth in imports. The Front Yard strategy, in contrast, calls for reducing both the export and the import share over the long term, while reducing the import share by a somewhat wider margin. The former strategy would reinforce the trend toward increasing trade dependence; the latter would reverse it.

In one sense, the difference between the two approaches reflects little more than a difference in time horizon and orientation. Take the case of imported oil and the aftermath of the OPEC price hikes of 1973 and 1979. One response to the immediately higher costs of imports was to seek compensating increases in our exports—searching vigorously for commodities such as grain, arms, and computers for which we could find new markets abroad. Another approach could have placed a higher priority than the government did during the 1970s on reducing our dependence on imported oil—through invigorated energy-conservation programs and an emphasis on locally available and renewable sources of energy like solar and geothermal power. The former strategy might work over the short term but is likely to lose effectiveness over the longer term, because international markets and prices periodically shift. The latter strategy has clear promise for both the short and the long term, because it would more or less permanently lessen our demand for a substance that is a significant component of our import bill. The former would require that we continually adjust to unexpected shocks from beyond our borders. The latter would gradually reduce our exposure to such shocks.

More generally, the two strategies reflect quite different evaluations of the characteristics of world trade and world markets. Staying on Top strategists tout the benefits of international trade and often, though they are hardly pure free-traders, argue the comparative advantages of adjusting to world prices and supplies. But we should not necessarily allow our lives to be dictated by prices and supplies elsewhere—as if they were some magic measure of productive efficiency. The unit labor costs of imported goods may sometimes be lower because of more efficient produc-

tion practices (as is now true of some Japanese goods) or because of lower standards of living. But they may also be lower because those goods are produced or extracted under authoritarian regimes where workers have few or no rights. Should U.S. citizens unequivocally embrace the lower-cost goods produced in South Korea, where trade unions are reduced to chattel organizations? We need to discriminate carefully among the sources of low-cost imports. When imported goods are less expensive because of more effective production techniques, as with many Japanese goods, we should respond by improving our domestic production. But when imported goods are less expensive because of limits on workers' wages and bargaining rights, we should think carefully about the appropriate response.

Trade decisions are intrinsically political. If we practice free trade by allowing perfect access to goods produced anywhere, then we run the risk of corroding our own democratic institutions by exposing U.S. workers to the lowest common denominator of foreign competition. Pressures can grow to reduce workers' access to trade unions, to narrow unions' and workers' rights to influence workplace conditions, to expose workers to hazardous working conditions. U.S. workers already have fewer rights than unionized workers in northern Europe (which has outcompeted us for years). Indiscriminate responses to import competition, such as blanket reductions in wages and benefits, can only make matters worse.

The proper response is not to exclude every commodity produced under distasteful conditions but to plan foreign-trade needs and opportunities. We must constantly weigh the trade-offs between access to inexpensive commodities and the political and social implications of that access. Where the trade-off is most unfavorable to our democratic institutions and our standard of living, we should seek to reduce our dependence on those foreign commodities—not simply by excluding them but by improving the quality or reducing the costs of substitutes produced at home. We should not allow politics or poverty abroad to dictate our politics at home.

But doesn't economic logic require that each country specialize in the production of commodities in which it has a special comparative advantage? Up to this point I have argued that such advantages are contingent, subject to continual re-evaluation and, if necessary for political reasons, alteration. But an additional point is pertinent here: One of the chief implications of rapid technological change is that it continually narrows the "rooted" geographic variations among nations in their potential productivity. Climatic differences can often be transcended. The increasing potential of renewable energy sources reduces the importance of fixed deposits of minerals. Computer technology can help to diffuse the potential for advanced technological production. More and more of what matters in labor productivity can be reproduced almost anywhere.

What counts, again, is unit labor cost. If we apply our vast economic wealth to continual productive investments, providing our workers with the most advanced

equipment possible, we can improve the relative productivity of American manufacturing without increasing the costs of our goods to U.S. consumers. And through careful strategic planning we can gradually increase the percentage of consumed goods and services that we produce domestically, reducing our exposure to insidious political and economic pressures, transmitted through international markets, from oppressive regimes and poor countries. A staff report of the Committee on Energy and Commerce of the U.S. House of Representatives recently concluded,

The final major goal of international economic policy involves the question of national sovereignty. . . . While realism requires flexibility in the face of international competition, the U.S. cannot agree to abandon its standard of living or its traditional commitment to restrain exploitation of child labor, preserve the health of its workforce, protect its environment, provide retired, unemployed, or handicapped citizens with an adequate level income. . . . If we permit ourselves to become locked into the competitive "race to the bottom" we will inevitably lose control over the most basic social and political aspects of our national life.

THE THIRD PRINCIPAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE Staying on Top and Front Yard strategies involves our priorities in relationships with other nations and people abroad. History should have taught us by now that the aggressive pursuit of foreign economic advantage can easily compromise the pursuit of international peace. Keynes put it delicately when he wrote, in the 1930s,

It does not now seem obvious that a great concentration of national effort on the capture of foreign trade, that the penetration of a country's economic structure by the resources and the influence of foreign capitalists, and that a close dependence of our own economic life on the fluctuating economic policies of foreign countries are safeguards and assurances of international peace. It is easier, in the light of experience and foresight, to argue quite the contrary.

The imperatives of neither experience nor foresight have changed since the 1930s. The neo-conservative thinker Irving Kristol was candid about the connections between economic and military policy in a 1979 article:

The 1980s will see a disintegrating international order in which economic growth is going to be extraordinarily difficult to achieve. . . . It will therefore have to be an overriding goal of American foreign policy to help shape this world. . . . What will be relevant is an American foreign policy in which power, and the readiness to use it boldly, will play a far more central role than has ever before been the case in our history. . . . Our economic growth will henceforth be as dependent on our foreign policy as on our economic policy. . . . Today it is military rearmament that is the first priority, economic as well as political.

Obviously, considering the historical experience of the twentieth century, reduced dependence on foreign trade would promote peaceful international relations better than

would an aggressive pursuit of foreign markets and favored trading relations. These conclusions will remain mere pieties, however, unless they are coupled with policies that will alter the calculus of foreign-trade advantage. If we value the quest for peace, then we should also reduce the economic interests—yours and mine and our neighbors’—that are vested in taking advantage of lower costs and attractive resources around the globe. Do some Americans lust for the restoration of privileged access to bounteous Middle Eastern oil fields? Then we should intensify our efforts to conserve domestic energy and develop renewable-energy alternatives. Without such efforts international peace remains vulnerable to potential conflicts in the oil-rich Persian Gulf, which the Carter Doctrine commits us to defend.

**T**HE STAYING ON TOP AND FRONT YARD STRATEGIES can both be distinguished from free-trade strategies, because both favor government intervention to shape our links to international markets. Neither is purely protectionist, because each would improve the relative economic attractiveness of U.S.-manufactured goods and not merely protect endangered species. Neither is more ambitious or more practical than the other, for both propose major transformations in the shape of our foreign economic policy. Of the two, the Front Yard strategy seems preferable, for the three reasons I have argued.

And yet many people have become so accustomed to the language if not the logic of free trade or export promotion that the arguments in favor of the Front Yard strategy may seem beside the point. What about the U.S. consumer? Won't any interference with the market raise the costs to the U.S. consumer? Won't reduced trade dependence ruin him? Won't somebody have to pay the price of transition to the Front Yard economy?

First, the Front Yard strategy, like the Staying on Top strategy but unlike simple protectionism, aims primarily to reduce the cost attractiveness of foreign imports by improving the competitiveness of domestically produced goods, not to prevent U.S. consumers from buying them. Unless one believes that there is no way public policy can help improve the productivity of U.S. enterprise—a notion that would amuse the Japanese—the most important choice we face is not between consumers' costs and workers' jobs or wages, since more-rapid productivity growth would help both, but how best to strengthen our domestic economic foundations.

Second, free-traders' repeated alarms about consumer choice often suggest that U.S. workers and consumers are somehow two entirely different groups, with sharply conflicting interests. But mostly they are the same people. Suppose that import competition lowers the average cost of living to consumers by two percent. But suppose further

that we respond to it by forcing or tolerating a decline in the average worker's earnings by two percent. The average worker is no better off than before. (From 1979 to 1984, while the shift to imports helped bring down the rate of inflation, private nonfarm nonsupervisory employees, who make up five sixths of all U.S. private nonfarm employees, witnessed a *decline* in the real purchasing power of their earnings of 2.7 percent.) The only people who are better off are those consumers whose earnings are not sensitive to import competition.

But—and this raises a third point—how long can even the most insulated earners and consumers continue to prosper while other workers join the unemployment lines? It is worth recalling a legendary exchange between a Ford Motor Company plant manager and Walter Reuther, the longtime president of the United Auto Workers. The manager was boasting about his newly automated plant: "Well, Reuther, how are you going to collect dues from these machines?" Reminding the manager of his firm's dependence on consumer purchasing power, Reuther retorted, "How are you going to sell your cars to these machines?"

The story's moral still applies. In what economists call a closed economy—neglecting the impact of foreign trade for a moment—firms benefit from both lower prevailing wages, through lower costs, and higher prevailing wages, through expanding consumer demand. Some balance between the two is needed. Rising productivity growth can help create wider margins within which to find the proper balance.

In an open economy—taking international effects into account—the need for balance remains. If domestic workers suffer real declines in their purchasing power, protected earners must assume that foreign buyers will make up the difference in total demand for U.S. goods and services, buying enough of them to support those who benefit from lower import prices. But that depends, in turn, on U.S. buyers' having the purchasing power to buy foreign goods—which depends in the end on the levels of U.S. workers' earnings. Other countries cannot tolerate continuing trade deficits any more than we can.

The point, then, is that free-traders' repeated reminders about "consumers" are one-sided: they fail to heed some basic economic principles about balance at home and in the world economy. Both the Staying on Top and the Front Yard strategy are concerned with improving the terms of that balance over time.

But there the similarities end. The Staying on Top strategy could lead toward increasing pressure on workers' rights in the United States and greater international tension. The Front Yard strategy would concentrate instead on nurturing our economic welfare and democratic rights at home and would eschew the temptation to take advantage of others' vulnerability or weakness. The choice is not easy, but it is ours. □





## REPORTS & COMMENT

### NOTES

## WHY WE THROW FOOD AWAY

MOST OF THE 400,000 residents of Tucson, Arizona, are unaware that they waste a lot of food, but every year the Tucson Sanitation Division dutifully hauls 9,500 tons of edible or once-edible food to landfills. One third of this amount consists of plate scrapings, but the remainder consists of items like spoiled heads of lettuce, apples with one bite gone, wedges of rancid cheese, and soggy clumps of macaroni. The people of Tucson ultimately discard about 15 percent of the food they buy. If this pattern is representative of patterns nationwide—and studies conducted in Milwaukee and Marin County, California, suggest that it is—then the United States throws away enough food every year to feed all of Canada, including the lumberjacks.

I know about Tucson's food waste because I work with a crew that has been studying the city's garbage for more than a decade—sorting it, weighing it, keeping track of the relative volumes of this and that. (By the way, we don't count peels, tops, rinds, bones, or fat as waste, and we do correct for garbage disposals.) What follows is not a righteous tract about the immorality of wasting food in a world where millions starve. To be sure, people shouldn't waste food—at the very least, it costs money to buy and to cart to the dump—and people shouldn't starve, but these two social ills are not, in most cases, causally linked. The dynamics of food distribution and hunger work otherwise. I believe that Hubert Humphrey once suggested that America

could feed its needy if only the "haves" would give up one hamburger a month. The suggestion was noble. As a prescription for public policy, however, it was hardly workable.

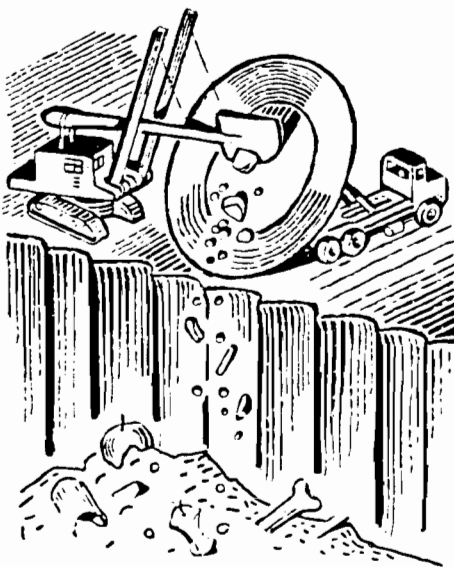
One reason why Americans waste so much food is that we doubt (and rightly so) that the bits and pieces we might actually save at home would ever find their way into the mouths of the hungry masses. We also waste a lot because we have a lot to waste. We waste food because it is often cheaper to save time than to save food. We waste food because we do not know whether something is still safe to eat, or because we do not know how to use "spoiled" items like stale bread or clabbered milk in recipes. (If you'd like to learn, see Lois Willand's *Use-It-Up Cookbook*.) We waste food for many reasons, but perhaps the most important reason of all is simply that we don't realize how much food is being wasted.

Studies consistently bear this out. When participants in surveys are asked

to write down every edible item they waste, the amounts recorded decline day after day as people become aware of how much food they normally consign to the trash. Most people, however, do not keep track of day-to-day food wastage and thus have no idea how much they discard. Americans are reasonably good about recycling aluminum cans and newspapers, because when they allow these things to accumulate, they can see how quickly the piles grow. They never allow discarded food to accumulate, however—at least not at home. Instead, it is whisked away and buried in landfills (or what archaeologists call middens).

RESEARCHERS in recent years have shown a growing interest in contemporary human refuse for what it implies about contemporary human behavior. Garbage is very revealing. Halloween garbage includes candy wrappers but no candy; Valentine's Day garbage contains both wrappers and candy. Embedded in these data is telling information about the character of each holiday. (On Halloween what's important is the candy; on Valentine's Day what's important is the gesture.) Such information is the goal of the thirteen-year-old Garbage Project of the University of Arizona, where I teach. In recent years it has branched out to Milwaukee and Marin County. Other studies have been conducted by Occidental College, in Los Angeles, and by Barnard College, in New York. Though largely confined to reports in academic journals, a literature now exists on the matter of refuse. As far as food, specifically, is concerned, a handful of axioms has been reaped.

*The more repetitious a family's diet, the less food the family discards.* This is the First Principle of Edible Food Loss, and it helps to explain why sorters tend to find less wasted food in the garbage of



Mexican-Americans than in the garbage of Americans generally. Mexican cuisine includes a wide variety of dishes—tamales, tacos, burritos, tostadas, chimichangas—but all of them are made with the same dozen or so ingredients. Those ingredients are always being used and replenished; they do not sit on a shelf and spoil. Moreover, leftovers can readily be incorporated into the next meal.

Similarly, there is not much wastage of commercial white bread. Households tend to go through standard loaves continually and methodically. More-exotic breads are another story. Hamburger rolls, for example, usually come in packages of eight. How often is the number of hamburgers consumed at a cookout a multiple of eight? In my experience at least three hamburger rolls always go unused—are toasted unnecessarily and then thrown away, or are left in the refrigerator to grow moldy behind a jar of pickles. Judging from Tucson's garbage, between 40 and 50 percent (by weight) of all specialty breads—rolls and muffins, buns and biscuits—finds its way into garbage cans, versus about 10 percent of standard bread loaves.

*The wastage of a foodstuff increases when people believe it to be in short supply.* This proposition seems at first glance counterintuitive, like a postulate in non-Euclidean geometry, but consider the case of the "beef shortage" of 1973. There wasn't a beef shortage in the sense that beef could not be bought, but less beef was available than had been previously, and the result was that red meat became expensive. Suddenly the amount of beef waste in Tucson's garbage tripled. Careful studies revealed that the elevated waste level was due to the disruption of familiar buying habits. Some people bought cheaper and unfamiliar cuts of beef, failed to prepare them satisfactorily, and threw out the result. Others, as a hedge against future price increases, resorted to panic buying and stockpiled larger quantities of meat than they normally would have—without knowing how to store them properly in the freezer. It seems clear that at the household level, stockpiling usually means spoilage.

*Living on processed food doesn't help matters any.* The problem here is not that people don't finish their Lean Cuisine fettucine or their Stouffer's spinach soufflés. They do. The problem is what they don't eat instead. The people who buy products like these usually heat them up so that they won't have to

spend time preparing the fresh food in their refrigerators, not because they have carefully charted a week's menu of frozen food. And, of course, fresh food, especially produce, tends inevitably toward rot. Households whose garbage contains the highest proportion of processed-food artifacts—the tripartite TV-dinner tray, the plastic broccoli-hollandaise pouch—also have the highest produce-wastage rates.

Wasting food is not a capital crime, and America's shortcomings at the dinner table are not responsible for the plight of Ethiopia. If anything, our record is considerably better than it once was. During the Second World War the

War Food Administration estimated that the average household threw away between a quarter and a third of all solid comestibles acquired. That proportion has since been halved. As with our lengthening life-spans, however, improvement has come not by virtue of individual effort but through broad institutional progress—vaccination and better sanitation in the case of longevity, refrigeration and better transportation, processing, and packaging in the case of food. Further reduction in food waste depends on what takes place in 85 million American kitchens. Now you've got a few tips. Don't just throw them away.

—William Rathje



## DISCOVERY OF THE MONTH

ASKED BY BRITAIN'S Book Marketing Council to pick the twenty best American novels published since the war, three prominent British critics have come up with a list that includes debatable selections (*Humboldt's Gift*, by Saul Bellow, not *Herzog*; *The Ghost Writer*, by Philip Roth, not *Portnoy's Complaint*), agreeable surprises (*The Friends of Eddie Coyle*, by George V. Higgins; *Men and Angels*, by Mary Gordon), and one shocker. Have you ever heard of *Mrs. Caliban*, by Rachel Ingalls? I hadn't; nor had John W. Aldridge, the author of a comprehensive history of the postwar American novel and a professor of English at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor; nor had the Ann Arbor computer.

Yet I hold a copy of *Mrs. Caliban* in my

hand and declare to you that Rachel Ingalls, beyond the ken of the computer though she may be, could become the Barbara Pym of 1986. Barbara Pym, the reader may recall, was rediscovered a few years ago after a brace of British critics picked novels by her in another of those best-books-since-the-war sweepstakes with which the British apparently divert themselves from their decline. Her publishers seized on the occasion made by the ensuing publicity ("Barbara who?") to reissue her work in bulk; this spinsterish writer soon became a sensation.

Will the Pym pattern be repeated with Rachel Ingalls? After reading *Mrs. Caliban*, I must say I hope so. The book is a 125-page tour de force about a passionate affair between a lonely housewife and a six-foot-tall green monster gifted with a confiding manner—imagine Phil Donahue in the body of an elongated frog. (I know many of you will cease reading at the mention of a monster; I would myself if I were in your place. You

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## Tough times in the wilderness

WILDLIFE biologists in the field are a special breed. After all, they have to put up with searing heat, bad food, pesky insects, nagging illness, dangerous animals, lumpy beds, extreme loneliness and a whole host of other discomforts and hazards.

But the return for all that personal hardship makes up for everything: habitat protected, species saved and the life histories of animals understood.

One of the stories in this issue is about two such people — a husband and wife who spent seven years alone in the Kalahari, the last great wilderness of Africa. For a fascinating account of the hardships in their camp, not to mention the trials in their marriage, turn to page 36.

A biologist also plays a major role in a story on endangered giant land snails of New Zealand. There (see page 42), one of the field hazards is not dangerous animals, but other people, who collect the snail shells.

Meantime, a team of scientists has lived, sometimes uncomfortably, in the Brazilian jungle, all on behalf of a tiny monkey called the golden lion tamarin. As you'll read on page 20, conditions in the rain forest did not impede the creativity and sheer hard work of these people in plucking the animal from the edge of extinction.

Individuals such as these, are truly unsung heroes.

*John Strohm*  
EDITOR

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Scientists are beginning to understand the inner workings of one of the more productive ecosystems on Earth

## ABOUT OUR COVERS:

Front: A guanaco looks around intently in a research facility at a Chilean national park. Biologist William L. Franklin caught the moment with a Pentax Spornatic camera, 50mm Takumar lens and Kodachrome film. For more on grassland animals, see page 44.

Back: For this study of a black swan in a reflecting pool, Lynn M. Stone used a Canon F1 camera, a 400mm Novoflex lens and Kodachrome film.



# PEERING INTO THE

By Fiona Sunquist

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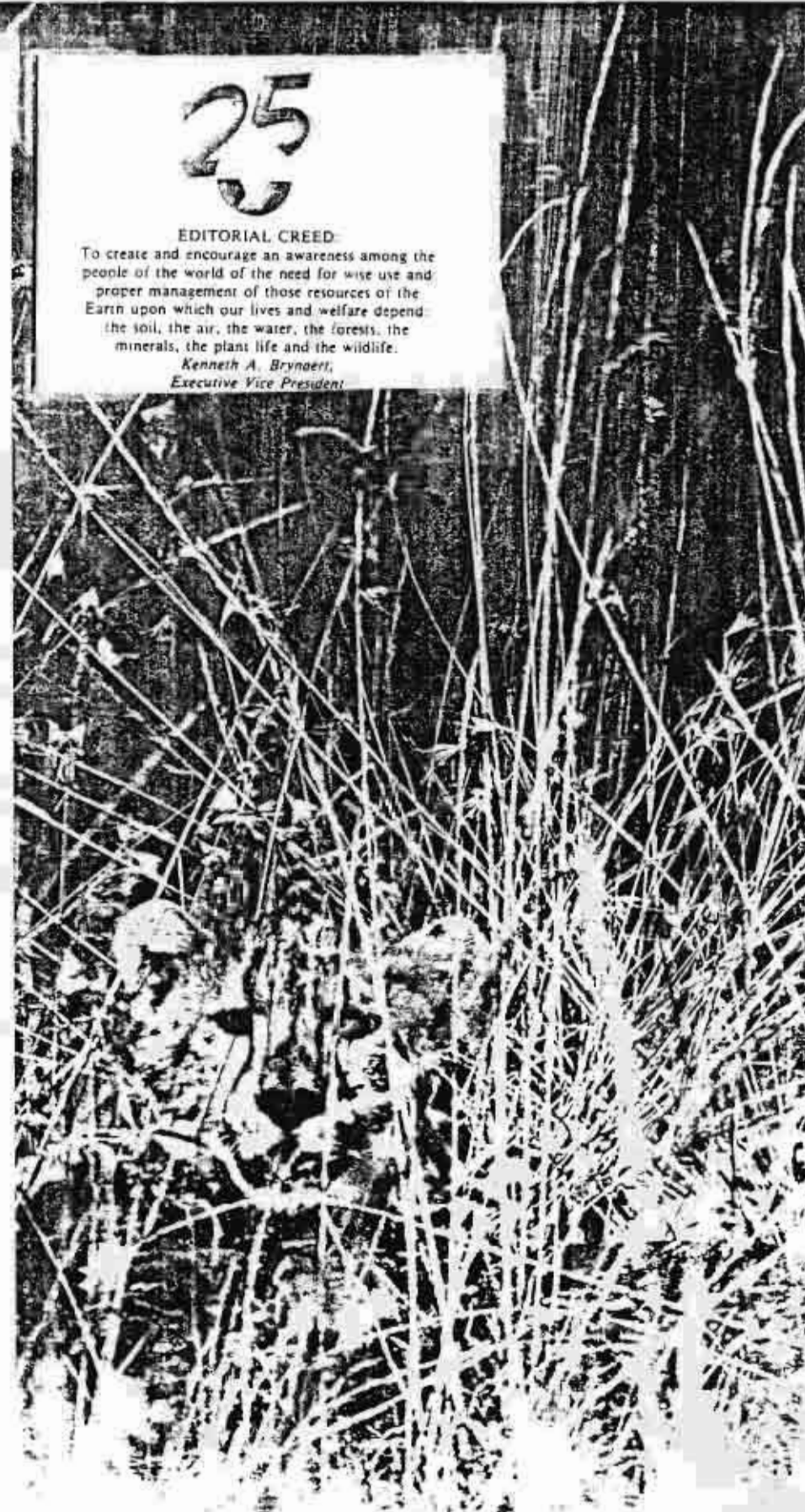
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#### EDITORIAL CREED

To create and encourage an awareness among the people of the world of the need for wise use and proper management of those resources of the Earth upon which our lives and welfare depend: the soil, the air, the water, the forests, the minerals, the plant life and the wildlife.

**Kenneth A. Brynaert,**  
*Executive Vice President*





# SECRETS OF GRASSLANDS



*Scientists are beginning to understand the inner workings of one of the more productive ecosystems on Earth*

**T**RAVELING through the tall grasslands of southern Nepal is a slow business, even on elephant back. Thick, saw-edged leaves stretch far overhead, creating a wall of trembling greenery that obscures everything but a tiny patch of sky. As the great beast struggles through the gauntlet of tough blades, bamboolike canes whip the rider's face, while fluffy grass seeds and other feathery flotsam rain down from above. Every few yards, impenetrable clumps bring the elephant and its riders to a stumbling halt. But the driver commands it to push on. Using its massive trunk, it whacks with huge effort at the offending grass, slowly parting the living haystack.

All around in this vibrant green sea is living proof of what scientists have recently confirmed: grasslands are among the more productive ecosystems on Earth. They appear in many different guises, from the 25-foot-tall grasslands of Nepal and the treeless steppes of Asia to the shortgrass savanna woodlands of Australia and the endless veldt of South Africa.

But whatever form they take, grasslands are cradles of biological abundance. On average, they produce nearly 9,000 pounds of leaves, stalks and seeds per acre each year, more than six times the average yield of the world's cornfields.

This vast amount of grass, in turn, supports an intricate and interdependent web of life, a diverse collection of plant eaters, predators and scavengers whose relationships have been honed by millions of years of evolution. Peering into this ecosystem, scientists have come across some surprises. In some areas, for example, insects may eat more grass than all the big grazing animals combined, and vultures are the major meat eaters of the savanna.

The complex relationships in this vast reservoir of creatures can make the grasslands fragile as well as bountiful—and a seemingly minor change can send reverberations through the entire system. The new findings come at a time when many of the world's grasslands have already been destroyed by farming and overgrazing. But some countries are putting the knowledge to use with creative new ways of

**Sleek denizens of the Kenyan savanna, two adult cheetahs relax in tall grass. Like hundreds of other species, the swift spotted cat has evolved specialized strategies that enable it to share in the enormous bounty of grasslands.**

accommodating both grass and people.

At the base of this complex food web is grass. Short or tall, it thrives in those vast tropical and temperate regions of the world (see map, page 48) that are fertile enough for growth but too dry for large numbers of trees to take root. Before people domesticated animals and developed farming, grasslands may have covered more than 40 percent of the Earth's land surface. Now, about 60 percent of that original area is still left, although most regions have lost many of their original species of grass.

The incredible productivity of grasslands, however, comes not from *where* grass grows, but from *how* it grows. Unlike the leaves of trees or shrubs, which expand at their tips and edges, a blade of grass grows outward from its base. If a tree leaf is damaged by animal or fire, the plant cannot replace the damaged portion. But tear off most of a blade of grass and the plant quickly grows right back. As a result, grass can withstand an amazing amount of abuse. Whether mowed, grazed, burned or trampled, it rapidly bounces back to its original height.

**G**rass is also a remarkably accessible food source. In tropical forests, for example, much of the energy is locked up in relatively inedible tree trunks and leaves that are rich in chemical defenses. Grass, in contrast, is virtually free of toxins—and almost the entire annual production of a grassland can be eaten by some sort of creature. As a result, grasslands support a veritable explosion of life: everything from huge herds of wildebeest galloping across Africa to billions of termites on South American grasslands.

Living on a grassland, however, requires some special adaptations. The fundamental problem is that grass cells are wrapped in a thick fibrous wall of cellulose, a compound that is indigestible to most mammals. As a result, many animals have evolved elaborate strategies to enable them to dine on grass.

One strategy is found with deer, giraffes, buffaloes and a number of other large species: they wring the maximum possible nutrients out of the grass they eat by making use of multi-chambered stomachs and a complex digestive process. These animals first carefully chew the grass in order to rupture the thick cell walls. The resulting mass is passed to the first stomach chamber, or rumen,

Even an elephant finds it hard to travel through the tall grass of lowland Nepal (below). Most of the country's original grasslands are gone, but the government has taken steps to protect the remnants.

Rumbling herds of wildebeest migrate across the savanna in Kenya (right). The different feeding patterns of the various grazing mammals work together to increase the grassland's productivity.



where microorganisms begin breaking down the cellulose into products that the animal can digest. The grass is then regurgitated and chewed again before reentering the stomach. By keeping food in the gut for as long as four days, these "ruminants" can use more than 60 percent of the cellulose occurring in their diet.

Nonruminants such as elephants and rhinoceroses depend on a different approach. Unable to extract as many nutrients as ruminants can, they simply eat a lot more grass. These species chew food only once and pass it quickly

through a comparatively simple digestive system. An adult elephant, for example, can use only 45 percent of the cellulose in the grass it eats. To compensate, it consumes an average of 330 pounds of food each day.

Each strategy has advantages and drawbacks. Because of their ability to process so much grass, nonruminants can thrive on old, coarse food that is low in protein. Ruminants, in contrast, will starve on such a diet because they simply cannot eat enough. They are at an advantage, however, when their food supply is limited but high in protein.





The various feeding and digestive mechanisms add to the complexity of grasslands by allowing many different animals to live together while sharing the same resource. But surprisingly, the combination of strategies can actually increase the grasslands' total productivity.

Each May in Tanzania, for instance, the rich grass of the southeastern Serengeti begins to dry and wither. Feeling the pinch of a dwindling food supply, the grazing animals begin migrating to wetter areas in the west where coarse tallgrass grows. Wildebeest are often the first to go—and by cropping the tallgrass, they stimulate the growth of succulent young grass. This grass, in turn, provides food for narrow-mouthed, highly selective feeders like the Thomson's gazelle. "The gazelles commonly follow the wildebeest and eat the regrowth," explains Samuel McNaughton of Syracuse University. The actual sequence of migrations can vary from year to year and involves a number of different animals.

But in general, the patterns of grazing both create more growth and maintain a high diversity of plant species, thus increasing the Serengeti's productivity. Without the grazing, the grassland would become dominated by a few relatively unproductive grass species.

**T**he highly visible zebra, giraffe and other large animals, however, share the grasslands' bounty with some less visible creatures—insects. In some areas, researchers have found, grasshoppers, aphids, beetles and other bugs eat more grass than all the mammalian grazers combined. In the "cerrado" grasslands of Brazil, biologists have counted an average of 130 giant termite mounds and millions of termites in each acre. Like the big grazing mammals, many of the insects inadvertently help the grasslands as they consume their meals. Termites, for example, improve

soil fertility; in addition, their mounds become home to everything from snakes to kestrels.

The incredible abundance of grazing animals creates yet another layer of complexity on the grasslands: a whole host of predators and scavengers to feed on the grazers and browsers, each equipped with its own strategy for surviving. One of the most unusual and specialized of these predators is the giant anteater of Central and South America, which laps up ants and termites with a long, saliva-covered tongue. On the Brazilian grasslands, there are enough

roles on the grassland. Surprisingly, however, the most important meat eater on the grassland is not a big cat or the hyena. That honor belongs to vultures. Studying seven species of the scavenging birds in the Serengeti, zoologist David Houston of the University of Glasgow has discovered that vultures consume more than lions, leopards, cheetahs, hyenas and wild dogs combined.

The secret of the vulture's success, Houston says, is its ability to scan large areas from the air and thus spot carcasses that earth-bound scavengers might never find.

Less than a third of the bird's food comes from the kills of other carnivores; instead the diet is made up primarily of animals that die of disease, accidents or malnutrition. To find these animals, vultures may travel long distances. Some species even rear their young while commuting to a food supply that might be a hundred miles away. "The birds travel regularly to the migratory herds, taking perhaps two or three

hours to reach them, feed and return to their young chicks," explains Houston. "Such long-distance commuting would be impossible for a mammal."

With their new understanding of the roles of individual creatures like vultures and cheetahs, scientists now have been able to fit together many pieces of the grassland puzzle. The complete picture is so complex and interdependent, they now know, that one seemingly insignificant event can affect the entire ecosystem.

One such event began just before the beginning of the century. Large numbers of cattle in northern Africa began to die in a rinderpest epidemic that quickly spread south. The virus then jumped from cattle to wildebeest, giraffes and other ruminants. In a few years, so many wild animals had died that there was a serious outbreak of man-eating by the now starving lions.



**Grasslands cover about one-quarter of the Earth's land surface (above). In most areas, however, overgrazing by domestic livestock has led to the disappearance of many of the original grass species.**

insects to support more than five ant-eaters per square mile.

The lion has taken a completely different path. The only cat to evolve an elaborate social structure, the powerful animal both hunts and scavenges animal carcasses.

The cheetah, in contrast, is a solitary stalker. With its slender build, nonretractable claws and flexible muscular back, the spotted cat can accelerate faster than the fleetest antelope. It hunts in the daytime when lions and hyenas are resting, in part because it is easily driven off a meal by the stronger predators.

These predators play key ecological



Grasslands support a profusion of life, including this Indian rhino (below) feasting on lush elephant grass in Nepal's Royal Chitwan National Park.

The big grazing animals provide meals for a wide variety of predators and scavengers. In Kenya, this lioness dines on a wildebeest (bottom left).

Surprisingly, the biggest meat eaters on the grasslands are the vultures (bottom right). The birds sometimes travel 100 miles a day in search of carcasses.



Once thousands of large grazers had died, trees and shrubs that normally would have been eaten as tiny saplings invaded the Serengeti. The new woodlands, in turn, attracted the tsetse fly, which spread sleeping sickness among cattle and people. It took decades of mechanical brush-clearing and vaccination against rinderpest before the deadly chain of events was halted and reversed.

In general, natural grasslands can be altered by changes in the pattern of rainfall, fire and grazing. Frequent brush fires, for example, prevent trees from growing, thus maintaining the grassland. Increased rainfall and less frequent fires, on the other hand, allow saplings to gain a foothold. Once established, trees can then shade out many grass species, transforming grassland into forest.

Consequently, the size and types of grasslands around the world have altered naturally during the history of the Earth. About 3 million years ago, many scientists believe, a global climatic change caused savannas to spread across much of Africa, and, as a result, a group of apelike animals emerged from the dwindling forests. The challenging new environment may have stimulated the rapid evolutionary change that created humans.

But in speeding the evolution of man, grasslands sowed the seeds of their own destruction. Now, natural changes pale before the effects of people. The tall-grass prairie of North America is virtually gone, replaced by vast fields of wheat and corn. Overgrazing in Ethiopia and other African countries has turned grasslands into deserts. And all around the world, sheep, cattle and goats have done what millions of years of grazing by zebras and antelopes did not: unchecked by predators or disease, they have eaten so much grass that the original grass species have been replaced by tougher but far less productive species.

No one really knows how much of the world's grassland has been transformed. But it is probably safe to assume that few areas have not been fundamentally altered by farming or the grazing of domestic livestock. And that worries many scientists. The plants that are being lost are nature's proven survivors and could be of enormous benefit to people, says Samuel McNaughton. "I believe that their conservation will

Nepalese villagers use grass to make everything from roofs to fish traps. Once a year, they are allowed to carry home the versatile material from the country's grassland preserves (below).

High on the treeless plateau of Peru, alpacas stare curiously at a visitor (right). Grazing by such domesticated animals has fundamentally altered many of the world's grasslands.



MAINE BOUTON (BRUCE GUTMAN LTD)

provide important benefits for future generations."

Fortunately, some countries are taking steps to preserve their last remaining pieces of original grassland. Four years ago, Canada set aside 350 square miles of original prairie in Grasslands National Park in southern Saskatchewan. After years of procrastination, for example, the United States is finally in the process of creating a national preserve in Oklahoma to protect tiny remnants of the country's original tallgrass prairie. And Brazil has created Emas National Park to save some of its original pampa grassland.

The task is most difficult and complicated in less developed countries, where pressure on parks and reserves is intense. One country that may have found an unusual solution to the problem of balancing grassland preservation with the needs of people, however, is Nepal. In the lowlands, grass has always been an important construction material. Different kinds are used for walls, fences, thatched roofs, fish traps and even torches. But as the population grew over the last few decades, the grasslands shrank. Now, the sole supply of these grasses is contained within four

small preserves, grassy islands in the sea of agriculture.

In order to protect the grass and yet allow people to use it, authorities of the Nepalese National Parks and Wildlife Conservation Department open the reserves to harvesting for ten days each year. A permit system is imposed to keep track of numbers, and people are allowed to take out only the amount of grass that they can carry on their backs. More than 100,000 people take part in the ten-day harvest each year, returning home with enough grass to build a new house or repair an old one.

The authorities point out that this is an individual solution to a specific problem and may not be transferable to other areas and countries. But for now the scheme appears to be working. Showing yet again the incredible productivity of grasslands, the grass quickly grows back after the harvest. Within three months, it is again tall and thick enough to slow an elephant. And in those dense waving stalks are a few slim reeds of hope for beleaguered grasslands around the world.

*Roaming editor Fiona Sunquist and her husband spent two years in Nepal's grasslands studying tigers and other species.*



# Canadian Chronicle

March/April 1986

## North American waterfowl management plan

A \$1.5 billion draft plan to conserve North American waterfowl was released for public consultation by federal Environment Minister Tom McMillan in December.

The 15-year plan proposed a management agreement, to be undertaken jointly by Canada and the United States to bring seriously declining waterfowl populations back to levels experienced during the 1970's. For example, breeding populations of mallard, pintail and blue-winged teal in the North American mid-continent have fallen by 37%, 54% and 28% respectively.

These duck populations are decreasing as a result of continuing habitat loss and degradation as well as over-hunting. The plan addresses these problems by setting out a policy framework for the conservation of waterfowl that emphasizes the importance of long-term planning and coordination of management activities by Canada, Mexico and the U.S.

The objectives set out in the North American Waterfowl Management Plan will be implemented by the responsible wildlife agencies in Canada and the U.S. Implementation in turn will be overseen by an advisory committee with representation from both countries.

Roughly three-quarters of the \$956 million expenditure on Canadian projects will come from U.S. private and government sources with the remainder (\$239 million) to come from Canadian sources. The U.S. will spend a further \$477 million for projects in that country.

Projects funded under the plan will be designed to protect or restore habitat for breeding, migration or wintering of waterfowl.

The plan provides an excellent framework for the detailed action required by federal, provincial, state and territorial governments, but experts say that the development of the plan was the easy part. The hard part will be the implementation. ♻️

## Lake Superior bottom full of surprises

Scientists who recently became the first people to descend to the bottom of Lake Superior say that the black world 1,300 feet below the surface of the lake is teeming with life.

During the month-long expedition, coordinated by Michigan State University,

researchers from a dozen institutions conducted some 50 dives in a special submarine designed for undersea exploration. Instead of the "biological desert" they expected, they found thousands of sculpin, a minnow-sized fish; burbot, a member of the cod family; and hydra, tiny jelly fish-like organisms that coat the rocks with a blanket of red. ♻️

## Together we can help wildlife!

National Wildlife Week is a special time of the year for everyone concerned about the welfare of precious wildlife resources. The message of the 1986 theme, "Together we can help wildlife", encourages people of all ages learn about wildlife and meet the needs of the environment.



As we have for the past 15 years, the CWF developed an education kit intended for educators and parents who wish to instill an awareness of wildlife to their children. The kit consists of an activity-filled 30-page booklet, and a large colourful poster. Although this year's theme is highlighted, special attention has been given to endangered species, and other issues of urgent concern.

Kits are available to CWF members. Write to National Wildlife Week Programme, Canadian Wildlife Federation, 1673 Carling Avenue, Ottawa, Ontario, K2A 3Z1. Supplies are limited. ♻️



# CWF Viewpoint

## Good news and bad news

**A**cid Rain is in the headlines once again, but the news is both good and bad. First, a round of applause for the Ontario government and especially Environment Minister Jim Bradley.

On December 17, Mr. Bradley announced that Ontario's four main producers of sulphur dioxide ( $\text{SO}_2$ ), which causes acid rain, have been ordered to reduce their emissions dramatically. In 1980, Ontario Hydro, Inco, Falconbridge and Algoma Steel collectively produced 1.99 million tonnes of  $\text{SO}_2$  — 80 percent of all Ontario sulphur dioxide emissions that year.

The new Ontario regulations will reduce emissions to no more than 0.66 million tonnes by 1994. The lower limits will be phased in over the next eight years to allow the corporations sufficient time to acquire and install the necessary pollution abatement technology.

Of course, the Ontario program will not affect the other half of eastern Canada's acid rain problem that originates in American smokestacks. But the program will have significant results on many Canadian and American forests and lakes — 14% in Muskoka, 10% in Southern Québec and 7-8% in the Adirondacks and New Hampshire.

This news inspired Maine Senator George Mitchell to note that "in one day the Ontario government will be doing more to reduce acid rain in this country than the Reagan administration has done in five years."

The bad news concerns the recently-released report of Bill Davis and Drew Lewis, Canadian and American acid rain envoys. Their document does not urge actual reductions in U.S. acid gas emissions. Instead, they recommend that the U.S. government spend \$2.5 billion over the next 5 years to match an equivalent sum from industry for a 'technology development program', the objective of which is to develop cheaper and more effi-

cient emission control technologies for industries and coal-fired power plants.

In the improbable event that the Davis-Lewis recommendations are accepted by the U.S. President and Congress, any legislated decreases in acid gas emissions are unlikely before 1991, when the program would end. The technology development program could thus backfire on Canada by giving the U.S. administration another 5 years to sit on its hands without reducing transboundary emissions by a single molecule.

It is however encouraging that the report recognized that acid rain as a serious environmental and transboundary problem. This admission by the American envoy represents progress — but we are still no further ahead than we were in 1979 when the Carter administration acknowledged these same demonstrable truths.

The Prime Minister must soon decide whether to actively support the Davis-Lewis proposals or to throw in with American environmentalists who are urging Congress to adopt a genuine program to reduce sulphur dioxide emissions. His position is unenviable, for the Davis-Lewis report has forced technology development

and not emission controls to top of the bilateral acid rain agenda.

Canada and its representative have clearly been outmanoeuvred by the Americans; now our environment and economy must suffer the consequences.



Kenneth A. Brynaert  
Executive Vice President

## Provincial News

### Naturalists unhappy with park boundaries

**A**tikaki, Manitoba's first provincial wilderness park, established in 1985, is already threatened by nearby logging operations.


Atikaki has the potential to be a world-class wilderness park; it lies on some of the finest Canadian Shield land and encompasses the Bloodvein

River, which has been nominated as a Canadian Heritage River. Atikaki is also home to many wildlife species: black bear, moose, timber wolves, river otter, lynx, fisher; and is a haven for the bald eagle and the rare woodland caribou.

At first, the Department of Natural Resources permitted logging inside and very near Atikaki; thus threatening the habitat of the resident fauna, especially the caribou.

Alarmed by the prospects of such logging, the Manitoba Naturalists Society led a successful fight to stop the logging within park boundaries. However, logging will continue outside the designated 600-800 meter wide 'corridors' straddling three rivers, including the Bloodvein, which remain part of the park. Such woodland harvesting may destroy critical caribou habitat and impair the

wilderness experience the park has to offer.

At present, logging is on temporary hold while the government prepares a new management plan. The Manitoba Naturalists Society intends to continue its efforts to expand the park boundaries and to ensure that Atikaki can, with justification, retain its name which is Saulteaux-Ojibwa for 'country of the caribou'. 

## Increase Canada's support of Third World conservation: CWF

**T**he conservation of global natural resources, and the application of conservation principles to Third World development programs should be a cornerstone objective of Canadian foreign policy.

This was the message of the Canadian Wildlife Federation, (CWF) the Canadian Nature Federation (CNF) and World Wildlife Fund Canada (WWF) to the Special Joint Committee on Canada's International Relations. This House of Commons/Senate committee is presently reviewing Canada's foreign policy.

The CWF, CNF and WWF are convinced that perhaps the most fundamental problem in the world is that human activ-

ities are progressively reducing the planet's life-supporting capacity even as rising human numbers and consumption are making increasing demands on that diminishing capacity. For example, the world's arable land will be diminished by one-third and remaining unlogged tropical forests will be halved by the year 2000. During the same period the world's population is expected to increase by almost 50% to just under 6 billion.

The CWF, CNF and WWF urged the Committee to recommend that Canada increase its support for programs to restore and conserve third World forests and drylands, and protect wildlife species. More specifically, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), which delivers the most Canadian development assistance

to Third World nations, must increase spending on conservation projects and make sure that economic development projects do not have adverse environmental consequences.



## Trees that fight back

**T**he spruce budworm is one of Canada's most harmful and persistent pests, causing billions of dollars in losses to our forest industry.

But pesticides, such as fenitrothion, used to control the budworm often adversely affect forest wildlife species.

However, there is hope: scientists at the National Research Council in Montreal are on the verge of a breakthrough that will enable them to grow insecticide-producing trees equipped to fight off the

deadly spruce budworm.

The sought-after gene is responsible for orchestrating the bacteria's production of a protein crystal that eats away at the stomach lining of the pest. Within minutes of swallowing a leaf coated with this deadly protein crystal the bug stops eating and with enough of the protein in its stomach the budworm dies. Apparently, there are no toxic effects on humans and bees.

Engineering the first bug-proof balsam fir seedling will take at least two years because of complicated transplant techniques and the trees' slow growth. However, other plants may benefit in the meantime. In the not too distant future, forest pests may be in for a surprise — what appears to be a tasty meal may turn out to be a last supper.



## Rare deer return to native China

**F**or the first time in nearly a century, Père David's deer are returning to their native China, thanks to separate efforts by a British aristocrat and World Wildlife Fund — International.

Discovered in 1865 in the emperor's deer park near Beijing by a French priest and naturalist, the deer are thought to have vanished from China around 1900. They may have been extinct in the wild for 1,000 years.

A descendant of Britain's Duke of Bedford, who assembled the largest herd outside of China, recently turned over 22 deer to the Chinese government. The animals will be kept in a small reserve on the site of the original Imperial Deer Park. Establishing a wild population is the goal of the World Wildlife Fund, which plans to ship some 30 deer, donated by British zoos, to China in late spring. They will roam 4,400 acres north of Shanghai.

# Endangered Species

## Rare rhinos placed under heavy guard

**I**n a desperate attempt to halt poaching of the endangered black rhinoceros, Kenya plans to herd several hundred of the animals into guarded sanctuaries enclosed by electric fences.

Some 100 rhinos in three other reserves will be monitored continuously by teams of guards living in tents nearby.

Slaughter of the animals for their horns has reduced the number of African black rhinos from 15,000 in 1980 to 8,000 today, according to Kenyan wildlife experts.

## Songbirds suffer tropics' destruction

**M**igratory songbirds, such as thrushes and warblers, are on the decline because tropical forests in Latin

America are being destroyed.

These species set up winter feeding territories. When forced from those territories, the birds presumably starve or fall to predators.

Winter habitat has decreased drastically in the past 20 years as forests in southern Mexico and Central America have been cleared for farming.

## Brazil protects Coastal forest

**A**fter a ten-year campaign by Brazilian environmentalists and the World Wildlife Fund, Brazil has declared 3.2 million acres of valuable Atlantic Coast forest a national landmark. Efforts are underway to extend protection to the entire 1,200-mile Serra do Mar Range, one of the richest tropical forests in the world.

The protected area is home to thousands of rare plants and hundreds of endangered

insect and animal species, including jaguars, tapirs, peccaries and several species of monkeys. It is the last major stronghold of the Muriqui, the largest and one of the most endangered of South American monkeys.

## Spain is last hope for European wolf

**S**pain's environmentalists are waging an uphill battle to protect the European wolf from extinction in a country where fear of this beast runs deep.

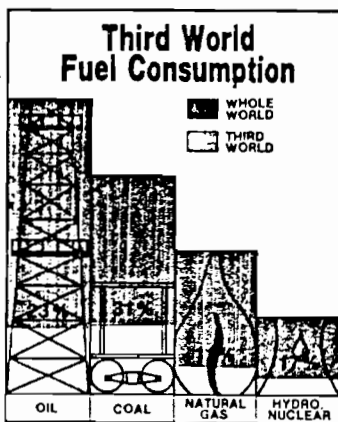
As the only country in western Europe with a significant wolf population, estimated at 1,000, Spain is seen by many European conservationists as the continent's last chance to save the animal. (Italy has 100, Scandinavia just a few.) Though taking of wolves is now regulated by national law, many Spaniards still consider the animals public enemy number one. The dislike dates back centuries to a time when wolves posed a serious threat to Spain's sheep industry.



# Acid Rain Update

## Acid pollution threatens much of Third World

The "obsession" with acid rain damage in western Europe and eastern North America has obscured "the almost universal threat of acid pollution," which is already damaging soil, crops and buildings in much of the Third World, says the international environmental organization Earthscan. Snarled traffic and dense pockets of industrialization in many rapidly growing Third World cities are generating tons of sulfur and nitrous oxides that cause acid pollution. "To add to the problem," Earthscan notes in its report, *Acid Earth*, "the tightening of pollution laws in developed countries has meant that multinational corporations have been tempted to transfer so-called 'dirty industries' — including metal smelters — to developing countries with less stringent regulations."



As Third World countries account for more and more of world energy use, acid pollution is surging, damaging their soil and crops.

## A glass of acid rain!

Europe's stained glass treasures are among the latest victims of acid rain, according to a study done for the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe. At least 100,000 objects, some more than 1,000 years old, are in danger of deterioration.



## Nourishment may be killing our forests

Some researchers now believe that excess nourishment from nitrogen compounds in clouds and rain may be harming forests almost as much as sulphur dioxide, considered the chief culprit in acid rain.

The problem is that nitrous oxides, mainly from automobile exhausts, are feeding ecosystems that "haven't asked to be fertilized." According to experts, annual growth is suppressed when trees, fertilized by nitrogen in the clouds, stop demanding nutrients through their roots.



## Do you have the correct time?

Intense winds during the severe 1983 occurrence of the weather phenomenon known as El Niño accelerated the Earth's spin enough to shorten the day by three-thousandths of a second, according to scientists.



## Increasing DDT use threatens Third World say ecologists

DDT, more popular than ever for combatting crop pests and malaria-carrying mosquitoes in developing nations, still poses a serious environmental threat worldwide, ecologists say. Third World countries maintain that they cannot afford costlier chemicals for fighting malaria. The World Health Organization reports that the disease continues to threaten 40 percent of the world's population. However, only 10 to 15 percent of DDT actually goes for malaria control — and becoming less and less effective, notes Robert Wasserstrom, a pesticides expert formerly with the World Resources Institute. DDT, he argues, is the easy way out for protecting crops, when in fact costlier chemicals used effectively can be just as cheap.



## Thames River cleanup

The Thames River of London, England, formerly one of the most seriously polluted rivers in the world, now supports almost 100 fish species in its lower reaches as a result of the clean-up operation commenced in 1974.

The information comes from a report in *Naturoipa*, the journal of the European Information Centre for Nature Conservation, which states that the tidal Thames is now the "cleanest metropolitan estuary in the world."

Between 1920 and 1960 the Thames was so polluted that no fish or marine life could survive in the stretch that includes metropolitan London.



## CWF employee receives national award

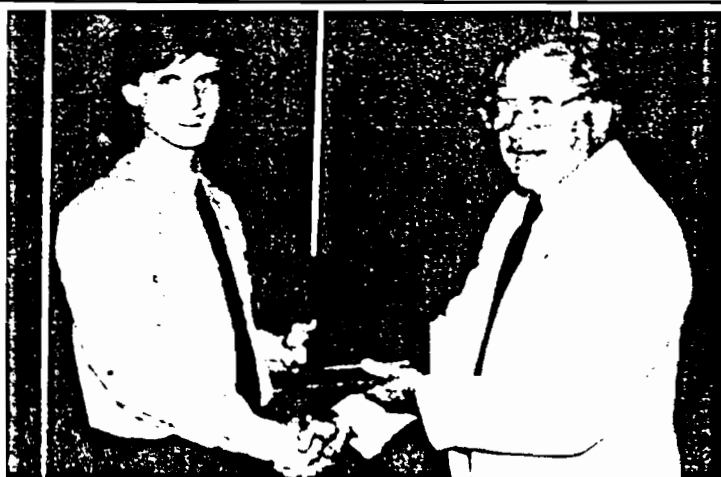
This year, at a special banquet in Ottawa, the top honour of "Artist of the year" was presented to CWF employee David Brynaert by Senator Gilgas Molgat on behalf of Ducks Unlimited Canada.

Chosen over many entries, Brynaert's winning painting of Canada geese entitled "Late Migrants" will be produced in a limited edition of prints to be auctioned at dinner auctions and fund-raising events across North America in aid of wetland habitat.

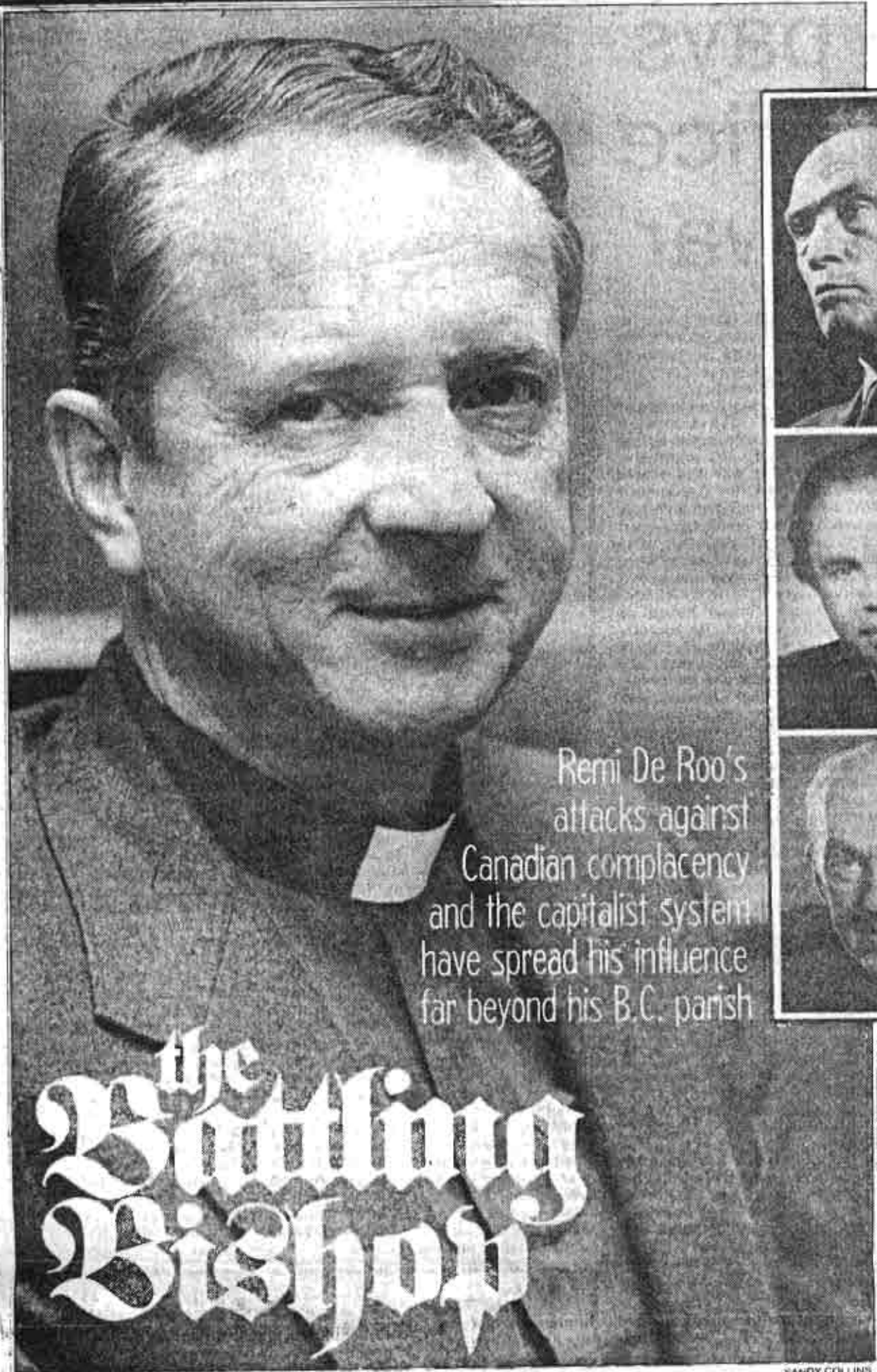
Known for his interpretive realism in watercolours, acrylics and oils, David Brynaert made donations of

paintings to Ducks Unlimited, and over the past three years these have yielded nearly 2 million dollars for the conservation work of Ducks Unlimited.

Brynaert has also donated work to the Canadian Wildlife Federation, Safari Club International and the Ottawa Duck Club.



# THE FEATURES PAGE



Remi De Roo's attacks against Canadian complacency and the capitalist system have spread his influence far beyond his B.C. parish

## the Scolding Bishop



SANDY COLLINS

De Roo and (inset from top) Trudeau, d'Aquino, Carter: 'dethrone the economic idols.'

BY JUDY STEED  
The Globe and Mail

**O**NE OF CANADA'S most outspoken radicals is an unpretentious man in a grey suit and clerical collar who speaks — in the order in which he learned them — Flemish, English, French, Latin, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese. A Manitoba farm boy of Flemish descent, the second of eight children of a conservative father who helped create Manitoba Pool Elevators, Bishop Remi De Roo is a man whose passions have carried his influence far beyond his own parish.

The Bishop of Victoria, a driving force behind the controversial 1983 Ethical Reflections of Canada's Catholic Bishops, has experienced, in his words, "plenty of hassles" in the past few decades. The greatest uproar was reserved for the Ethical Reflections' condemnation of a North American capitalist system run for the benefit of an elite minority. And now, despite the warnings of such figures as former prime minister Pierre Trudeau — who said when the Reflections were released that the bishops weren't competent economists and should stick to more celestial matters — Bishop De Roo has extended his views in a new book, *Cries of Victims, Voice of God*, published by Novalis-James Lorimer.

Bishop De Roo does not fit stereotypes of a man of the cloth. In March, on the stage of Massey Hall, he stole the spotlight from Erika Ritter, Pierre Berton and Bob White with a passionate attack on free trade. Last month, he was the keynote speaker at the Canadian Union of Postal Workers' annual convention, where he criticized the free-market economy. And within the past six months he has addressed the National Farmers Union in Edmonton, the B.C. Federation of Labor, the Confederation of Canadian Unions and the Canadian Union of Public Employees.

At 62, Bishop De Roo makes a noticeable effort to speak in a contemporary voice, which bears no trace of elitism. He deflects veneration with a casual smile. "The fundamental insight is that answers to our problems will not come from gurus," he says. "Successful people are comfortable with the status quo. The true experts are the ones suffering from our economic structures."

Nevertheless he is regarded as something of a guru by most people who know him. "Bishop De Roo is seen as a prophetic force in the church in Canada," says Tony Clark, co-director of the social affairs department of the Catholic Bishops Conference.

Certainly the bishop's world view is far from conventional, though he claims it's very much in the Biblical tradition. Ask him about Latin America's uneducated peasants — a people close to his heart — and he answers: "Latin Americans aren't educated in expensive institutions, because they can't afford to build them. But they're getting an education, all right. They have a wisdom born out of life experienced at the grassroots level. It is not an inferior form of education. They are politically more sophisticated than many North Americans. They say to Canadians; 'You Canadians appear to us like people sitting on the river bank watching the current of history go by. We are in the river, struggling against the current. You are naive if you think you can stay there, on the edge, in your smug neutrality.'"

The bishop pauses, turning a wide gold ring given to him by Pope Paul VI at the Vatican Council in 1964. "Of course we Canadians are part of what oppresses them. If you're not part of the solution, you're part of the problem."

To his critics, he is part of the problem. Thomas d'Aquino, president of the Business Council on National Issues, responded sharply to Ethical Reflections. The bishops were naive, he suggested, to attack capitalist principles in the face of high unemployment when the only way to create more jobs was to "ignite the engines of economic growth." Mr. d'Aquino spoke about industrial strategies, task forces and trade barriers and rejected the bishops' view that the unemployed have been abandoned.

Many of Bishop De Roo's religious colleagues were more supportive. "Bishop Remi is one of the few who lives what he believes," said a church worker who asked to remain anonymous. "It's too bad we don't have more like him. He's very popular." However, Toronto's Emmett Cardinal Carter does not share this view. He was initially angered by the Ethical Reflections, and subsequently objected to another of Bishop De Roo's plans — to give women greater responsibility in the Roman Catholic Church.

Bishop De Roo says he and the cardinal have great respect for each other, "though obviously our views differ on certain issues." (The cardinal was not available for comment.) Whatever the state of the friendship, Bishop De Roo has not quashed his own feelings.

In *Cries of Victims*, he continues to attack a capitalist system that, as interpreted by U.S. President Ronald Reagan, has turned the American dream into a nightmare. He talks about U.S. cities "rotting at the core," about violence in the streets, about death in Central America. An advocate of liberation theology, he believes he is being true to the revolutionary teachings of Jesus. "Christians," he says, "are obliged to transform their world."

His words are strong — and effective. "He has expanded my vision and made me ask myself hard questions," says Sister Christine Gaudet, executive director of St. Michael's Hospital in Toronto.

For 12 years, Sister Christine administered a hospital in Bishop De Roo's Victoria parish and observed in action "the prophetic stance he takes, of speaking out on behalf of the poor. He makes you ask: what will this do to people, to workers?" It is no wonder he has been called into boardrooms by angry executives who feel personally offended by his criticism of their corporate activities. Bishop De Roo responds to this with some acerbity: "These men trot out their titles and credentials, they see themselves as model Christians, yet they have not made a distinction between the ethics of their company policies and their own lives." The unexamined life, he suggests, can produce collaboration with oppression.

Observation of reality: that is Bishop De Roo's starting point. He believes the world would change if people paid attention to what is going on, instead of retreating into "the paradise on television." Observe, assess, act: this is his motto, derived from the teachings of Belgian Canon Joseph Cardijn. In *Cries of Victims*, Bishop De Roo observes that "In Western society, the dominant culture tends to view life through the eyes of the influential and wealthy who have the power of defining reality . . . (but) the basic purpose of sound economics is to serve human needs, not to exploit people for maxi-

imum corporate profit . . . . The Greek origins of the word (*oikonomia* means management of the household) show that 'economics' is part of family life and stewardship. Responsibility for the whole family is what economics and business should be about . . . . We have made technology and capital our moral and social goals, when they should be means or instruments. They have become ends in themselves, self-serving and independent. Our model for society is technical rationality . . . . People are seen as objects to be manipulated for the maximization of profit and power. If Western culture and Canadian society are to be humane and humanizing, then we must dethrone our economic idols."

The danger for critics, he has discovered time and time again, is that "when you criticize our system, people will call you a Communist, they'll call you anything." He deflects the name-calling by insisting on "Christians' right to criticize any system — capitalist and communist — and to search for new alternatives." It is the mission of the church, he argues, to assist in this search. The church must, he says, "be counter-cultural."

A graduate of St. Boniface College (affiliated with the University of Manitoba), he went to Rome in 1950 and spent two years studying for his doctorate in theology. His eyes were opened to global issues. "Rome is like the public square of the world." In 1952, back in Manitoba, he began to work with Catholic youth action groups and came under the influence of Canon Cardijn, the father of Catholic Action and founder of the Young Christian Workers movement, which were to have considerable influence in Quebec during the Quiet Revolution.

"As a young priest," says Bishop De Roo, "I was forced out of my little ivory tower of theology — I had my doctorate, all that intellectual stuff — by idealistic young people." However, it was 10 years later, in 1962, when he was named Bishop of Victoria, that he began to learn about the plight of Canada's native people. One of his first acts on settling in British Columbia was to tour all the Indian missions of the West Coast.



By the time he arrived in Rome for the legendary Vatican Council, which lasted from 1962 to 1965, he already had a reputation as an activist. Meeting 3,000 bishops from all over the world — including Archbishop Helder Camera of Brazil, who influenced him a great deal — pushed him further into global issues of poverty, violence and oppression in Third World countries.

"In Africa, India and Latin America," he says, "the people are struggling to create a new form of democracy that is beholden to neither the western nor eastern bloc. But the Americans insist it's an ideological conflict. The Latin Americans say no. It's ironic that the American experience is founded on the Pilgrim Fathers' attempt to escape oppression and build their own freedom, but the Americans can't recognize that same historic movement in Central America."

Bishop De Roo is sometimes accused of being opposed to modern times, but he insists he is no machine-

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bashing Luddite. "We're not against technology. It's the use." He also continues to defend the bishops' position in Ethical Reflections — a view of Canadian economic policies which, he notes, was utterly ignored by the Macdonald Commission on the economy. "The bishops are not against trade, markets and legitimate profit. A dynamic economy is essential for a culture to flourish." But the balance has swung too far in favor of the rich and powerful, he believes.

He remembers Pope John Paul II speaking in Edmonton last year. "The Pope's hands were shaking and he was shouting — what he was saying was very much in his own words — and he condemned the imperialism of rich nations who maintain their political and economic supremacy at the expense of others." Bishop De Roo shakes his head. "When the Pope's Edmonton speech was reported, those words were not often included." If Bishop De Roo has his way, he'll make sure the word gets out.

A12 THE GLOBE AND MAIL, TUESDAY, APRIL 29, 1986

## 'Christian duty' cited Support for unions urged by bishops

BY LORNE SLOTNICK  
The Globe and Mail

Supporting the goals and activities of labor unions is a Christian responsibility, says a May Day message issued yesterday by the social affairs committee of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops.

The strongly worded statement says unions are under attack and are often seen as outdated institutions from another era. But it says: "We firmly believe that unions have an essential role to play in defending the dignity and rights of working people in a high-tech market economy."

The four-page statement urges Roman Catholic workers to become involved in their unions and says local churches should become aware of labor issues "by inviting union representatives to discuss common issues and by constructively challenging any anti-union bias that may exist."

The statement is bound to be controversial, but it will not be the first time the social affairs committee has stuck its neck out. Last year's statement on May Day — which coincides with the feast of St. Joseph the Worker — backed striking employees at six T. Eaton Co. Ltd. stores, and the committee sparked a national debate in 1983 with a scathing critique of the capitalist economy.

Yesterday's statement says unions must be "revitalized and strengthened" to cope with the modern economy. "It is also impor-

tant that labor unions develop new strategies in relation to changes in the workplace and the realities of a high-tech age."

It continues: "We also believe that the labor movement has a major role to play — along with the churches, women's organizations, farmers' associations, native groups, social agencies, other popular organizations and related professional groups — in forming a broader social movement for the building of a new society based on social and economic justice."

The bishops say a renewed emphasis on individualism in society has produced more bias against unions. "Despite the public image of labor unions as powerful institutions, many unions find themselves in a vulnerable situation today."

The statement says the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church show that unions are "an indispensable element of social life," giving workers a democratic voice in the workplace and enabling them to strive for better public policy.

The bishops add that unions have been a major factor in promoting "some of the most progressive social legislation in this country, including medicare, social housing, unemployment insurance, health and safety regulations and consumer protection measures."

Now, however, the statement says, unions "appear to be one of the scapegoats for the present economic crisis."

Winnipeg Free Press,  
Monday, April 28, 1986

## Document condemns N-policy

MORRISTOWN, N.J. (AP) — United Methodist bishops gather here this week to act on a proposed sweeping denunciation of nuclear weapons and the long-time U.S. policy of nuclear deterrence.

"It is a crisis that threatens to assault not only the whole human family, but planet Earth itself, even while the arms race cruelly destroys millions of lives in conventional wars, repressive violence and massive poverty," the working draft says.

Two years in the making, the document would constitute the strongest condemnation yet of nuclear arms by a major body of church overseers. It goes further than the U.S. Roman Catholic bishops' 1983 criticism of U.S. nuclear strategies, which conditionally accepted deterrence — a theory that the Soviet Union would be deterred from starting a nuclear exchange out of fear of a devastating U.S. retaliation.

The Methodist bishops' proposed conclusion is that any "moral case for deterrence, even as an interim ethic, has been undermined by unrelenting arms escalation."

The proposed 1,500-word pastoral letter and accompanying 30,000-word study and document urge a comprehensive nuclear test ban and a mutually verifiable freeze on production and deployment of nuclear weapons.

It also calls for regular consultations between the United States and the Soviet Union, including an annual summit conference.

About 100 bishops from across the United States are expected to debate and approve the document tomorrow, the first day of their four-day semi-annual meeting.

Titled *In Defence of Creation: The Nuclear Crisis and a Just Peace*, the new draft declares "a clear and unconditioned no to nuclear war and to any use of nuclear weapons."

New

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WOMEN SHAPING A CONSERVER SOCIETY

PROJECT OF

NATIONAL SURVIVAL INSTITUTE

TORONTO

OCTOBER, 1981 TO MARCH, 1982

BROUGHT TOGETHER ONE WOMAN FROM  
EACH OF THE PROVINCES AND  
TERRITORIES AS A PLANNING  
COMMITTEE

## FEMINIST ISSUES

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY  
EQUAL PAY FOR WORK OF EQUAL VALUE  
SEXUAL HARRASSMENT  
PENSIONS FOR HOMEMAKERS  
DAY CARE  
VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN  
CHILD ABUSE  
PROSTITUTION  
PORNOGRAPHY  
MIDWIFERY  
BIRTH CONTROL AND ABORTION

## ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

SAFE DRINKING WATER  
HAZARDOUS WASTE DISPOSAL  
SOFT ENERGY  
NUCLEAR INDUSTRY AND POWER  
ACID RAIN  
OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH AND SAFETY  
AGRO-BUSINESS  
AGRICULTURAL CHEMICALS  
CONSERVATION  
ZERO POPULATION GROWTH

FEMINISM

ENVIRONMENTALISM



COMMONALITY

"RACISM, SEXISM, CLASS EXPLOITATION AND ECOLOGICAL DESTRUCTION ARE FOUR INTERLOCKING PILLARS UPON WHICH THE STRUCTURE OF THE PATRIARCHY RESTS"

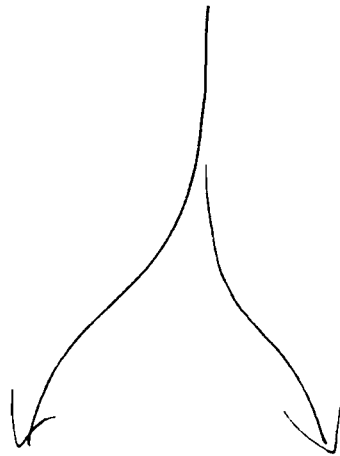
DOMINANCE OF WOMEN BY MEN AND DOMINANCE OF NATURE BY SOCIETY ARE PARALLEL MANIFESTATIONS OF POWER

SIMILAR LANGUAGE IS USED FOR WOMEN AND NATURE (LAND):  
"TAME", "MASTER", "RAPE", "VIRGIN RESOURCES", "MOTHER NATURE".



## IMPLICATIONS OF COMMONALITY

BREAKING DOWN THE SOCIETAL SEX STEREOTYPES WILL HELP  
BREAK DOWN THE BARRIERS TO ECOLOGICAL THINKING AND  
VICE VERSA. IT WILL BE "ALL RIGHT" FOR MEN AS WELL AS  
WOMEN TO BE "NURTURING". IN FACT, IT IS NECESSARY.





## FEMINIST "SOLUTIONS" FROM ENVIRONMENTAL THINKING

THE SAME FORCES WHICH PROMOTE  
ECOLOGICAL DESTRUCTION WILL  
ATTEMPT TO WREST CONTROL OF  
HUMAN REPRODUCTION (INCLUDING  
GESTATION) FROM WOMEN

AN EQUAL ROLE FOR WOMEN IN  
SOCIETY IS NOT A DESIRABLE,  
IT IS A NECESSITY IF WE ARE  
TO PROMOTE PEACE AND ECOLOGICAL  
SANITY



## ENVIRONMENTAL "SOLUTIONS" FROM FEMINIST THINKING

IT IS NECESSARY TO SOCIETY  
FOR WOMEN TO HAVE EQUAL PLACE  
IN SOCIETY'S DECISION-MAKING  
BECAUSE THEIR VIEWPOINT IS  
DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF THE  
PRESENT DECISION-MAKERS;  
MORE IN TUNE WITH ECOLOGICAL  
REALITY AND RHYTHMS

EACH OF US, MALE AND FEMALE,  
HAS THE RIGHT TO EXPRESS OUR  
"NURTURING" SIDE. SOCIETIES  
MUST ACHIEVE A BALANCE BETWEEN  
DOMINATING AND LIVING-WITHIN  
NATURE.

New

8-35

220 Queen Street  
Winnipeg, Manitoba  
R3J 1K7  
April 14, 1986

Martha Kostuch  
Chairman  
Fate of Earth Pre-Conference

Dear Martha:

My friends, Dorothy Wise and Bill Goddard, will be in Edmonton but I cannot come.

I will be in Ottawa from May 26 to June 8 for the three conferences.

I have been in the Canadian Environment Network since 1982 attending each annual meeting and others.

I have about five principal concerns that I must write you about and are explained in the enclosed papers.

Possibly one of them might tend to get neglected and missed if I am not there or possibly many others have exactly the same concerns.

1. Fate of the Earth - Nuclear War - Militarism  
As an old World War II soldier I see again exactly the same right wing governments in North America and Europe preparing for war and carry out plans for oppression of poor people here and in Latin and South America and Africa.
2. Fate of the Earth - Technology and Chemical poisoning and destruction of farm and forest land and poisoning of people and animals by pesticides and toxic wastes guarantee irreversible land destruction in 20 years even if there is no war.

I have tried to put these two concerns on paper in my paper:

"Preservation of Topsoil and Soil Fertility  
in Agricultural and Forest Regions  
Land Use Policy Concerns are Rising"

with 62 references listed. It is my attempt to put on paper some of the ideas David Suzuki put in his film series:

"A Planet for the Taking"

3. \$10,000,000,000 preparations for war in Western and Northern Canada with a little nuclear reactor in each military base to add radiation to any weapon explosion.

We are doing a poor job of clearly and simply connecting the 5,000 cruise missiles we are helping build and test to both destroy Russia and destroy any effective arms control;

And connecting them to the 5,000 cruise missiles the Russian President has promised to send to the U.S.A. across Canada.

Russia will build 5,000 while the U.S.A. and Canada build 5,000 cruise missiles.

Russia will build 100 new bombers to deliver them while the U.S.A. builds 100 B-1 bombers to deliver them.

The unstoppable cruise missile going into Russia becomes an easily stopped cruise missile, and a great opportunity for profit, when the U.S.A. plans to shoot down Russia cruise missiles in Saskatchewan, Alberta and Manitoba right where we are testing them now.

See Page 3 Ad, Globe and Mail, April 14, 1986:

"We think it is time to say something  
about Low Level Air Defence."

4. In September 1982, Brian Stazinski, Herman Boerma and I shared with others the development of the idea of presenting to the Federal Cabinet in 1987 a

"Sustainable Development Strategy  
For Industrial and Farm and  
Forest Operations"

to carry out the World Conservation Strategy.

The Network was said to have adopted this but in the four years since I see very little leadership from the Network Steering Committee and precious little effort from most of us delegates to develop papers, find a system to share them and develop a consensus within the network.

I know the many problems we all have. What is being done? Where is a news letter? Where is funding from Penny Pinching Environment Canada?

These papers particularly the "Heritage for Tomorrow" proposal for "A New National Park System" is my attempt to clarify some of the Sustainable Development Concept.



5. My fifth concern is that we begin to look for long range radical and innovative solutions to our long term problems of lack of financing and very inadequate environment laws and very primitive stage of development of democratic government in Canada and the U.S.A.

We must begin to co-operate more and become active politically. If we are not ready to act in the political field in all ways we will continue to fail.

Lech Walensa, Desmond Tutu, Mrs. Aquino show us the way and the only way to establish democratic people control over their lives, their technology and their governments.

To this end I have enclosed with my "Happy New Year Letter" my "Industrial and Economic Priorities."

This paper details a radical innovation of proper "Environment Impact Studies and Research by Environmentalists," and full and adequate funding for Environmentalists and Public Interest Research Groups in Universities.

This letter is going to many in the Federal Cabinet and Opposition.

"The Reduction of War Risk Fund" which follows these papers gives a method of funding the Peace Movement.

"In Search of Peace Conference" details an innovative concept demanding that the papers we produce be reproduced and made available all across Canada to the people of Canada through the "Freedom of Information Act."

The concept is clearly identified in "The Other MacDonald Report."

Hon. Donald MacDonald picked out the studies of the banks, business, and some professionals that suited the needs of "The Trilateral Commission" of which he is a member, to promote free trade, rape of the environment and lower incomes of the laboring classes to create more millionaires.

There were many learned briefs for exactly opposite policies to benefit ordinary people but these are not desired in Honduras, Nicaragua, nor in Canada.

We must get copies of all these papers to a University in every provincial capital, two sets--one for the reference library and one you can borrow and take home to study in group sessions.

Over the next ten years 1,000 people could study these instead of 50.

We must get these kinds of ideas out and fight for them so in ten years things will get better instead of steadily worse.

Will you please consider sharing some of these ideas with some of the leaders and delegates?

Sincerely,

Kenneth Emberley

Kenneth Emberley.

TORONTO STAR  
Saturday, October 27, 1984

## Best kind in the world

In the summer of 1980 I was posted to Kingston as commandant of the National Defence College. This small institution, the best of its kind in the world, examines the national and international political, economic, social, and military factors affecting Canada's security in the broadest sense.

Each year, the 40-course members, most of whom are civilians, hear hundreds of eminent speakers, tour the Canadian provinces and territories, and travel to 15 or more foreign countries.

In my four years there, I led the college to 37 countries in the Americas, Europe, Asia and Africa. We saw the rich countries, and some of the poorest, the strong, the weak, the newly-industrialized, and some which are going under after hopeful starts.

We met Japanese and German industrialists, scholars, diplomats, journalists, U.S. nuclear commanders, aging Chinese revolutionaries, Indian scientists, Arab and Israeli politicians, black presidents, Hungarian factory managers, collective farmers, and hosts of other people.

Nowhere, from the communes of Shanghai to the shanty-towns of Rio de Janeiro did we meet anyone less human than we were. Nowhere, not even in the United States, did we meet anyone more fortunate than the poorest of Canadians.

Almost everywhere, we met people who hunger for peace and justice, and who cry out for an end to the arms race.

There is no longer any such thing as purely "national" security. There must be security for all, or none will have it. "No man is an island, entire of itself," as poet John Donne said, 400 years ago. What was true of men then is true of men and nations now.

Just as nations are interdependent, so are the four elements of security we studied at National Defence College.

# Nuclear test ban should be top priority

By L. V. Johnson

WESTPORT, Ont. — In an attempt to regain the illusory security of nuclear superiority, the United States has abandoned the relative safety of stable mutual deterrence for a war-fighting strategy favoring pre-emptive attack. Lethal nuclear weapons employing concealment, stealth technology, short flight times and terminal guidance are becoming the offensive tools of this strategy. Star Wars would defend against attack by remnants of Soviet strategic forces, thus blunting the counter-blow that would otherwise deter an American attack. Soviet vulnerability, made unacceptable by fear, will increase the danger of nuclear war.

According to the peculiar logic of nuclear strategy, the principal objective of nuclear arms control has been to maintain the ability of each superpower to destroy the other while limiting the means, thus maintaining disincentive to strike first. At the heart of arms control agreements was verification, essential to mutual percep-

□ Maj-Gen. Leonard Johnson, a retired Canadian officer, is a member of Generals for Peace and Disarmament, a group of 13 retired NATO generals.

tions of security. Cruise-missiles and other easily concealed weapons, deployed in aircraft, submarines, surface ships, trucks, and trains, will not be verifiable, however. Arms control agreements will be impossible.

George Orwell admonished us to make technology clearly subservient to human needs and conditions. Failure to do so has brought us to a decision point in history. The path our faith in science and technology impels us along leads downward to the annihilation of ourselves, our dreams, and our prospects. We can leave it now, if we choose, but there is a gate on the path to annihilation and it will soon close behind us.

Blinded by our own ingenuity, we've come to believe that all of our problems can be solved with science and technology. But nuclear war, the preparations for which are condemned by the

Christian church, is a profoundly moral problem. Similarly, eminent jurists have determined that such preparations violate international law, and respected philosophers have found nuclear strategic doctrine, which is driven by technology, incoherent and self-contradicting. And yet we seek safety in the very means that have brought us to the brink of annihilation. Surely it's time to give our humanity a chance. Surely we aren't the kind of people who countenance wholesale murder and suicide just because science and technology can't handle political problems.

Next Aug. 6 will be the 40th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima. The Centre for Defence Information in Washington, D.C., has been campaigning for an end to all nuclear weapons explosions by that date. An end to nuclear explosions is the first and most important step that can be taken to avert nuclear war. A comprehensive test ban seems like a large step, but both superpowers are committed to it under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty,

and its achievement requires only an act of political will. What is needed now is an immediate moratorium on nuclear weapons testing, followed by resumption of comprehensive test ban negotiations suspended in 1980.

A comprehensive test ban treaty has long been an objective of the government of Canada. Despite his declared commitment to peace, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's government has tested the cruise missile, supported Star Wars research, and rejected the Soviet proposal for a moratorium on deployments of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe. A call for a moratorium on nuclear explosions pending a comprehensive test ban treaty would pursue Canada's objective, give much-needed credibility to Mulroney's declarations, and inject political energy into negotiations that will otherwise fall victim to bureaucratic and ideological rivalries.

It's time to stop the folly. The Canadian government must take the lead, marshalling international support for an end to nuclear weapons explosions.

TORONTO STAR

JUNE 6, 1985

## 'The path of militarism leads not to security but to annihilation'

**Peace general:** Maj-Gen. Leonard Johnson, of Generals for Peace, calls militarism the "wasting disease of human society."

military-industrial complexes that thrive on each other and have grown beyond political control.

President Dwight Eisenhower, a great general, warned of this in his farewell address in 1961. The

path of militarism leads not to security, but to annihilation, and its milestones are political, economic, and social decay. Freedom and democracy won't survive militarism, the wasting disease of human society.

The disease is far advanced. Military spending, driving up government deficits, leads to high interest rates, economic recession, and high unemployment. The same factors contribute to the international debt crisis

## Blueprint for war

## Reagan's intent doubted

By TOM WICKER  
New York Times

NEW YORK — "The first complete defence guidance" of the Reagan administration, intended to govern U.S. military policy for at least the next five years, is a blueprint for turning uneasy Soviet-American relations into an unrelenting war to the death.

This extraordinary 126-page document, representing the views of U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger and his highest military and civilian advisers, was the subject of an extensive report by Richard Halloran in *The New York Times* for May 30, 1982.

Weinberger's "guidance":

- Accepts nuclear-war fighting as a necessity in which the United States must be able to "prevail" over the Soviet Union even in a "protracted conflict period."

- Would have the effect of moving the United States toward a perpetual wartime state.

- Presents to the world a picture of an America committed to nothing save power, willing even to exploit outer space for American military purposes.

The document details, for example, the Pentagon's intent to "revitalize and enhance special-operations forces to project United States power where the use of conventional forces would be premature, inappropriate or infeasible (sic)," particularly in eastern Europe. "Special operations," translated from the Pentagonese, means guerrilla warfare, sabotage, terrorism and the like.

What is the world to make of that? Is any nation incurring Washington's displeasure or standing in the way of its perceived interest to be subject to "destabilization" like Guatemala 25 years ago, Chile 10 years ago, or Nicaragua today? And particularly eastern Europe? Have events over the years in Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, taught the United States nothing?

Halloran described the Weinberger "guidance" as having, in effect, declared economic and technical war on the Soviet Union even in peacetime. What other conclusion can be drawn from a "peacetime" program to put all possible pressure on the Soviet economy, and a call for an arms race in which the United States would develop weapons "difficult for the Soviets to counter, impose disproportionate costs, open up new

areas of military competition and obsolescence (sic) previous Soviet investment"? We will bury them.

The document also outlines the projected conversion of President Jimmy Carter's modest Rapid Deployment Force (RDF) into an armada deploying five army divisions, two Marine divisions and air wings, 10 air force tactical fighter wings, two B-52 bomber wings and three navy aircraft carriers with their array of support ships.

This awesome striking force supposedly would have the mission of defending U.S. oil sources in the Persian Gulf. But the paper makes it clear that the RDF will not necessarily delay intervention until a friendly government invites it, which has been the public pretense, and that its primary object is to counter Soviet power, not to help the nations of the region defend themselves against each other.

How can all these warlike plans be squared with Reagan's Memorial Day declaration that "with good will and dedication on both sides I pray that we will achieve a safer world"?

What kind of good will is it for him to announce that talks will begin on June 29 for the reduction of nuclear arms, even as his military planners are proposing "prototype development of space-based weapons systems," including means of destroying Soviet satellites?

Moscow must rely on those satellites for verification of U.S. compli-

ance with nuclear weapons reductions. Without them, it can make no agreements for such reductions.

If those "space-based" weapons are nuclear, moreover, they would violate the Soviet-American-British treaty of 1963 and the United Nations Outer Space Treaty of 1967. But not content with launching the arms race into outer space, the "guidance" also suggests that if the United States deploys the MX missile, it might also have to deploy anti-missile systems — thus endangering the most successful Soviet-American strategic arms treaty.

After reading this official Defence Department document, prepared by Reagan's appointees and intended for the guidance of the military establishment, why should the Soviets think he is serious about reducing nuclear arms or easing tensions? And western Europeans, already nervous about what they call Reagan's "cow-boy" tendencies, will hardly be reassured by his planners' scheme to aim strategic weapons at bases in eastern Europe as well as at the Soviet homeland.

Worse, what kind of country would the United States be if all these militaristic plans became reality? Reagan may mourn U.S. war dead on Memorial Day and proclaim that "the freedom for which they died must endure and prosper." But nothing is less likely than freedom to endure and prosper in a garrison state dedicated to eternal war, and willing even to destroy itself in order to prevail over the rubble.



Reagan lays wreath at tomb of U.S. Unknown Soldier

Any increase in arms budget for strengthening Canada's forces must be matched dollar for dollar by money put into a fund to reduce the necessity for these armed forces and to reduce the need for constantly modernizing our forces' equipment at an unnecessarily rapid rate.

#### THE REDUCTION OF WAR RISK FUND

The fund must be paid out annually in equal amounts to the four following groups:

1. A section of our Secretary of State's office that will work to negotiate directly with the Soviet Union through the United Nations on Bilateral Arms Reduction and control and study the "Arms Race" and make proposals to the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. to constructively assist Arms Control Negotiations. It must have an advisory committee representing the peace groups dedicated to peaceful resolution of conflicts.
2. A direct grant to the United Nations Peace College which holds meetings around the world on Conflict Resolution. A part of this fund would be used to permit CBC to carry regular programs on the national network at least an hour a week on this vital work totally ignored at present. A part would be used to fund a college meeting in Canada each year.
3. Direct funding on a small scale to all peace and disarmament citizen organizations and especially to the United Nations Association. First funding would be to permit doubling of permanent paid staff or the funding of two paid staff if none existed and the funding would guarantee five annual grants so some permanent worthwhile programs can be commenced. This would include groups like the Pugwash Conferences.

Funding would gradually expand groups' ability to publish larger printings of newsletters and larger distribution including school libraries and businesses and professional people who have such great difficulty in finding information in the regular publications to which they usually subscribe.

4. Funding for a nation-wide campaign under established groups to assist every library in the country to balance its resource materials by the inclusion of books, periodicals and newsletters to balance the flood of pro-war publications and news reports in our daily newspapers raising hysteria so similar to that before World War II.

The Trudeau Government creation of the "Center for Arms Control and Disarmament" and funding for peace groups was a grand initiative and I know the M.P.'s here today worked to get it finally passed long after it was needed.

#### BASIC QUESTION YOU DID NOT ASK US

##### WHY AN ARMS RACE? - WHY THE HUGE ESCALATION?

There is a giant failure in our education system and our government system. There seems to be no desire at all to examine if the system of education or government has deep basic flaws in its fundamental assumptions, teachings and methods of operation.

Ralph Nader and University Public Interest Research Groups, Citizen



# SOIL STERILITY, EVENTUAL HAVOC FRUITS OF FARM TECHNOLOGY

BY CHARLES WALTERS JR.

Secretary Bergland said it: for every ton of corn harvested, two tons of soil go down the river. No single sentence from any national leader has so much put into perspective the nature of the farm technology problem. Certainly the hundreds of texts on agronomy fail to put this reality into focus, for to do so would mean questioning the sacred dogma called N, P and K.

Yet there it is in its naked reality. Farm technology is going broke on the installment plan, and taking the food supply with it in the fullness of time. Indeed, one has to be blind, deaf and dumb to not notice the insanity of food policy and public policy in general.

We talk of feeding the world, and we seem to care not whether irreplaceable nutrients are shipped off to the foreigner or sent down the tube to the ocean. We hardly wink an eye as 10 years of progress gobble up 17 million acres of farmland for highways, parking lots, airports, shopping centers, and the like.

These tragedies are significant enough. But they're only a harbinger of what is yet to come — millions of acres going sterile. Not since the Romans sailed Carthage has any nation gone as far as the United States to visit the effects of mistakes on future generations. The symbol of the new form of sailing is now surfacing in California, where some 400,000 acres of once-productive land have been desertified, due to salt fertilizers.

In order to produce cheap food of doubtful quality, the food managers have taken out insurance on having plenty of hungry people. As the people leave the land, the economic managers applaud themselves and point to the marvels of industrial farms based on tax advantages and bank loans. But the loans are faltering now, and the great industrial farms will follow Chrysler and other industrial giants into bankruptcy. In the meantime the people are gone, institutionalized into their poverty, directly dependent on city, county, state and federal money for existence.

People take leave of their senses as a mob. They come to their senses one at a time. There have been times when whole nations abandoned their fields to follow a warrior or rescue a holy grail. The recent history of the United States will likely be noted as an era in which "wealth accumulated, and men decayed."

Colonel Leland B. Taylor covers the farm country like a vacuum sweeper. "The greatest single threat to the future food supply is the tunnel vision of agricultural leaders," he observed. Some 2 million acres of Oklahoma land went out of cotton production during the first 10 years after introduction of anhydrous ammonia. Colorado lost 1.7 million acres of prime row-crop land after 1955, when anhydrous ammonia was introduced.

In Iowa where Secretary of Agriculture Lounsbury claimed, "We have no high sodium soil," Mr. Taylor sampled a soybean demonstration plot and turned up 600 pounds of sodium per acre.

In California they burn 1.7 million tons of rice straw each year because "it won't biodegrade." Well, it won't, not in dead soil. Yet Orientals have been returning rice straw to the soil for centuries.

The sad part about all this is that we ought to have to argue about these things. A child can understand what is being said here. Only the great tunnel-vision people can't seem to understand. Some day someone can determine whether ego, or money, or cowardice gets in the way.

Charles Walters Jr. is editor-publisher of acres U.S.A., published monthly at 10008 60th Terrace, Raytown, Mo. 64133 (\$8 per year)

# Safe Water Foundation Newsletter

(Formerly the National Antifluoridation Newsletter)  
Compiled by S.W.F. Staff  
6439 Taggart Rd.  
Delaware, Ohio 43015

Volume II Number 6 July - October 1980

## FLUORIDATION IN THE UNITED STATES

• On July 14, 1980, the Plaintiffs' Summary of Facts, a detailed scientific explanation establishing the harmful effects of fluoridation, was submitted in the Alton (Illinois) Court case. After thoroughly reviewing this brief, a chemistry professor at one of the leading midwestern universities called it "a masterpiece of lucid erudition and cogent argument. I will indeed be surprised if the opposition has any kind of plausible answers... I do not see how he [Judge Niemann] can reach any judgment other than one for the Plaintiffs."

• On August 4, 1980, the Defendants' Closing Argument was submitted. Virtually avoiding the scientific arguments, the Defendants' brief centered mainly on disparaging comments, and at one point portrayed Drs. Burk and Waldbott as senile and old men. On August 15, 1980, Plaintiffs submitted a short rebuttal argument, and on that date the Illinois case was closed.

• Despite the lopsided scientific victory in this court case, and despite the fact no one from the Center for Disease Control was present for even one of the 40 court hearing days, CDC claimed, "based on the evidence presented and the information received, we expect a verdict this fall in favor of fluoridation." Based on this and other falsehoods, CDC pressed the U.S. House of Representatives to pass a 6.2-million-dollar appropriation to promote fluoridation. This appropriation, part of the total H.E.W. budget, went to the Senate for a final determination.

• U.S. Representative William Natcher deserves much of the credit for getting the fluoridation appropriation through the House. As chairman of the powerful House Subcommittee on H.E.W. Appropriations, he informed CDC Director William Foege that he had "always supported CDC's full budget request," but thought CDC was way out of line with its attack against the tobacco industry, the major industry in Natcher's home district. Dr. Foege promptly pulled in his horns on the tobacco controversy, and in late August drew dividends from this move. Natcher, upon presenting the H.E.W. budget before the full committee, intimidated his colleagues by pointing out that he would not tolerate any amendment to the bill. The result — a double barreled health threat — cigarettes and fluoridation.

By Kent MacDougall  
Los Angeles Times

Ever since the first band of nomadic hunters and gatherers settled down as farmers about 12,000 years ago and started accumulating surpluses of food and goods, some people have managed to keep a disproportionate share of the surplus for themselves, while others have been left with only the barest necessities.

Today, despite 12,000 years of technological progress, an enormous increase in material production and consumption, bloody revolutions aimed at redistributing wealth and well-intentioned reforms aimed at ameliorating the effects of inequality, human society remains divided between haves and have-nots.

A hard look at inequality in many capitalist and Communist countries shows the ages-old gap between rich and poor is persisting and even widening throughout most of the world.

"Since the mid-1970s the winds have been blowing more strongly around the world against equality, as the general economic slowdown has given many people and many governments the feeling that they can no longer afford to mitigate unfairness," observed Lars Osberg, a Canadian economist who has written books on inequality in Canada and the United States.

### Poor get poorer

In the United States, the rich have been getting richer and the poor poorer for a decade, according to Census Bureau statistics. The figures show that whereas the most affluent one-fifth of American families averaged seven times more income than the poorest fifth in 1974, the gap was nine to one last year. Meanwhile, in Canada, the country closest to the United States in size, geography and economic development, the gap is six to one.

In Britain, government statistics show the rich got richer and the poor poorer during Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's first term in office. Between 1978-79 and 1981-82, the most affluent one-fifth of Britons increased their share of income from 42.6 per cent to 45 per cent, while the share of the bottom fifth slipped from 5.9 per cent to 5.5 per cent.

In Sweden, government statistics show distribution of income virtually unchanged between 1975 and 1981. Yet "after almost 60 years of almost uninterrupted progress toward less inequality," wealth — what people own as opposed to what they earn — has become more concentrated again since 1975, Swedish researcher Roland Spant has reported.

Even in the Eastern Bloc nation of Hungary, relaxation of restrictions on profit making and official sanction of private businesses with up to 30 employees each have spawned a new class of millionaire businessmen and farmers. Joining them are a handful of pop music stars, the inventor of Rubik's Cube and a Hungarian painter who at last count owned 12 homes scattered around the world and three Rolls-Royces in California alone.

### Even in China

While inequality inches upward in developed industrial nations, it is mounting in the developing, industrializing Third World. There, gaps of 20-to-1 and even 30-to-1 in income between the most affluent and poorest

fifths of the population are common. Even in relatively egalitarian China, decollectivization of agriculture and the proliferation of privately owned businesses are widening the gap under the official slogan, "Some must get rich first."

The growing gap around the world would cause less concern if the absolute living standards of those at the bottom were being maintained or even improved. Unfortunately, in much of the Third World hardship and hunger are on the rise.

The United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization estimates that even though the world now produces enough to feed its entire population of 4.7 billion, the number of Third World hungry rose from 401 million in 1969-71 to 460 million last year.

International surveys show the United States is among the least equal of mature capitalist countries. A 1976 survey of 11 capitalist countries found only France and Spain with less equal income distribution than the United States, while a 1977 comparison of eight countries found only France less equal.

Even Japan, which was highly unequal until post-Second World War U.S. occupation forces imposed land redistribution, wage equalization, unionization and education reforms, now distributes income more evenly than the United States.

### No trade-off

As Japan's rapidly expanding, highly productive economy demonstrates, there appears to be no necessary trade-off between income equality and economic growth. Among the 24 member nations of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, "the country with fastest growth (Japan) has roughly average inequality, as does the country with slowest growth (the United Kingdom)," economist Osberg observes in *Economic Inequality in the United States*. "The country with the greatest equality (Holland) has the third-highest growth rate, but not that much higher than the most unequal nation (France)."

Nor, apparently, is there any necessary trade-off between income equality and living standards. Despite fewer natural resources and higher population densities, half a dozen European countries now have higher per-capita incomes than the United States, and citizens of 12 nations live longer on the average.

One major factor in the more even spread of income in Western Europe is that it is more highly unionized than the United States. Where unions represent most workers, they tend to encourage wage equalization.

# The poor get poorer

## Gap widens everywhere between haves, have-nots

The move away from equalization in Hungary, though startling for a country with egalitarian goals, points up the essential similarity of occupational stratification and wage differentiation in the socialist East and capitalist West.

This similarity is hardly surprising given the basic characteristics of heavily industrialized, highly complex economies that mass-produce goods and services. Both the state enterprises of socialist countries and the private enterprises of capitalist countries are organized hierarchically, with a detailed division of labor and a sliding scale of rewards favoring those at the top who give orders over those below who carry them out.

Even the distinction between public and private ownership and control is fading, as socialist countries reduce the role of central planning in favor of greater reliance on free-market mechanisms, and as capitalist governments intervene increasingly in the economy and gain more control over production, jobs and wealth. In the United States, local, state and federal government spending has risen from less than 10 per cent of the gross national product in 1929 to more than 35 per cent today. In Western Europe, the public sector averages 50 per cent.

In the Soviet Union, the operative principle is not the Communist goal of distribution according to need but the pragmatic practice of distribution according to contribution. Wage differentials reflect ideology less than supply and demand.

Indeed, the Soviet Union has followed capitalist countries in increasing wage differentials during early and rapid industrialization, as the demand for skilled workers, engineers and managers rose faster than the supply, and later reducing differentials as the supply of qualified personnel increased and things settled down.

The narrowing of wage differentials that followed Stalin's death in 1953 and his denunciation at the 20th Communist Party Congress in 1956 reflected not only revulsion at the wage gaps he had sanctioned, which were greater than in the West, but also the post-Second-World War expansion of education. Just as the economic advantage of a college education has declined

along with its increased availability in North America, the greatly increased supply of Soviet engineering and technical school graduates has curtailed their earnings advantage over unskilled and semiskilled workers.

In the last decade, however, the income gap in the Soviet Union has



remained pretty much unchanged. Soviet factory directors, farm managers, government officials and other administrators draw salaries ranging from three to five times the average industrial wage. This is a narrower differential than the gap between managers and workers in the United States.

### Surprising

But to Mervyn Matthews, author of *Privilege in the Soviet Union*, "the surprising thing is that the American and Soviet factors are so near one another."

With income from stocks, bonds and other investments banned, and subsidized housing, child care and other social services exerting an equalizing effect, Soviet income is distributed about as equally as in Sweden and much more equally than in the United States, according to American experts. Wealth is spread much more equally among Russians than among either Swedes or Americans.

Inequality tends to increase with geographic size and ethnic diversity. The huge Soviet Union is less equal than tiny Albania, which limits the salaries of the highest-paid workers to twice the lowest paid's and claims to be the world's only pure Communist country. Socialist China, with 10-to-1 gaps in per-capita income between prosperous villages in fertile regions and poor villages in infertile regions, has more inequality, at least as conventionally measured, than small, more homogeneous, capitalist Taiwan.

Countries divided along racial and cultural lines also tend to have more inequality. In the United States, blacks and Latinos make up the hard core of have-nots. In Guatemala and a number of other Latin American countries, Indians do. In South Africa, the black majority averages only a fraction of the income of the white minority.

The smaller the ruling elite, and the more concentrated its economic and political power, the greater inequality tends to be. As Edward S. Herman, professor of finance at the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School, has pointed out, when "power is consolidated more firmly in the hands of a wealthy minority, as after the Brazilian coup of 1964, the Dominican Republic invasion of 1965, or the Chilean counter-revolution of 1973, the income distribution moves sharply in the direction of increased inequality."

Revolutions remain the surest way to reduce inequality, of course, but their equalizing effects tend to diminish over time. China provides a case in point. The redistribution of farmland and collectivization of agriculture that followed the 1949 revolution greatly reduced inequality within villages and between villages in the same region. However, severe restrictions on migration to urban areas, or even to other rural areas, doomed the inhabitants of poor, crowded, infertile backwaters to lifelong poverty.

The result, according to Western experts, was to widen the income gap between villagers in different parts of China, as well as between city and countryside, even during Mao Tse-tung's lifetime. The post-Mao right turn down the capitalist road has accelerated this disequalizing trend.

In Cuba, post-revolutionary moves to gear distribution according to need rather than to contribution proved premature, and the government has



since staged a tactical retreat. Wage differentials have been widened and skilled, productive workers offered special rewards.

The re-emphasis on individual monetary incentives in both Cuba and China is recognition that the development of Communist consciousness will take longer than first thought. It also demonstrates the propensity of inequality, even after a revolution, to reassert itself.

### Human nature

"Probably the most important lesson to be learned from (socialist) experiments is that human nature is not nearly as malleable, nor as free from inherent tendencies to promote self-interest, as Marx and many other social theorists since the Enlightenment have imagined," Gerhard E. Lenski, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, observes in the preface to a new edition of his influential 1966 book, *Power and Privilege: A Theory of Social Stratification*.

"Efforts to create 'the new socialist man,' who puts the needs of society ahead of his own personal needs and

desires, have been singularly disappointing. Moral incentives have proven no match for material incentives..."

Some egalitarians don't consider Cuba and other socialist countries a fair test of moral incentives because workers generally lack a direct voice in policies affecting production and the workplace, and this weakens their motivation to work hard for the common good.

At the same time, a yen for possessions tempts workers to put their own material interests first. As Lenski sees it, "Unlike the various plants and animals, man has an insatiable appetite for goods and services. No matter how much he produces and consumes, he always desires more. This is true chiefly because the goods and services he consumes have a status value as well as a utilitarian value."

At the very least, human acquisitiveness complicates attempts to reduce the rich-poor gap to the point where not just need but also envy and discord are eliminated. Intractable for 12,000 years, inequality may mar the world for many more.

# The Nicaraguan Revolution:

Has it made a difference to the hungry?

**I**n July 1979, the Nicaraguan people toppled the Somoza dictatorship and began a long struggle against an economic system in which the richest 2 percent of landowners had taken control of half the farmland—while 60 percent of the children went hungry.

**What Difference Could a Revolution Make?** reports on the dramatic changes brought by the first three years of the Sandinista revolution. How have the lives of the rural poor and the rural rich changed? Are the hungry eating better? How has food production—both for local consumption and for export—been affected? This book comes up with some surprising answers.

In discussing the new government's efforts to build a food and farming system that can meet the needs of the country's poor majority while increasing production of export crops, it shatters the myths about Nicaragua created in Washington.

Joseph Collins, co-author of *Food First, World Hunger: 10 Myths*, and Aid as Obstacle, has visited Nicaragua many times as an unpaid advisor on agrarian reform and food policies. With Frances Moore Lappé, author of *Diet for a Small Planet*, and co-author of *Food First and World Hunger*, he founded the Institute for Food and Development Policy. Nick Allen is projects director there.

*This book is a companion volume to Now We Can Speak: A Journey through the New Nicaragua, also published by the Institute for Food and Development Policy.*

"AN EXTRAORDINARILY  
IMPORTANT BOOK"—Choice

## What Difference Could a Revolution Make?



Food and  
Farming  
The New  
Nicaragua

Joseph  
Collins

With Frances Moore Lappé  
And Nick Allen

What Difference Could a Revolution Make?

Food and Farming in The New Nicaragua

Joseph Collins With Frances Moore Lappé And Nick Allen

turned out not very different from those in other countries around the world. In our investigations at the Institute for Food and Development Policy we have seen, again and again, how the better-off small producers corner the benefits of most small-producer credit programs. The better-off small producers—the minority who generally work their land mostly with hired labor—have all the advantages. They own their farms, have registered titles, and thus can offer the bank collateral. They are experienced in working with the government and have developed better entrepreneurial skills. Not surprisingly, therefore, most of the multiple-year credit went to them, credit they could use to buy young animals to fatten or to put in coffee or fruit trees.

Landholders too large to qualify for the subsidized small producer interest rate actually received considerable credit, subsequent ministry investigations discovered. In the *departemento* of Boaco, statistics on this type of lending were deliberately kept off the records, while bank officers in two other regions only considered for credit those with nine acres or more, even though the majority had less. (*Poder Sandinista*, a Sandinista Front supplement to *Barricada*, denounced the practice.)

In one region with unusually good data, the rich campesinos, who are small coffee producers, got six times more credit per family than the poor campesinos, who are tenants producing corn and beans. This provoked fears within the new government that small coffee farmers could become an elite among small farmers, dampening enthusiasm for the food production so urgently needed. Tenants with experience in planting got twice as much credit as farmworkers getting access to land for the first time.

For all these problems and injustices, however, we should not forget that even in the first year over 70,000 campesino families obtained bank credit for the first time in their lives. *Relatively speaking*, they experienced the most dramatic change of all producers.

## Lessons

While many people might assume that policies aimed at justice should treat all farmers the same, Nicaragua's leaders

have learned it's more complicated than that. To be effective in favoring the poorest, they have learned, it takes time, organization, and mobilization to identify the different social strata within the peasantry, much less design and implement unequal policies for unequal people. (This task is especially unlikely and difficult during a food production emergency.)

To many North Americans it might seem quite reasonable that the better-off campesinos get the lion's share of the credit; after all, they have the most land and animals to work with and the most experience. But what appears "reasonable" might not be if the goal is not only to produce more food but to ensure that more underfed people are able to eat from their own production. To achieve this goal it is necessary to take a course which might at first appear slower and therefore less efficient. Yet favoring the poorer, less secure, less experienced producers might turn out to be the best course to eradicate hunger.

Finally, even at its worst, the new government's track record in credit for small farmers is a far cry from the small farmer credit programs financed by the U.S. Agency for International Development under Somoza. In these programs an estimated 80 percent of the total credit went right off the top to the big export operators.

What has impressed us is that the new government recognized and publicly acknowledged the unintended consequences of its credit policies. This is in stark contrast to so many governments and international lending agencies, such as the World Bank, which often try to cover up the fact that the well-off benefit disproportionately from their rural assistance programs, often to the detriment of the true poor.

# Institute Publications

**Now We Can Speak: A Journey through the New Nicaragua,** features interviews with Nicaraguans from every walk of life telling how their lives have changed since the 1979 overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship. Frances Moore Lappé and Joseph Collins, 124 pages with photographs. \$4.95

**What Difference Could a Revolution Make? Food and Farming in the New Nicaragua,** provides a critical yet sympathetic look at the agrarian reform in Nicaragua since the 1979 revolution and analyzes the new government's successes, problems, and prospects. Joseph Collins and Frances Moore Lappé, with Nick Allen, 185 pages. \$5.95

**Trading the Future: Farm Exports and the Concentration of Economic Power in Our Food System** is a scholarly investigation which develops a comprehensive analysis of U.S. farming and food systems. It demonstrates how the increasing concentration of control over farmland, rapid erosion of soil, loss of water resources, and our growing reliance upon a narrow range of export crops parallels the process of underdevelopment experienced in the third world. Alterations in America's farm landscape threaten us not only with severe imbalances in control over resources, but also with rising prices in the midst of huge surpluses. James Wessel with Mort Hantman, 250 pages. \$8.95.

**Diet for a Small Planet: Tenth Anniversary Edition,** an updated edition of the bestseller that taught Americans the social and personal significance of a new way of eating. Frances Moore Lappé, 432 pages with charts, tables, resource guide, recipes, Ballantine Books. \$3.50



**Food First: Beyond the Myth of Scarcity**, 50 questions and responses about the causes and proposed remedies for world hunger. Frances Moore Lappé and Joseph Collins, with Cary Fowler, 620 pages, Ballantine Books, revised 1979. \$3.95

**Comer es Primero: Mas Alla del Mito de la Escasez** is a Spanish-language edition of *Food First*, 409 pages, Siglo XXI—Mexico. \$9.95

**Food First Comic**, a comic for young people based on the book *Food First: Beyond the Myth of Scarcity*. Leonard Rifas, 24 pages. \$1.00

**Aid as Obstacle: Twenty Questions about our Foreign Aid and the Hungry** demonstrates that foreign aid may be hurting the very people we want to help and explains why foreign aid programs fail. Frances Moore Lappé, Joseph Collins, David Kinley, 192 pages with photographs. \$5.95

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**El Hambre en el Mundo: Diez Mitos**, a Spanish-language version of *World Hunger: Ten Myths* plus additional information about food and agriculture policies in Mexico, 72 pages. \$1.45

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**What Can We Do?** An action guide on food, land and hunger issues. Interviews with over one dozen North Americans involved in many aspects of these issues. William Valentine and Frances Moore Lappé, 60 pages with photographs. \$2.95

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# About the Institute

The Institute for Food and Development Policy, publisher of this book, is a nonprofit research and education center. The Institute works to identify the root causes of hunger and food problems in the United States and around the world and to educate the public as well as policymakers about these problems.

The world has never produced so much food as it does today—more than enough to feed every child, woman, and man as many calories as the average American eats. Yet hunger is on the rise, with more than one billion people around the world going without enough to eat.

Institute research has demonstrated that the hunger and poverty in which millions seem condemned to live is not inevitable. Our Food First publications reveal how scarcity and overpopulation, long believed to be the causes of hunger, are instead symptoms—symptoms of an ever-increasing concentration of control over food-producing resources in the hands of a few, depriving so many people of the power to feed themselves.

In 55 countries and 20 languages, Food First materials and investigations are freeing people from the grip of despair, laying the groundwork—in ideas and action—for a more democratically controlled food system that will meet the needs of all.

#### **An Invitation to Join Us**

Private contributions and membership dues form the financial base of the Institute for Food and Development Policy. Because the Institute is not tied to any government, corporation, or university, it can speak with a strong independent voice, free of ide-

logical formulas. The success of the Institute's programs depends not only on its dedicated volunteers and staff, but on financial activists as well. All our efforts toward ending hunger are made possible by membership dues or gifts from individuals, small foundations, and religious organizations. We accept no government or corporate funding.

Each new and continuing member strengthens our effort to change a hungry world. We'd like to invite you to join in this effort. As a member of the Institute you will receive a 25 percent discount on all Food First books. You will also receive our triannual publication, *Food First News*, and our timely Action Alerts. These Alerts provide information and suggestions for action on current food and hunger crises in the United States and around the world.

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A JOURNEY THROUGH THE NEW NICARAGUA

## NOW WE CAN SPEAK



by Frances Moore Lappé and Joseph Collins

"People know what the meaning of my struggle is," a Nicaraguan farmer told the authors of *Now We Can Speak*. "It's for equality. I'm struggling for peace but not peace with hunger."

*Now We Can Speak*, by the authors of *Food First* and *World Hunger: Ten Myths*, focuses on the lives of ordinary men and women in Nicaragua — and how they are changing. As they discuss their experience with community organizations, their newly-won political power, and the progress made against hunger, disease and illiteracy, a vivid canvas of contemporary Nicaragua emerges.

A *Food First* book, 128 pages, \$4.95.



## Trying to please Uncle Sam

In 1954, the people of Guatemala democratically elected a government bent on agrarian reform. It was immediately removed from office by U.S. intervention and replaced by a more acceptable regime, which since has murdered 130,000 of its own people.

The people of Chile, obviously learning nothing from the Guatemalan experience, democratically elected Salvador Allende as their leader. He was eventually murdered along with thousands of his countrymen, and replaced by Col. Augusto Pinochet, a man more to the liking of the United States.

The Nicaraguans now have the audacity to believe that they have the right to control their own destiny. U.S. President Ronald Reagan thinks differently, and although he does not want to actually do the killing in Nicaragua, he feels a moral obligation to buy the bullets.

These are just a few examples that we, as Canadians, should con-

sider well before we democratically select our next Prime Minister. Maybe we should ask "Uncle Sam" his preference, so we can avoid the wrath of our southern neighbor.

R. Derek Bruce  
Downsview, Ont.

Based on the hysterical rhetoric expounded by U.S. President Ronald Reagan, as he tried to coerce Congress into approving \$100-million of military and humanitarian aid for the contras, our country has a real problem.

The President said: "The Soviet Union is pouring billions of dollars into Latin America with one purpose . . . to ring the United States with a noose of hostile Communist states" (Reagan To Soldier On For Contra-Aid Victory — March 22).

As Canada borders the United States, with the longest unprotected ring in North America, does one interpret his message to mean that Canada is about to fall to the Communists?

B. J. Snelgrove  
Barrie, Ont.

*Jeffrey Simpson is on vacation.*

American disappearances, as well as death and official silence. We are also dealing here with a phenomenon that is quantitatively significant, the number of disappeared in Latin America in recent decades numbering several score thousands. At the First Latin American Congress of Relatives of the Disappeared, held in San José, Costa Rica, January 20-24, 1981, the estimate given for disappeared men, women and children in Latin America over the past two decades was 90,000.<sup>19</sup> By contrast, the CIA's most recent (newly inflated) estimate of the total number of deaths resulting from "international terrorist" violence for the period 1968-1980, numbers 3,668,<sup>20</sup> or about 4 percent of the number of "disappearances" for Latin America alone.

To take one further case, or set of cases, indicative of the scope and frightfulness of terrorism in the NSSs, we may consider the tiny country of Guatemala. On June 21, 1980, 30 Guatemalan labor leaders were seized by para-military forces at their various headquarters, packed into trucks, and have not been heard from since.<sup>21</sup> A small matter, not worthy of the attention of Lane Kirkland or the U.S. mass media. In the middle of a *New York Times* article on Guatemala in May 1981, it was noted rather matter-of-factly that "Seventy-six leaders of the Guatemalan Christian Democratic Party, which is associated with the Christian Democratic Party of President Napoleon Duarte in neighboring El Salvador, have been slain in the last 10 months. Ten officials of the left-of-center Social Democratic United Revolutionary Front have been killed."<sup>22</sup> Ordinary citizens and peasants in the countryside of Guatemala have been subjected to a much larger diet of massacres by government forces in recent years. The Council on Hemispheric Affairs estimated in mid-1981 that over 7,000 people had been assassinated by the Guatemalan government and its various paramilitary affiliates since mid-1978.<sup>23</sup> Toward the end of 1981, the Central American correspondent of the London *Economist* reported that "So far this year some 4,000 Indians have been murdered; thousands more have fled their villages."<sup>24</sup> This figure for murder victims in less than one year in a single small country exceeds the previously mentioned CIA estimate for "international terrorists" over a 13 year period.

It is difficult to avoid a sense of outrage not only at the realities of this real terror network but also at western hypocrisy.

Government Action - Sham

An important element in that hypocrisy is the pretense of western non-involvement. Thus, while the killings and torture in the NSSs are sometimes mentioned in the news media—as inexplicable background facts, like cosmic radiation, and for some reason not deserving indignation remotely proportional to the crimes in question—the U.S. role in establishing and maintaining the NSSs in power is generally suppressed altogether. This pattern of hypocrisy, aversion of the eyes, and absence of indignation at extensive and serious crimes can be rationally explained only in terms of a structure of interests. The Third World clients that dispense the terror in Guatemala and throughout the NSSs serve very specific groups, including important elements of the parent western states, who pursue their naked self-interest with a single-mindedness that overwhelms any conflicting value. But in the mouths of spokesmen for these "lands of the 'disappeared,'" words like "growth," "development," and even "freedom" are bandied about as if there were some high moral purpose underlying the joint venture operations built on a base of repression. The preferred word for the favorable conditions provided by terror is "stability;" which is sometimes translated into euphemistic operational language, such as that Mussolini "made the trains run on time."

The use of "freedom" in reference to the client states of the west is especially noteworthy, as in country after country political freedom and basic civil rights have been thrust aside in order that privileged elites can more effectively do what they see as advantageous to themselves. "Freedom" in its application to the Third World in this post-Orwellian age, means the ability of the larger economic interests to operate without constraint. As democracy and other legal rights for ordinary citizens might be constraining, freedom requires non-freedom in a political-social-economic sense for the majority. Of course a dispossessed and unemployed peasant is perfectly free to strike a hard bargain with Liqueigas, Socfin, or Gulf and Western, to hire lawyers to defend his land claims, and to mobilize his influential friends and use his resources to lobby for special tax, subsidy and legal rights. This very special form of freedom brought by the west helps explain why Third World client states do so poorly in meeting basic human needs, and why such states rarely make much advance on the problems of acute poverty and misery that they inherited and

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