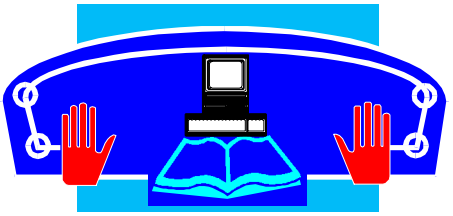

Protected Areas Of Aborigianl Interests In Canada

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Protected Areas and Aboriginal Interests in Canada

La Croix** Ojibway **Village, Quetico** Provincial Park, **Ontario

Preface

At the press conference launching the Endangered Spaces Campaign in 1989, the representative from Indigenous Survival International wryly observed: "It was all one big park before you got here. " Then he joined in calling for a decade of action to protect Canada's remaining wild country and signed the *Canadian Wilderness Charter,* the mission statement for th, campaign. For that moment, at least, our shared concern for the fate of the land eclipsed all else. Extending that moment into a working partnership through the 90's and beyond is the issue now.

We've already met other challenges. More than 500,000 individual Canadians and 260 organizations have added their names to the Wilderness Charter, signalling their support for establishing protected areas, with no logging, mining or hydroelectric development, to represent each of the 400 ecological zones of the country by the year 2000, As a result of this broad support, the federal, provincial and territorial governments, have all pledged to achieve this goal, making it public policy for Canada.

But the opportunity to make progress on the ground is slipping away --- fast. Fully one quarter of our ecological zones have been exploited to the point that there is not a single area of remaining wilderness that is 50,000 hectares or larger. And we continue to lose more than one square kilometre of wilderness each and every hour of the day.

All of this makes it both easier and harder for conservationists to find common cause with Aboriginal peoples. Easier, because as wilderness shrinks it's relatively easy for conservation organizations and First Nations to join in opposing megaprojects which would destroy even more wild places --- that is to agree on what we **don't want** to happen. Harder, because as wilderness shrinks and more and more human needs anti aspirations have to be met on what's left, inducting those of First Nations, it's much harder to work out the details of a specific conservation regime for a specific territory--that is, to agree on how we do want to meet human needs while preserving natural values, Yet, it is increasingly clear from experience worldwide that wild places are the wellsprings of both natural **and** cultural diversity and must be established in that light.

Of course, the geographic agenda for the Endangered Spaces Campaign is being shaped by more than First Nations' struggle to regain their homelands. Completing a network of protected areas representing all 400 ecological regions of Canada will necessarily involve a broader range of sectoral and regional interests and the corresponding ownership anti management arrangements. But as Jim Morrison shows in this paper, resolution of land ownership and governance issues can go hand in hand with the designation of new protected areas. Furthermore, since First Nations are the stewards of far more territory than will ever be under the control of transitory protected area managers, it is vital that organizations such as WWF continue efforts to integrate traditional understanding of the natural world with contemporary conservation biology.

Our challenge is to distil some shared conservation principles from the variety of experience surveyed in this paper, then to find effective ways to initiate dialogue at a regional level between individual First Nations or Tribal Councils and conservationists working under the Endangered Spaces banner. Jim Morrison has provided all of us with a fine starting point for this journey and WWF welcomes comments along the way.

Arlin Hackman
Director, Endangered Spaces Campaign
World Wildlife Fund Canada

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Introduction

Whereas Canadas aboriginal peoples hold deep and direct ties to wilderness areas throughout Canada and seek to maintain options for traditional wilderness use.

The Canadian Wilderness Charter, Preamble

The Charter's eloquent wording suggests that conservationists and aboriginal people share common aims and objectives with regard to protected areas. The general public certainly subscribes to this view, one easily reinforced by recent events - from the struggle for- South Moresby and the Oldman River to the battle over old-growth timber in Temagami.

But as Georges Erasmus points out in his contribution to the book *Endangered Spaces*, aboriginal interests are not identical to those of the conservation community. For- the Native leadership, at least, wilderness protection is only one part of a larger political question - one "bound up with the thorny issues of treaty rights, aboriginal title and land claims", The indigenous people of Canada, says the former Grand Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, are seeking both recognition of their inherent right to govern themselves, and a land and resource base adequate to support their communities (Hummel 1989:93-98).

Since the launch of World Wildlife Fund Canada's publication. the broader implications of aboriginal political goals have caused cracks in the facade of common interests. During the dispute over the Reel Squirrel forest access road in northern Ontario. for example, the Teme-augama Anishnabai and members of the Temagami Wilderness Society not only maintained separate blockades, they argued over priority of interest, Should Native rights take precedence over wilderness protection, or vice versa? What would happen, some environmental activists asked, if aboriginal people gained title to old growth forests - and then decided to log these areas themselves?

Nowhere has the issue been joined with more fervour than in Ontario. Many people in the conservation community reacted first with surprise. then outrage when - as part of land-claim negotiations-the new provincial administration announced that game legislation would not be enforced against members of the Golden Lake First Nation found hunting within the bounds of Algonquin Park. A short time later, Ontario entered into negotiations with the Lac la Croix Ojibway of northwestern Ontario, who were seeking increased motorized access to Quetico Park for fishing purposes. This too sparked anger.

Many of the perceived differences between a conservationist view of protected areas and one based on aboriginal rights were clearly summarized in an exchange of correspondence about Quetico in the Toronto *Globe and Mail*. These are included as Appendix A to this paper. On May 18, **1992,** journalist Robert Reguly accused the Ontario government Of giving the Lac la Croix Ojibway privileges which violated the park's status as a protected area. Like many wilderness advocates, he particularly objected to opening up the park to motorized travel.

Law professor Kent McNeil was quick to respond. He argued that the creation of Quetico Park had actually violated an 1873 Treaty with the local Ojibway by excluding them from hunting and fishing - within park boundaries. Canadians, he said, ought to reflect on the fact that only 0.3 percent of the country had been set aside for indigenous people. "I am not against the creation of parks or wilderness areas, but surely the few rights the aboriginal people have left should take precedence over the pleasure of canoeists and campers".

This was too much for Kenneth G. Beattie of Toronto. Accusing Professor McNeill of shallow thinking on aboriginal rights, he insisted that the Lac la Croix people simply wanted expanded access to the Park because they had depleted fish stocks else-where - much as Ojibway people had already destroyed the Winnipeg River sturgeon fishery, Treaties, he argued, should be interpreted in the light of modern principles of resource management - for "uncontrolled exploitation of natural resources results in the destruction of those resources. regardless of the racial origin of the exploiters"'.

The actual or potential conflict between these positions will have major consequences for the Endangered Spaces Campaign. WWF Canada's visionary goal of increasing the number of protected areas in all of Canada's natural regions will inevitably be caught up in the constitutional crossfire over Native self-government. Not only are some proposed spaces likely to fall under Native jurisdiction, more and more existing parks and protected areas throughout the country will become the subject of claims to aboriginal or Treaty rights. To give one prominent example, the federal government is presently considering a land claim from the Siksika (Blackfoot) Nation to 26 square miles of Banff National Park. Other claims are expected or underway in most regions of the country. Sorting out these questions of jurisdiction and title will slow governmental action on new protected areas-and make it that much more difficult to complete the Endangered Spaces agenda by the year 2000.

If it is no longer possible to ignore the differences between conservationists and aboriginal people, is it still possible to ensure the protection of vanishing wildlife and wilderness areas? This paper is part of the search for common ground. Taking up the outline provided by Georges Erasmus, we will examine attempts at co-operation between different levels of government and aboriginal people with respect to protected areas - including those provided for in recent northern land claims settlements. This will include an analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of such approaches.

But first we need to examine what Georges Erasmus calls the profound philosophical cleavage in cultural points of view between indigenous and non-indigenous people in Canada. These differences have a history. If they are not understood and addressed, then - as the examples of Algonquin and Quetico clearly show - long-dormant hostilities could overwhelm efforts on both sides to protect endangered spaces.

1. A Wilderness Ethic

in the Aboriginal worldview of the Four Orders, the Aboriginal person is viewed as last: this is in acknowledgement of the natural superiority of Manitou, Earthmother, the Plants and Animalkind. From this subservient position the Aboriginal person is imbued with a sense of the sacredness of all things as gifts and manifestations of a benevolent and caring Manitou.

Cecil King, Odawa teacher, 1992

Wilderness, in contrast with those areas where man and his own works dominate the landscape, is [...] an area where the earth and community of life are untrammeled by man, where man himself is a visitor who does not remain,

U.S. Wilderness Act, 1964

Although there is no single definition of wilderness, many conservationists would acknowledge the philosophy expressed in the first great piece of American wilderness legislation. These ideals were popularized at the turn of this century by conservationists like John Muir, who argued that there had to be spaces free from urbanization and industrial development, where the human species could recognize its own insignificance and retain a sense of awe at the wonders of creation.

Muir was reacting to- and rejecting - the modern conception of nature as an enormous reservoir of energy and resources that the human race can dominate and exploit with impunity. In this, he had much in common with the views of indigenous societies, who have consistently placed mankind in a subservient position to the rest of creation. To aboriginal people, says Cecil King, an Odawa educator from Manitoulin Island in Ontario, the idea that humans are a superior species who can dominate the natural world is blasphemous (1992:42-43). Indeed, as more and more people worldwide now realize, it is the modern conception of nature which has led to the destruction of our environment and threatened the very survival of our own and other species.

But despite their apparent similarity, there are fundamental differences between indigenous and non-indigenous conceptions of nature. As poet and naturalist Gary Snyder has explained (1990), one thread of the conservation movement is profoundly romantic, in that it sees the human species as an intruder, not as a part of the natural world. protected area management on this continent has tended to reflect that philosophy. Canada's national parks policy, for example, speaks of protecting and managing natural resources in parks "to ensure the perpetuation of naturally evolving land and water environments and their associated species". The expression "associated species" does not necessarily include humans.

By contrast, indigenous societies both past and present place mankind at the axis of the natural world - subordinate to the whole, but essential. Nowhere was this more apparent than among the pre-Columbian Olmecs and Aztecs of Mesoamerica. There, Mexican poet Octavio Paz tells us, humanity's role was as the giver of blood. It was human sacrifice which drove the world, enabling the sun to rise and the corn to grow (1990: 18-21). If less terrifying in import, similar cosmologies have prevailed in all aboriginal cultures. Without proper offerings to show respect for the spirits - or what Cecil King, in his own language, cdl. the *manitous* - hunts will fail, the fish will vanish and the universe will come to a halt.

To indigenous people, wilderness itself-in the sense of areas "untrammeled by man" - does not exist. Geographer Peter Usher, a pioneer in the field of Native land-use and occupancy studies, has shown that the wildest parts of this country are far from being empty spaces (1987, 1992). Even if they appear to be underutilized, they are occupied by indigenous people on the basis of detailed knowledge going back hundreds, even thousands of years. Graves and habitation sites dot the landscape. The mountains and hills, lakes and streams, trails and portages all have names, and stories or legends associated with them. This is as true today for Micmac and Malecite fishers on the Restigouche River in Québec and New Brunswick - who have been in continuous contact with Europeans

since the sixteenth century - as it is for Inuit or Dene hunters in the remote arctic and subarctic regions of the country.

At the core of the indigenous relationship with nature is a reciprocal connection with the plant and animal world. Because of this, many aboriginal people share with conservationists what can reasonably be called a wilderness ethic. A clear, deep, spring-fed lake is as positive a value to an Ojicree trapper in northeastern Manitoba as it is to a recreational canoeist from Winnipeg. And an eagle is as worthy of respect and awe - both for its innate beauty and for its connection with the thunderbird of Native legend. In aboriginal communities across Canada, physical wellbeing is closely associated with nature. "Country food" such as wild fish and game is uniformly perceived as healthy, store-bought food as unhealthy.

Like many indigenous leaders today, Georges Erasmus insists that Native peoples "have a keen interest in preserving areas as close as possible to their original state" (Hummel 1989:93). In part, this is because they have experienced the alternative. Mississaugas living on the New Credit Reserve near Brantford remember Etobicoke (Adoopekog) as the "place of the alders" near Lake Ontario. What was part of Mississauga territory in the mid-nineteenth century is now a suburb of Toronto. The alders are gone, the lake and creek are polluted and the fish no longer thrive (Smith 1987).

Without renewable resources to harvest, as Georges Erasmus puts it, aboriginal people lose both their livelihood and their way of life. That way of life is not a folkloric remnant. In his latest book, former B.C. Supreme Court Justice Thomas Berger argues that most Canadians misunderstand the Native subsistence" economy (1991: 126-139). Because our world is **industrial,** we **tend to** see **aboriginal** people as anachronistic. Either Natives are living a precarious existence on the edge of starvation and must be -weaned into the mainstream economy. Or - a view held by many environmentalists - they should be permitted to continue their subsistence activities, provided they adhere to "traditional" methods and patterns of harvest.

The second view is certainly more benign. The first - which sees the Native economy as "unspecialized. inefficient and unproductive"' - has, Berger claims, resulted in enormous social upheaval. During the 1950's, especially in the North, governments evacuated aboriginal people from their habitual territories and resettled them in new villages in the hopes that wage and salaried employment would eventually be provided. Those jobs, with few exceptions, have never materialized, and likely never will.

The alternative is an economy based on hunting, fishing and trapping, supplemented by occasional wage labour or transfer payments, In the North, such an economy remains traditional in the sense that it continues to bind people together in an older web of rights and obligations. In the Cree communities of eastern James Bay, the best hunters still enjoy the greatest social prestige and game or fish are distributed according to age-old patterns (Scott 1986).

But many Canadians would be surprised at the extent to which such practices also survive in southern Native communities. The residents of Walpole Island Indian Reserve in the St. Clair River, upstream from the automobile metropolis of Detroit. still consume -. far more fish, waterfowl and game - and far less store- " bought protein - than their non-Native neighbors. Indeed, the overall quantities of country food in the Native diet can be quite startling. Based on his own studies in Aboriginal communities across the country, Manitoba resource economist Fikret Berkes (1990) . estimates that Native people eat seven times as much . fish as the average Canadian. The figures are even higher for wild game.

In one important respect. however. the subsistence economy is anything but traditional. Thomas Berger points out that Native people everywhere now use outboard motors. snowmobiles or all-terrain vehicles (ATV's) in their hunting and fishing activities - much as in earlier generations, they adopted canvas canoes and muskets in the place of bark or skin boats. spears and bows. Dene from northern Saskatchewan even fly into the Northwest Territories to hunt caribou, rather than travel overland by canoe or snowshoe,

Indigenous people, then, do not share the antipathy felt by ninny in the conservation community towards technology - including mechanized forms of wilderness travel - since boats or snowmobiles are not really List'd for recreation. These modern devices sinl-

ply make it easier to earn a living.

For their part, conservationists raise legitimate fears about the long-term effects of new technology on wildlife survival. This is the real nub of much of the current conflict between the two sides. Do modern methods make it easier to harvest, and therefore threaten or eliminate wildlife species? Such concerns appear to be reinforced by demographic trends. By all estimates, Native people have the highest birthrate in Canada. On Indian Reserves across the country - in marked contrast to the aging general society - children and adolescents now constitute the largest single population group. Assuming that traditional harvesting continues at the same rate, then a larger Native population could put added pressure on fish and wildlife species.

This observation should be balanced against another social trend. Over the past few veers, there has been an astonishing rate of aboriginal migration from rural to urban centres. This does not only apply to large cities like Toronto, Winnipeg, Regina and Vancouver, but to smaller centres in most regions, In Ontario alone, some 40% of Native people already live off-reserve and [his number is growing rapidly (Bobiwash 1992:58-60). This trend is also of concern to some conservationists. In virtually all urban areas - as well as in many rural or northern Native communities - young aboriginal people have either lost or are losing traditional bush skills. Without the wilderness ethic of their elders. would aboriginal people continue to show respect for wildlife? This very question has been posed by prominent critics of Ontario's policy on Native hunting in Algonquin Park.

Yet despite such questions, aboriginal people are only a small part of the perceived problem Most of the anger and frustration voiced by conservationists is related to the diminishing supply of wild places throughout Canada. Urbanization is an obvious target - as the struggle to preserve the Rouge River valley in suburban Toronto has shown. But the lack of planning and development controls in rural municipalities has also led to the destruction of unique vegetation and wildlife habitat, as has the inexorable march of industrial development on Crown kinds. In much of southern Ontario, to give the most prominent example, there is no longer sufficient wild country to allow for the creation of fully representative protected areas (Hackman 1992: 2-6).

Against this background, aboriginal issues can be seen either as a distraction or as a luxury. In a recent volume celebrating the centenary of the Ontario parks system, John Livingston vigorously attacks the ideology of human proprietorship over nature. In the contemporary discussion of Native claims, he points out, both aboriginal people and different levels of government consistently focus on the "management" of wildlife "resources" as a primary goal. Management, he notes bitterly, "is the usual euphemism for deciding on what numbers of what species of living beings may be killed, where, when, by whom, and by what means" (Livingston 1992:238).

Rather than concentrate on perhaps irreconcilable policy differences, conservation groups like World Wildlife Fund Canada have devoted much of their energy to counting and monitoring wildlife populations. As part of this goal, however, they too seek answers from aboriginal people and their political organizations. Echoing John Livingston, they ask whether an apparent fixation on treaty and aboriginal harvesting rights leaves any room for conservation. --

This concern has been sparked by disturbing recent events. In 1992, to give a prominent example, Fisheries and Oceans Canada agreed to recognize an exclusive Native food fishery along the Fraser River in British Columbia. While some First Nations complied with their own or governmental regulations - and, ' indeed, counted and monitored fish populations - other Native people along the Fraser have been accused of transporting large quantities of fish to markets in the United States.

Aboriginal people have not responded directly to these issues or questions. But. as the following sections of this report suggest. there are several reasons why they have tended to concentrate on issues of title and rights. For one. their experience with the creation of parks and protected areas, as well as with the enforcement of fish and wildlife regulations. has made many of them deeply sceptical of the goals and motives of both government and the conservation movement. Too often over the past century. say Native leaders, governments have either ignored or violated their aboriginal and treaty rights - sometimes at the urging of conservationists, who have cited the same kinds of concerns about aboriginal harvesting practices.

2. Treaty and Aboriginal Harvesting Rights;

Land Claims

And the said William Benjamin Robinson of the first part, on behalf of Her Majesty and the Government of this Province, hereby promises and agrees [...] to allow the said Chiefs and their tribes the full and free privilege to hunt over the territory now ceded by them, and to fish in the waters thereof as they have heretofore been in the habit of doing, saving and excepting only such portions of the said territory as may from time to time be sold or leased to individuals, or companies of individuals, and occupied by them with the consent of the Provincial Government.

Robinson Treaties, 1850
[northern Lakes Huron and Superior]

And His Majesty the King hereby agrees with the said Indians that they shall have the right to pursue their usual vocations of hunting, trapping and fishing throughout the tract surrendered as heretofore described, subject to such regulations as may from time to time be made by the government of the country, acting under the authority of His Majesty, and saving and excepting such tracts as may be required or taken up from time to time for settlement, mining, lumbering, trading or other purposes.

Adhesions to Treaty 7, 1929-30
[northern Ontario]

The existing aboriginal and treaty rights of the aboriginal people of Canada are hereby recognized and affirmed.

Constitution Act, 1982, Section 35(1)

Aboriginal people are the only sector of Canadian society who have constitutionally recognized - and protected• - rights to harvest fish anti wildlife. This reality does not sit well with the animal rights movement. Nor does it appeal to modern sportsmen' groups such as the Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters. Although the latter usually cite the impact of Native rights on conservation policies, in reality their disagreement is more fundamental. To them, Native harvesting rights are undemocratic because they confer special privileges on one group of people. This opinion is widely shared by non-Native people in rural and northern areas of the country.

The idea of one Canada for all Canadians - whatever their origins - was popularized by former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, who fully intended that the concept be extended to aboriginal people. In a White Paper published in 1969, the Trudeau government proposed abolishing the walls separating Native people from the rest of society-largely symbolized by the *Indian Act* - and transferring program responsibilities to the provinces. To Trudeau, it was unthinkable that one sector of society should have treaties with another. Bringing Native people into the mainstream would help solve the problems of poverty and powerlessness that were such a glaring social problem.

The virulence of the Native reaction to these proposals took the government by surprise. Rejecting assimilation as a product of Western theories of racial superiority, aboriginal people argued that the *Indian Act* - though a colonialist document - was still a testimony to the direct and special relationship they had always enjoyed with the Crown. This relationship entirely bypassed "white settler" governments - which were represented, after Confederation, by the provinces. Aboriginal people made it clear that they sought their own governing institutions within Confederation, ones which would be parallel, not subordinate, to provincial governments (Marule 1978:103-116).

The modern era of Native claims and litigation - and of the enforcement of treaty and aboriginal rights - can be said to date from the rejection of the White Paper. The federal government's position was further changed by the Supreme Court of Canada's 1973 decision in the *Calder* case. In 1968, the Nishga people of northern British Columbia - represented by Thomas Berger - had sought a declaration that their aboriginal title to their ancient tribal territories had never been extinguished. Although the Nishga lost, three out of seven judges actually agreed with them, and the government was obliged to consider the possibility of

some future, more favourable, definition of aboriginal rights.

The result, in August of 1973, was a two-part federal policy on future Native claims. "Specific claims" were defined. as those involving the government's lawful obligations to aboriginal people. This would include such matters as unfulfilled land entitlements under the 11 major treaties - covering much of northern and western Canada - which were made between 1871 and 1930. And it would also include grievances arising out of the surrender or sale of Reserve lands. A recent map of Native treaties in Canada, prepared by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, is attached to this report as Appendix B.

The new federal policy also defined "comprehensive claims" as those applying to areas of Canada where the Native interest had not been extinguished by treaty or superceded by law. Basically. this covered much of Quebec, British Columbia west of the Rockies, and portions of the north and the Maritime provinces. Comprehensive claims accepted to date by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs are delineated on the map attached to this report as Appendix C.

To aboriginal people, treaties embody the special relationship between themselves and the Crown. In their view, these agreements symbolize the fact that Canada is not simply a settler society - but is instead linked formally to the distinct aboriginal societies that were here when the Europeans first arrived. Harvesting rights are an important pm-t of that special relationship. and are still integral to most aboriginal societies in Canada, This helps explain the tenacity with which Native groups have, over the past two decades, fought to have those rights respected.

The so-called "numbered"' treaties made after Confederation guaranteed Native people access to unoccupied Crown lands for harvesting purposes. The clause from the Adhesions to Treaty #9 quoted at the outset of this section is similar to the others, in that it makes those rights subject to regulation by the "government of the country". While fisheries regulations are clearly federal - being delegated to the provinces for administration purposes - N'stile groups have consistently argued that the provinces have no right to regulate their Treaty rights to hunt or trap. In northern Ontario, at least, such arguments have received Court backing.

But arguments about treaty rights have not been limited to those agreements made after 1867. In the 1985 *Simon* case, the Supreme Court of Canada upheld aboriginal hunting rights under a 1752 Treaty covering the Maritimes. And in the *Sioui* case. the Court overturned the conviction of a Native person from near Quebec City who had cut down saplings in Laurentides Provincial Park for traditional ceremonial purposes. Such rights, the Court held, were guaranteed under a 1760 treaty with the British Governor of Quebec-.

Even in areas not covered by treaty, aboriginal people have been successful in using the courts to enforce their prior rights. The most important recent example is the Supreme Court's 1990 decision in the *Sparrow* case. A fisherman from the Musqueam Band near Vancouver had appealed his conviction under federal fisheries regulations for having an improper net, arguing that he had an aboriginal right to fish. The judges ordered a new trial, on the grounds that the government had not proven that the aboriginal right in question had been clearly extinguished. The mere exercise of a regulation, they said. could neither extinguish nor delineate the nature of the aboriginal right.

The Court did acknowledge federal power to regulate the aboriginal fishery - but subject to Section 35(1) of the 1982 *Constitution* Act, which acknowledges and confirms existing aboriginal and treaty rights. The government, said the judges, had a clear responsibility to ensure conservation of the resource. But after valid conservation measures had been implemented. Indian food fishing was to be given priority over the interests of all other user groups - including sports anglers and commercial fishermen,

The *Sparrow* case has had important ramifications. In the fall of 1991, the federal Minister of Fisheries and Oceans wrote all of his provincial and territorial counterparts, pointing out that their fisheries regulations did not meet the *Sparrow* test - in that they neither justified any interferences with treaty and aboriginal rights nor assigned priority to the Native food fishery. The provision of an exclusive Native food fishery along the Fraser River is one concrete outcome of the Court decision.

The implications of the decision for provincial and territorial wildlife regulations are certainly profound. And the case has sparked a backlash among anglers and commercial fishermen. Aboriginal people have had difficulty convincing non-Natives that these court decisions have not created new rights, but have simply recognized existing ones. Part of their difficulty has been the non-recognition of aboriginal and treaty rights for so many years. And at its core, the disagreement also raises questions about the overall content and purpose of government conservation policies.

3. Competing Theories of Wildlife Conservation

[S]o many people uphold or praise the Indian as a model conservation ist. Mvft'j(v-vests, more or less, of personal acqu iaintance with the Canadian Indians makes me belie.ve exactly the reverse I have known a [one Indian to shoot a big moose, out of season, in the summertime, and take only one meal off it, [caving the remain ing fou r or five hundred pounds of meat to spoil. In Alaska they told me how they drove the cows and calves ashore before they shot them. In fact, I have never heard one In dian even hint at conserving anything [...] You cannot do anything for the Indians, nor have anything for the Indians, unless you control the Indians.

Jack Miner, 1939

People may think that they know about the animals, but it isn 't true; a human's powers are insignificant. We are people; u 'e know only a little about animals and their ways. Animals have special abilities which they depend upon to live, giving us only the powers u 'hich they no longer need. They hold fast to their secrets until they are used up, and then they throw them away. A n an imal chooses someone to receive these leftover powers, a person who has treated the animals with respect.

Dene Dhah (Slavey) storyteller, Assumption, Alberta, 1982

If an Indian went to the old country, England. and sold h unting licenses to the old country people for them to hunt on their own land, the white people u 'ould not stand for that. The Government sells our big game, our moose, for $50.00 license and we don 't get any of it. Tbe Go vernment sells our fish and our islands or gets the money, but we don't get any share. What we Indians want is for the Govern - ment to stop the wh ite people killing our game, as they do it only for sport and not for support. We India ns do not need to be watched about protecting the game; we must protect the game or starve.

Chief Aleck Paul, Lake Temagami, 1913

The founder of the Jack Miner Bird Sanctuary at Kingsville, Ontario, is justly famous for his efforts to protect waterfowl from hunting pressure or habitat disturbance. His skilled political lobbying, combined with a knack for publicity-a clear and simple message, . and a folksy speaking style which later transferred . wonderfully to the new radio technology - led directly to the passing of the Migratory Birds Convention Act of **1917.** Miner's spiritual descendants are active today in groups like Ducks Unlimited and the Canadian Nature Federation.

But among the aboriginal people who live along the flyways of those same migratory fowl - the Chippewas of Lake Huron, for example, or the Cree of James and Hudson Bay-Jack Miner is far less fondly remembered. To them, he was just another white man who lacked understanding of aboriginal hunting culture - yet was prepared to impose alien rules in the name of conservation. In their view. laws such as the Migratory Birds Convention violated the British Crown's solemn assurances over the centuries that Native people would always have priority of access to wildlife for their own support.

Many of the first generation of conservationists

were sports hunters and anglers - as was Jack Miner himself (1969). The pages of *Rod and Gun in Canada* and other sporting publications from the turn of the century are filled with dispatches under his pseudonym of "Gorilla Chief", detailing the glories of his nor-t-her-n expeditions in search of caribou, moose, or trophy fish. Like the equally famous Archie Belaney or Grey Owl, however, Miner later regretted his own role in what Farley Mowat has so aptly called the "sea of slaughter".

That aboriginal people played a part in the massive assault on North American wildlife in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries cannot be denied. The exigencies of the commercial fur trade and the markets in fish, wild meat and hides guaranteed as much. But the question is one of degree. Throughout the first four decades of this century. Jack Miner and other exponents of what they called "scientific conservation" - including the major organizations of anglers and hunters- assigned an enormous share of the blame to Native people.

Taking a major role in provincial and territorial commissions on fish and wildlife management of this period, these early conservationists insisted that laws be implemented to reflect their views. Cree and Ojibway hunters in northern Ontario and Quebec were accused of slaughtering such enormous numbers of geese, moose and deer that the survival of these very species was in doubt. Similar accusations were levelled at Ojibway sturgeon fishermen in Manitoba and northwestern Ontario, at Dene caribou hunters in the Northwest Territories, and at Native salmon fishermen on both the east and west coasts. Except through officials of the Indian Affairs Department, however, aboriginal people were unable to respond. At the various investigative hearings on wildlife management, they were neither invited nor present (Tough 1991).

The accusations themselves have largely been discredited. Their scientific accuracy is roughly equivalent to the charges levelled at wolves and other "vermin" predators in the same historical period. As the Plains Cree and Blackfoot Nations are quick to point out, Natives are certainly not to blame for the disappearance of the plains bison in the nineteenth century. Nor can aboriginal people be charged with responsibility for the extinction of the passenger pigeon

In the case of lake sturgeon in northwestern Ontario and the Lake Winnipeg drainage, a recent study by Anthropologist John Van West has shown that Ojibway bands managed fish populations at their maximum sustainable yield until the later nineteenth century. According to Van West (**1990:31-65),** it was not aboriginal overfishing, but government licensing of non-Native commercial fisher-men - coupled with habitat destruction from lumber and pulp mill effluent which eventually caused populations to crash. Similar reasons have been shown by Frank Tough (1984), Victor Lytwyn (1990) and Patricia Berringer (1989) to lie behind the collapse of Native fisheries in northern Manitoba, as well as on Lake Huron and the west coast of British Columbia.

Nevertheless, indigenous people gradually found themselves, as Georges Erasmus puts it, regulated by the provinces and territories "to the level of other users who do not possess aboriginal or treaty rights" (Hummel 1989:94). Despite the explicit guarantees contained in many treaties, such as those covering northern Ontario and the west, the Department of Indian Affairs - the supposed guarantor of those same rights - generally acquiesced before such conduct.

These developments did not pass without protest. The comments of Temagami Chief Aleck Paul - addressed to an American anthropologist in 1913- are typical. Governments, he said, were clearly favouring white hunters and trappers, who were killing the game "for sport and not for support" (Speck 1913:23-24). Native people were finding it increasingly difficult to make a living. Lacking political or legal redress, many of them either openly flaunted what they believed to be illegal laws, or quietly ignored new regulations on quotas, seasons and methods of harvest. In those parts of northern Canada which were far from the frontier of settlement, this form of protest was generally successful. But in more settled areas, fines and occasional incarceration - along with a growing reputation as chronic offenders against the rule of law - were the frequent outcome.

At least part of the aboriginal protest has been a reaction to what they see as western scientific arrogance. Provincial and territorial wildlife officials have generally given short shrift to traditional knowledge of fish and wildlife species, even though that knowledge is based on extremely detailed observation of

habitat and population fluctuations. During the 1970's, for example, Cree from western James Bay frequently complained that Natural Resources helicopter surveys were disturbing goose nesting sites - an accusation dismissed as anecdotal by government biologists. It was only the publication of European studies showing the effect of low-level flights on wildlife species that brought about a change in attitude.

University of Alberta anthropologist Milton Freeman has consistently criticized wildlife biologists for scanting traditional knowledge, He cites the example of caribou hunting on Ellesmere Island. Government wildlife managers told local Inuit they should hunt only large and/or male caribou, and only a few animals from each herd. The Inuit argued that this would destroy the population - a prediction which came true when caribou numbers dropped shin-ply, despite a far lower hunt. The Inuit understanding was based on their observation that older or larger animals, being stronger, are better able to dig through the snow for food. They also calm the more nervous younger animals or pregnant females. This makes them important to the survival of the group (Mander 1991 :257-58).

The authors of *Whales Beneath the Ice*, a report prepared for World Wildlife Fund, recommend that, when setting biologically sustainable and culturally desirable levels of harvest with Native groups, "it is important that the idea of's quota which is enforced by a 'policeman' who distrusts the harvester, be avoided as much as possible. The result is often resentment and non-compliance. " (1986:27). This, in fact, has been the history of wildlife management in Canada for much of this century. It helps to explain the hostility Native groups frequently manifest towards provincial government officials - and the continuing difficulty of securing conservation agreements on shared management principles.

One solution would be cross-cultural training for government biologists or fish and wildlife managers. Even today, most such individuals - even in rural or northern areas with significant Native populations - are hired without any specific knowledge of aboriginal culture or traditions. But. as Georges Erasmus points out, Native people themselves should be playing the most important role in preserving wildlife (Hummel 1989:98). Most Native organizations, therefore, have preferred to concentrate their efforts on setting up their own systems. In Nova Scotia. Micmacs now follow regulations drafted by the Union of Chiefs. -- Harvesters carry with them booklets outlining specties, seasons and techniques. In Ontario, the United Chiefs and Councils of Manitoulin Island are developing a pilot program to take over from the province the regulation and supervision of aboriginal harvesters.

4. Formative Native Views of Parks and Protected Areas

It will be a ticklish business to prevent Indians killing wild animals in the Park where they have been in the habit of hunting, and their ancestors before them. I am free to say this Indian hunting did not occur to meat the time the whole matter was under discussion. Now I see nothing for it but to exclude the Indians as well as the u'hitemen.

Aubrey White, Asst Commissio)ier of Crown Lands for Ontario, 1893

In the same year that Algonquin Pm-k became Ontario's first genuine protected area, the administrative head of the Crown Lands Department received a report from a fire ringer on the Petawawa River. He had spotted several Indians setting up camp within the new Park, where they intended to hunt and trap; already, he said, they had both moose meat and beaver and otter pelts in their possession

Assistant Commissioner White acknowledged that aboriginal interests were not among those considered by his government when the Pa rk reserve was being created. But he decided that, for a variety of reasons - including the fact that white trappers had already been ordered out - it was far too late to make any special exceptions for Indians. He instructed his officials to explain to the people concerned - as carefully and tactfully as possible - that hunting and

trapping were no longer permitted within the boundaries of Algonquin Park (Saunders 1963:98-99).

The current land claim of the Golden Lake First Nation is based, at least in part, on a sense of historic grievance. Whether or not the Golden Lake people have a valid interest in all of what is now Algonquin Park - still an open question - and whether or not Ontario should make amends by reopening the Park to hunting, it is apparent that, after 1893, Algonquin people were excluded from this new protected area without their consent (Tough 1991).

The creation of most early protected areas in North America involved the exclusion of aboriginal people. The most obvious example is Yellowstone Park - that famous tract of hot springs and geysers in northwestern Wyoming. The Park was established by Congress in 1872, in the midst of the post-Civil War campaign to subdue the Sioux and other plains Indian tribes. The inhabitants of the Yellowstone - mainly Crows and Shoshones - either left for reservations or were driven out by the United States Army, which would manage the Park until 1916 (Utley 1973).

In Canada, government regulation took the place of force of arms. The boundaries of the 1877 Treaty (No 7), by which the Siksika (Blackfoot) and Nakoda (Stoney) tribes ceded much of southwestern Alberta to the Crown, extend into the Rockies - an acknowledgement that these plains bison hunters also harvested game and fish in the foothills and mountains (Morris 1880:245-75; Price 1987). Although the Treaty stipulated that participants could continue to hunt over the ceded tract, the federal government decided that such a guarantee would not apply to Banff National Park when it was established in 1885.

Aboriginal interests were also ignored when Riding Mountain National Park was established in southwestern Manitoba. In 1896, the Department of Indian Affairs had set aside 728 acres on Clear Lake as a fishing Reserve for the Keeseekoowenen Band of Saulteaux. Some thirty years kiter, the federal government declared the enabling order in council inoperative and included the fishing reserve in the new National Park, which was formally created in 1933. The Keeseekoowenen Band were evicted, and their houses burned down (Klein 1992:pers.comm.).

As the example of Algonquin Park suggests, provincial governments behaved no differently. Quetico, located in the boundary waters area of northwestern Ontario, became a provincial park in 1913. Since protection of game was stated to be the park's chief objective, the province forbade local Ojibways to hunt or trap within park boundaries. Park fishing licences also prohibited the use of nets or spears, both of which were the usual Native fishing techniques at the time (Lambert 1967:284-91).

Protected area management took more than one form in the early decades of the twentieth century. Both Quetico and Riding Mountain Parks were originally set apart as forest reserves. Many provinces also created game preserves within their jurisdictions. Aboriginal people, however, did not distinguish between the various categories, since most had similar impacts on their harvesting rights. In 1925, for instance, Ontario binned all hunting and trapping within the Chapleau Crown Game Preserve, a tract of several thousand hectares in northern Ontario. Not only did this action permanently affect the livelihood of a few . . hundred Ojibway and Cree people, it forced one of the Bands to surrender its Reserve in the centre of the Game Preserve. Ironically, those particular lands were eventually incorporated into Missinaibi Lake Provincial Park in the early 1970's.

It was the complete disregard for their dependence on traditional harvesting which most disturbed aboriginal people. There were few exceptions to this rule. One such example occurred in 1928, when Quebec binned non-Native trappers from those parts of the province north of the Canadian National Railway line through Sanmaur and Amos. Quebec also cooperated with the Department of Indian Affairs in setting up the Nottaway Beaver Preserve southeast of James Bay. In a unique experiment to replace the lost income from beaver trapping, aboriginal people were hired as "tallymen" to count and monitor beaver populations within the Preserve (MLCP 1987:27-28).

Quebec's policy, however. applied only in remote northern areas. In the Grand Lac Victoria Beaver Preserve near the headwaters of the Ottawa River, the same hunting and trapping restrictions applied to Native and non-Native people alike. After the Second World War, the Beaver Preserve was rolled into what is now La Vérendrye Park and Wildlife Reserve. Two

very traditional Algonquin communities - Grand Lac and Rapid (Barrier) Lake - are still within park boundaries. While Quebec now tolerates some Native harvesting, it has never legally recognized such rights, And because of the Park's legal status, it has been impossible for these Algonquin communities to expand their tiny land base.

The postwar period saw an exponential increase - at least in relative terms - in the number of protected areas across the country. But the various jurisdictions were no more solicitous of aboriginal interests than their predecessors, Tweedsmuir provincial pm-k in B.C. was created despite the longstanding Native claim to portions of land within its boundaries. And both Bruce Peninsula National Pm-k and Fathom Five National Marine Pm-k in Ontario include kinds and waters which have been claimed by the Saugeen and Cape Croker First Nations since the nineteenth century (ARC 1992-93).

In 1974, the National Parks Act was amended to recognize Aboriginal hunting, fishing and trapping in parks or pm-k reserves north of the 60th parallel, But, with the exception of Pukaskwa in Ontario, the same recognition has not been extended to southern properties. Until recently, provincial jurisdictions have generally refused to consider such Native access to parks and protected areas.

Even good intentions have had unanticipated consequences, In the mid-1970's, Ontario's parks branch persuaded the Ojicree residents of Webequie, at the headwaiters of the Winisk River in the remote Patricia District, that a proposed new provincial waterwa y park would help protect the area from resource development and safeguard their harvesting rights. But the Webequie community remains subject to parks regulations and development controls, They have also been unable to expand their community kind base.

North American parks and protected areas have generally been created in the name of the public interest. Most conservationists fully support this concept - insisting that it is a governmental responsibility to protect significant regions of the country for the benefit of future generations. Aboriginal people, however, dispute the inclusiveness of the term 'public". In their view, it automatically places the interests of the general society above those of minorities. They point out that governments also cited the public interest when imposing large-scale resource development projects on them-such as pipelines and hydro-electric dams. As the examples of the Oldman Dam and James Bay II hydro projects show, governments continue to use the same arguments today.

It is fair to say, therefore, that indigenous people have borne the costs of protecting natural areas, through the loss of access for hunting, trapping or other harvesting activities, As Georges Erasmus puts it, the doctrine of the public interest made "an ancient way of life subject to the apparent modem-day whims of an alien culture, all in the name of conservation" (Hummel 1989:94).

Conservationists, nevertheless, vigorously defend the parks system, While they may concede a certain lack of historical sensitivity or understanding, they argue that the fundamental choice was never between protected areas and aboriginal interests. but rather between protection and industrial development. If anything, they say, the situation would have been infinitely worse without the skilled political lobbying of groups like the Algonquin Wildlands League and the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society. The scale of clearcut logging or mining on Crown lands would have been far more significant - and the damage to the habitat of the fish and wildlife sought by aboriginal people that much more severe.

In this kind of dispute, Canada is far from unique. The same arguments - and the same tensions - over parks and protected areas are being worked out in various parts of the world. In at least some jurisdictions, the lessons being learned are positive ones.

5. Local People and Parks in International Perspective

Government law is on paper. A nanguku Law is held in our head and spirit. You can 't put Aboriginal Law on paper: it 's the rules that grandfathers and grandmothers and the fathers and mothers gave us to use, that we hold in our hearts and in our heads. National parks are government rule, paper laws, but in Uluru we 've got both laws working together, running side by side. Government might try and give you a flat tyre, just a national park without the title. Don 't take it.

Tony Tjamiwa, Uluru National Park Joint Management Board, Australia, 1991

To date, many "national" parks around the world have been created on the model pioneered at Yellowstone. This involves - using the criteria adopted I by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature - areas from which "exploitation or occupation" have been eliminated, managed by a particular agency and professional corps of managers set up along the lines of the U.S. National Parks Service.

Along -with many positive contributions to wilderness and wildlife conservation, this model has had a number of negative consequences. One. as was the case with the North American examples cited above, has flowed from the expropriation and exclusion of local peoples who once used or occupied the protected area. In Kenya, for example, where hunting is forbidden in national parks, local populations are generally hostile to park employees and conservation efforts. Indeed, it has been argued that pm-k creation has in fact hampered, rather than helped. conservation in such areas (Wells and Brandon, 1992:8-13).

The Yellowstone model can also be said to have had a philosophical influence on park managers over the past century. As Kevin McNamee, then with the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society, has pointed out (CPAWS-BC, 1989:43), the stormy circumstances of Yellowstone's creation led the U.S. National Parks Service to write Native people out of' the area's history - denying that they had once played a role in culling wildlife herds and managing resources.

In the past ten years, however, the theory and . . practice of protected area management has under-gone - a remarkable change - thanks to the simultaneous influence of aboriginal people and government policymakers. Some of the most interesting innovations, from a Canadian perspective, have taken place in Alaska and in Australia. As we will see below, these are . now being paralleled in various Canadian jurisdic- . tions.

5.1 Gates of the Arctic National Park, Alaska

Under the 1971 Alaskan Native Claims Settlement Act, Native people received fee simple tide to 44 million acres of land and a cash payment of $962.5 million for extinguishing all claim or title to the remainder of Alaska.

The Act contained several controls on the Native land-selection process. One, included at the insistence of conservation groups. stipulated that the Secretary of the Interior could reserve any unreserved public land to protect the "public interest", and could withdraw from selection up to 80 million acres for possible inclusion m national parks. forests, wildlife refuges or wild and scenic river systems. Native people generally supported this process, since conservationists assured them that it would enable them to maintain a subsistence lifestyle on federal kinds (Foster 1992).

In 1980, Congress passed the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA), which created 10 new national parks, preserves and monuments and extended three existing parks. Parks preserves had the same status as national parks, except that they permitted sport hunting, In all, about 43 million acres were thereby added to the L' .S. national parks system.

"I-he Act also provided for "subsistence uses" by rural Alaskan residents on all federal lands - including parks and monuments - and stated that such uses

would have priority over the taking of fish and wildlife for other purposes. It also provided for the establishment of "Subsistence Resource Commissions" made of mainly of local people who use the subsistence resources of each park. The challenge for the National Parks Service (NPS) was blending subsistence use with the existing mandate of protecting resources.

Gates of the Arctic National Park and Preserve, which covers 8 million acres in the Brooks Range, was one of the new parks created under the Act. Much of it is wilderness designated under the 1964 Wilderness act - while the northeastern section contains the Township of Anaktuvuk Pass, with a population of some 250 Nunamiut or inland Eskimo. Relations between the Nunamiut and the NPS, while originally cordial, have actually worsened in the past ten years. The reasons are a paradigm for such conflicts elsewhere.

During the land withdrawal period prior to 1980, the Nunamiut and the NPS had actually proposed a jointly-managed Gates of the Arctic National Wilderness Park covering the main part of the Brooks Range, as well as an area of some 2.5 million acres to be known as the Nunamiut National Wildlands. The latter were to be used for Nunamiut subsistence and primitive low density recreation.

But with the passing of the 1980 legislation, it became clear that the National Parks Service was no longer interested in co-management, since it was now officially recognized as the parkland management authority. Park management plans were drafted in the traditional manner. Although a Subsistence Resource Commission for the Park had been created, it did not meet until after the management plan - including the rules for subsistence use - was already drafted (Foster 1992).

The NPS viewed subsistence as a consumptive use which should be controlled and monitored. Park managers defined these activities as customary and traditional use of wild, renewable resources for direct personal and family consumption. The phrase "customary and traditional" was interpreted to mean traditional users, harvesting means, areas used and species harvested prior to 1980.

The Nunamiut objected that the rules were unduly restrictive, since they made no allowance for evolving subsistence practices. A major conflict was over the use of All-Terrain Vehicles (ATVs) - which, by 1987, had become the dominant form of transport for subsistence hunters in Alaska. NPS would not permit their use on park lands because they were not traditional - in the sense of having been passed from one generation to another. In order to protect wilderness areas from what it deemed inappropriate uses, the Parks Service finally agreed to decommission certain areas as wilderness so that the Nunamiut could use their ATVS for hunting caribou (Foster 1992).

In Alaska, then, park managers considered but backed away from co-management of protected areas with Aboriginal or other local people. Most of these managers had been trained in the lower 48 states, where consumptive uses were not permitted in National Parks. They therefore perceived technology as a threat to park values,

5.2 Kakadu National Park, Australia

This Park was established in 1975 in the Alligator Rivers Region in the Northern Territory.

When the Gagadju people obtained recognition of their land rights to much of their traditional territory, they offered to lease bdck their land to the Australian National Parks and Wildlife Service (ANPWS). After the Australian legislation was amended in 1978 to allow leasehold rather than fee simple title to parklands, Kakadu National Park was proclaimed in its new form.

Under the management plan, the Gagadju people were permitted - even encouraged -to remain in the park, and many provisions in the policy required aboriginal involvement at all levels. These have been incorporated into a new lease agreement signed in March of 1991. The Aboriginal owners have the right to use any area of the park for traditional hunting and food gathering and for ceremonial and religious purposes. ANPWS is obliged to promote and protect the interest of the traditional owner-s and take all practicable steps to promote Aboriginal administration, management anti control of the park.

As of 1991, senior traditional owners were being permanently employed on staff as cultural advisors - and are responsible for liaison with local communities on management issues such as access roads, walking tracks and economic development initiatives. Five Aboriginal training programs had been completed with 12 Aboriginal people permanently employed on staff as Rangers, plus one mechanic and one administrative staff. ANPWS has also introduced an Aboriginai recruitment training and career development strategy to facilitate movement into middle management and professional positions (Birckhead et al, 1992).

5.3 Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park, Australia

This park. originally known as the Ayers Rock-Mount Olga National Park, was also handed back to Aboriginal people, who then leased it to the ANPWS.

The agreement, which was executed in 1985, contains the same provisions as the Kakadu lease for Aboriginal occupation, traditional activities. employment and training. However, the Uluru model, unlike the earlier one, outlines a dispute resolution process which is weighted in favour of Aboriginal interests, Both parks have Management Boards with Aboriginal majorities. In both parks, moreover, a principal criterion for staff selection has been their ability to work with anti relate to Aboriginal people (Birckhead et al, 1992).

Some Aboriginal leaders have criticized these joint management models on the grounds that consent to the leaseback formula was not really voluntary. It is certainly true that the Australian Federal Government made it very clear that land claims would not be recognized unless local Aboriginal people agreed to retain lands under park status (CPAWS-BC, 1989:52-54).

Aboriginal fears were confirmed by the original Kakadu lease, which had both favoured the ANPWS and lacked specific acknowledgement of Aboriginal title. Both the new lease agreement anti that for Uluru contain much more specific legal recognition - and improved financial terms.

Nevertheless, ultimate authority to administer, manage and control these parks remains vested in the Director of the ANPWS, under the terms of the Australian National Parks and Wildlife Conservation Act of 1975. Because ownership is thus separated from control, some Aboriginal people have expressed fears that European conservation objectives will be achieved at the expense of their own aspirations - which are to give priority to traditional knowledge and to ensure Aboriginal social and economic development (Birckhead et al, 1992).

The Northern Territory, which remains under the control of the Australian federal government, is comparable to the Northwest Territories of Canada. This means that Aboriginal people are able to deal directly with one level of government. In states such as Queensland and Western Australia, it is proving much more difficult to achieve jointly-managed protected areas on the federal model.

6. Recent Parks and Protected Areas in Canada

How did B.C. assume jurisdiction and ownership over our territories without our consent? We don 't have a treaty with them, we've never been conquered, and we haven 't agreed to deal with that jurisdiction The question u 'e ask all the time is how did B. C. enter Confederation owning the [and?

Don Ryan (Maas Gaak), Gitksan spokesman, 1989

The situation in Canada can be said to be broadly similar to Australia - in the sense that the more innovative approaches have been taking place in areas of federal jurisdiction such as the Northwest Territories and Yukon. Although some provincial jurisdictions have made policy statements or entered into talks with aboriginal groups, the overall climate there is far more conflictual.

This section, therefore, will look in order at the parks provisions in proposed land claims settlements with the Inuvialuit, Inuit and Yukon Native peoples, then at Parks Canada properties south of the 60th parallel. This will be followed by a review of provincial developments.

In Canada's north, the federal government has been negotiating for the past twenty years with various Native organizations for the surrender of aboriginal title under what it calls a 'comprehensive claims" policy. This policy applies to areas which have not been validly surrendered by treaty, and includes not just the Northwest Territories and Yukon, but portions of British Columbia, Quebec and Newfoundland-Labrador.

6.1 Inuvialuit Claim

In 1984, Canada reached a land claims settlement with the Inuit inhabitants of the western Arctic known as the Inuvialuit. The terms of the agreement included the establishment of an Inuvialuit Game Council (IGC) - responsible for Native wildlife interests, including traditional harvesting - and an Inuvialuit Regional Corporation (IRC).

In July of 1992, Canada, the IGC, IRC and the Northwest Territories Government reached an agreement to establish a new National Park on Banks Island, This has long been a goal of Parks Canada. The stated purpose of the Park is to protect a representative natural area in the Western Arctic Lowlands and "leave it unimpaired for future generations while permitting subsistence usage and trapping by Inuvialuit".

The Agreement gives the Inuvialuit exclusive rights to harvest wildlife in the Park, and their fishing is given priority over sports angling. They will also have the power to screen archaeological research. A separate Memorandum of Understanding with the Canadian Wildlife Service will ensure the continued management of the Banks Island Bird Sanctuary.

The Inuvialuit are to be involved in the drafting both of the Interim Management guidelines for the Park and the final Management Plan. And the Agreement recognizes the potential contribution of Inuvialuit . traditional knowledge to both planning and research. - Other provisions give the Inuvialuit guarantees of employment and training as well as priority in contracts and park business licenses, This includes a study of economic impacts and a tourism development plan for Sachs Harbour.

Conservation initiatives in the western Arctic are not limited to National Park proposals. The Paulatuk community, for example, have been actively involved in several proposals which would help them manage the Bluenose Caribou herd and the other subsistence resources on which they rely. And World Wildlife Fund Canada has been pm-t of the Clyde River proposal for Igalirtuuq, a Bowhead Whale Sanctuary at Isabella Bay on Baffin island. The community project - which would include protection of marine mammals and archaeological sites, along with creation of a Biosphere Reserve - has been based on joint research between local people and WWF-funded scientists.

6.2 Yukon Claim

The long-standing land claims of Yukon Native people are very close to being settled. An Umbrella Final Agreement has been drafted by Canada and Native representatives, and First Nation Final Agreements are being prepared for Champagne and Aishihik, Nacho Nyak Dun (Mayo), Kluane, White River and Vuntut Gwich'in (Old Crow) First Nations.

One major feature of the draft final agreements is the creation of special management areas to maintain important features of the Yukon's natural or cultural environment "for the benefit of Yukon residents and all Canadians while respecting the rights of Yukon Indian People and Yukon First Nations". Such areas are to include national wildlife areas, National parks or park reserves, territorial parks and national historic sites, special Wildlife or fish management areas, migratory bird or game sanctuaries, designated heritage sites and watershed protection areas.

Existing designated conservation areas will continue to be protected, though they will be identified as special management areas in accordance with the Agreements, These include Kluane National Park Reserve, the McArthur Game Sanctuary and the Horseshoe Slough Habitat Protection Area. Existing harvesting rights of Native people will be guaranteed.

Future proposals for special Management areas will be referred to Renewable Resource Councils, which are to be established under each First Nation Agreement, for review and recommendation. Such areas may not include settlement land - without the agreement of the affected First Nation. The Agreements also call for the creation of a Yukon Heritage Resources Board, with equal representation from the Council for Yukon Indians and Government appointees, to advise on the management of moveable heritage resources and heritage sites throughout the Yukon. Each Yukon First Nation will own heritage resources on its settlement lands and within its traditional territories,

Generally speaking, ultimate management authority for special areas will fall to existing agencies such as Parks Canada, though Native people will have a much strengthened role in planning and administration. The exception are designated heritage sites - such as the proposed Lansing Heritage site in the Mayo area - which will be managed by the appropriate First Nation.

Included in the draft find agreement with the Vuntut Gwich'in is the creation of Vuntut National Park, which would protect a "representative natural area of national significance" around the Old Crow Flats wetlands and surrounding foothills. This includes critical parts of the Porcupine caribou range.

As in the Banks Island park agreement, the Vuntut Gwich'in will receive priority in employment and contract tendering, following preparation of an economic impact study. But the portions of the agreement dealing with harvesting rights are more strongly worded than in the Inuvialuit proposal. One of the stated objectives of the Old Crow area park is to "recognize and protect the traditional *and current* use of the park by Vuntut Gwich'in in the development and management of the park". Among other reasons, the Old Crow people wanted acknowledgement that harvesting takes place using modem methods.

The Vuntut Gwich'in will have exclusive rights to hunt and trap in the Park, and priority of access over sports fishermen. The Vuntut Gwich'in Renewable Resources Council will make recommendations to the Minister on routes, methods and modes of access for harvesting, h-vest limits and seasons, and locations and methods of the harvesting within the Park. If, for example, use of ATVS becomes an issue, the Council provides the forum for resolving the matter. Nevertheless, the Minister has ultimate authority to accept or vary the Council's recommendation.

The Park proposal is part of the Old Crow conservation strategy, by which the Vuntut Gwich'in have declared their-commitment to ensuring the integrity of the ecosystems in their traditional resource harvesting area. The survival of the Porcupine Caribou Herd is a particular goal, The strategy therefore includes joint caribou management boards as well as mechanisms through the land claims settlement to ensure proper land-use planning.

6.3 Inuit Claim

Canada's draft final land claims agreement with the Inuit of the eastern Arctic anti subarctic - through the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN) - has been ratified by the communities. The most publicized part of the agreement is Canada's stated intention to create a new public government out of the eastern half of the Northwest Territories. to be known as Nunavut.

In common with the other northern land claim settlements, various provisions of the TFN Agreement contemplate new protected areas. Existing spaces will also be protected. However, because settlements with the Dene-Metis of the Northwest Territories have not yet been reached, the exact status of the Thelon Game Sanctuary - which straddles the boundary between the two claim areas - has not been determined.

The TFN agreement calls for three national parks, at Auyuittuq, North Baffin and Ellsmere. It was the Inuit themselves who pushed for the creation of these spaces. The chapter dealing with the new parks is very specific. Once again, there are provisions for Native employment, preferential hiring and training - with appropriate targets. And the chapter also provides schemes for the management of areas adjacent to the parks, so as not to detract from park or Inuit values.

The Inuit will have exclusive harvesting rights and renewable resource use with the Parks. Any restrictions on the technology used in harvesting will require the consent of the Inuit themselves. The Agreement talks about managing all resources using both modem science and traditional knowledge.

The most interesting clause of the TFN agreement - one which does not appear in the other land claims settlements - is that, prior to the establishment of any National Park, an Inuit Impact/Benefit Agreement will have to be negotiated. From the Inuit perspective, this ensures that - because ultimate management authority will continue to reside with the Minister and Parks Canada - their rights will be respected in both park planning and management.

The one wild card in the timetable for these three new parks is a suit recently filed in Federal Court by the Denesutine (Chipewyan) of northern Saskatchewan. They are attempting to delay finalization of the entire TFN Agreement on the grounds that they - not the Inuit - have existing aboriginal and/or treaty rights to the southern third of what will become Nunavut. In their view, the caribou management boards and renewable resource to be enshrined in the Agreement will not adequately reflect the interests of Denesutine caribou hunters. Although the Denesutine lost a recent injunction application, they are determined to proceed with their court action.

6.4 Parks Canada: Specific Claims

Federal government treatment of aboriginal claims is based on overall claims policy. As indicated earlier, those parts of Canada covered by treaty - such as Nova Scotia, Ontario and the prairie west - are assigned to the specific claims process, which relates to Treaty entitlement or disputes over existing Reserve land. Two National Parks are already subject to specific claims,

Parks Canada continues to take the position - based, presumably, on opinions of the Department of Justice - that Native harvesting rights do not apply to its properties. That is because they have been occupied for '{other purposes"', according to the wording of the post-Confederation numbered treaties. Aboriginal groups have never accepted this argument - either with regard to parks or to wildlife preserves - and are likely to challenge it in Court. At least in the case of the 1850 Robinson treaties, -which cover the north shores of Lakes Huron and Superior - including Pukaskwa National Park - Parks Canada's argument would be difficult to sustain, since the only areas exempted from the operation of Native harvesting are those occupied by "individuals or companies of individuals".

6.4.1 Banff National Park, Alberta

The Siksika (Blackfoot) Nation, based at their Reserve-in Gleichen, Alberta, have recently put forward a claim to 26 square miles of Banff National Park. The area in question had been assigned to the Siksika as a timber reserve in the early part of this century, but was subsequently removed from their control and attached to the Park.

The claim is presently at the preliminary negotiation stage. Canada, through the Office of Specific Claims, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, is taking the position that almost any other option is preferable to removing land from the Park. This would include the obligation to provide some alternative land - possibly purchased from Alberta or a third party - as a timber limit (Klein 1992: pers.comm.).

Negotiators for the Siksika Nation, however, are likely to argue that title to the tract in question should be transferred to them. The land could then be leased back to Banff National Park for a stipulated sum. In their view, this solution would both acknowledge Aboriginal title and preserve park values.

Banff is typical of most Parks Canada properties in Treaty areas, in that neither the Siksika nor the Nakoda (Stoney) Nation of Morley are involved in the Park, either through employment or in an advisory capacity. The Siksika may ask for a role through the negotiation process.

6.4.2 Riding Mountain National Park, Manitoba

The claim, referred to earlier, of the Keeseekoowenen Band has been validated by Canada. Both the Minister of Indian Affairs and the Minister of the Environment (Parks Canada) have stated that the 728 acres in question will be returned to the Band, and de-designated as Parkland.

Until the final legal transfer, the Keeseekoowenen Band have agreed to lease the land back to Parks Canada. They have also passed Band bylaws stipulating conservation measures for the affected tract. These *are* based on the existing park regulations (Klein 1992: pers.comm.).

6.4.3 Pukaskwa National Park, Ontario

The large wilderness area west of the Michipicoten River on the north shore of Lake Superior was set apart in 1978 by federal-provincial agreement. As part of that agreement, the various local Ojibway bands - then represented by the Robinson-Superior Treaty organization - were guaranteed employment and other economic benefits.

To date, the major beneficiaries have been the Ojibways of Pic River (Heron Bay), whose Reserve is on the west side of the river opposite the Park entrance. Half of the staff - about 20 persons in all - are Native, which meets the original target set. These represent all levels of seniority. including three of the managers.

At Pukaskwa, there has as yet been no research program of the type contemplated by the northern agreements - which are striving for a merger of western science and traditional knowledge. There has, however, been some consultation with local Band members on an informal basis. Interestingly, staff meetings employ the concept of the Ojibway sharing circle - which not only makes Native staff more comfortable in expressing themselves but also breaks down the employee hierarchy.

Pukaskwa permits the harvesting activities set out in the 1974 amendments to the National Parks Act. This is unique among federal parks in treaty areas, and represents a departure from Parks Canada's own posi-

tion on treaty rights. Native people have access for the purposes of hunting, fishing and trapping - including the use of snowmobiles for winter harvesting. At the present time, however, all-terrain vehicles (ATVs) are banned. Since these machines are becoming increasingly popular in Native communities, this is causing some resentment at the Pic Heron Bay Reserve. It has not yet been necessary to deal with the issue of outboard motors for Native fishing because of the rugged terrain and difficulties of access.

Relations between Parks staff and Aboriginal people have been demonstrably superior to those in the provincial system - including the nearby Sibley and Lake Superior Provincial Parks. In 1991, then Ontario Minister of Natural Resources C.J. (Bud) Wildman invited the Pukaskwa Park Superintendent to offer advice to senior parks and conservation officials from his own ministry on improving such relations.

Recent federal financial cutbacks, however, have affected Native goodwill. Parks Canada management has proposed staff layoffs within the Park for fiscal year 1993-94. Leadership of the Pic Heron Bay First Nation see this action as a violation of the original 1978 federal-provincial agreement.

Parks Canada does retain full management authority for Pukaskwa. Land claims may affect this reality. The Pie-Heron Bay First Nation is considering a claim to extensive areas of the Superior north shore - including Pukaskwa National Park. The next decade might well see Aboriginal people being formally brought into the Park's governing structure.

6.4.4 Bruce Peninsula National Park, Ontario

In 1987, Canada and Ontario agreed to create a new national park in the Bruce Peninsula, that spectacular portion of the Niagara Escarpment which separates Lake Huron from Georgian Bay. The agreement involved the transfer of two existing provincial parks - Fathom Five Marine and Cypress Lake - to Parks Canada, as well as the acquisition of private lands.

The Aboriginal people of the peninsula - represented by the Saugeen Ojibway of Nawash (Cape Croker) and Saugeen (Southampton) -argue that, in creating this park, the Crown has breached its obligations to them. They base their claim on an 1854 treaty, under which their ancestors surrendered some one and a half million acres of land in the Bruce Peninsula to the Crown, so that it could be sold for their benefit. About 40,000 acres still remain unsold - and it is some of this land which has been transferred to Parks Canada for the Bruce National Park

The Saugeen Ojibway are demanding the return of these unsold Crown kinds. They are also asking for a share in the management of all parks, both provincial and federal, in the Peninsula. This would include equal representation on the Board of Directors and staff, to effectively control all aspects of Park management (ARC 1992-93).

The three parties have had several discussions about the issue- though norm since May of 1992. Parks Canada is willing to discuss an advisory role for the Saugeen Ojibway in park management. but is not prepared to concede that the lands in question do not properly belong in the National Park. For' its part, Ontario has promised the Saugeen Ojibway that the provincial park lands will not be formally transferred to Canada until their claim has been settled (D.Johnston 1993:pers.comm).

6.4.5 Point Pelee National Park, Ontario

Almost twenty years ago, Chippewas from southern Ontario laid claim to what is now Point Pelee - arguing that the area had never been validly surrendered by their ancestors. To date, however, no formal claim has either been filed or considered for validation by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.

6.5 Parks Canada: Comprehensive Claims

Within those parts of Canada where there have been no treaties or land claims agreements, Parks Canada and other federal government agencies have been attempting to workout interim arrangements on protected areas similar to those in regions north of 60. This is true of British Columbia, Quebec and Newfoundland-Labrador.

6.5.1 Mingan Archipelago, Quebec

The Conseil Attikamègue-Montagnais (CAM) has a comprehensive claim to extensive areas of Quebec, including portions of the St. Lawrence north shore. This is presently in negotiation with both Canada and Quebec.

In 1989, Canada anti CAM agreed to set up an interim joint advisory body for Mingan Park, with four Native representatives and four appointed by the federal Minister. The body is charged with review of management plans for the park. Subsistence harvesting is permitted with the park area.

The overall claims negotiations have been subject to the charged political climate in Québec over Aboriginal rights. CAM, in fact, has accused the provincial government of stalling progress on the final agreement, If true. this is likely to delay ultimate determination of the status of Mingan Park.

6.5.2 Torngat and Mealey Mountains, Labrador

New National park proposals are being considered for these two important wilderness areas of northeastern Canada. In 1979, a federal-provincial agreement was close to being reached on protection of Torngat, but it foundered because of opposition from Native people.

Both the Labrador Inuit Association and the Montagnais-Naskapi Innu Association - now the Innu Nation - argued, rightly, that their aboriginal rights had not been considered in any of the park proposals. In the intervening period, however. both groups have been recognized in Canada's comprehensive claims program. This has helped to ease tensions.

The same two-stage strategy applied to Mingan will likely be applied to these regions. There will be an interim management agreement. guaranteeing Native involvement m park planning. And the final agreement will undoubtedly be based on those worked out in the Yukon and Northwest Territories.

6.5.3 Gwaii Haanas/South Moresby, British Columbia

The battle to preserve the island archipelago is too well known to need much description. It was a coalition of wilderness activists and the Haida people, rather than Parks Canada itself, which spear-headed the move to protect the area in question from logging and other forms of industrial development.

The May, 1990 agreement which established the new National Park Reserve - subject to the Haida claim - provided for a joint Archipelago Management Board. which would guarantee traditional Haida harvesting rights and identify sites of special spiritual-cultural significance to Native people, Both parties were to review the agreement two years after it came into effect, and every five years thereafter. The first review was completed in late 1992.

The exact timetable for resolution of the Haida

claim itself - which, like the others in B. C., is considered a comprehensive claim-has not been determined. But because of the particular circumstances leading to the creation of Gwaii Haanas, Parks Canada may find certain of its key assumptions challenged.

In the various northern agreements to date, Parks Canada has insisted on retaining ownership of all properties. Native people have obtained definite economic and cultural benefits, as well as a very strong advisory role, but the Minister of the Environment makes the ultimate decisions on park management. In this respect, Canadian agreements have differed from the recent Australian model - and more resembled the situation in Alaska. Indeed, Parks Canada has no plans to allow co-management in the near future (B. O'Donnell 1992: pers.comm.).

The Council of the Haida Nation, however, has made it clear that they will be seeking title to. Gwaii Haanas Park in any ultimate land claims settlement. This is because, like most groups in B. C., they are refusing to surrender their aboriginal title - whatever the outcome of negotiations. To them, it is a question of control. Whether they will seek full operating powers - or will retain the current joint management authority, through a lease back to Canada - is another issue. Like the Australian government, therefore, Canada may eventually be obliged to reconsider its policy on park ownership in order to maintain the protected status of Gwaii Haanas.

6.6 Provincial Ferment: British Columbia

As a glance at the maps in Appendix C will show, virtually all of B.C. is blanketed with land claims dating back to the province's entry into Confederation in 1871, Not only were there no treaties on the mainland west of the Rockies, but a joint federal-provincial Royal Commission appointed in 1912 recommended that 19,000 hectares - including areas long coveted by settlers-be eliminated from existing Indian Reserves and communities as surplus to their requirements (Usher 1992:118-1 19). It was in this way, for example, that the scenic endowment lands at the University of British Columbia were "cut off' from the Musqueam Indian Reserve. Although the University agreed in 1989 to make the endowment lands a park, they are still being claimed by the Musqueam First Nation.

Relations between Native people and the B.C. provincial government, therefore, have been notoriously conflicted. Canada has also been blamed since the early 1870's for not protecting Native interests. This situation may be starting to change. In October of 1991, Canada. British Columbia and Aboriginal groups agreed to formally establish a Treaty Commission which - it is hoped - will eventually resolve most of the outstanding land issues. The Commission itself was formally announced on September 21, 1992 in Squamish, British Columbia. The provincial government has also put forward an interim claims policy.

The exact structure of the commission - along with its agenda, powers and the priority of the claims it will consider - is still unclear. Nor is it apparent how the commission will interact with the separate Commission on Resources and the Environment headed by Steve Owen. It is obvious that Agreement between the parties will not be easy. Not the least of the problems will be the interests of third parties such as private landowners, municipalities and holders of Tree-farm Licences.

Where protected areas will fit in the order of priorities is not clear. Early signals have been mixed. On the positive side, the provincial government has announced the creation of eight new parks since the spring of 1992. One of these is the Nisga'a Memorial Lava Bed Provincial Pm-k or Anhluut'ukwsim Laxmihl Angwinga'asanskwhl Nisga'a, consisting of 17,683 hectares of land in the Nass Valley north of Terrace. It was the Nisga'a Tribal Council who approached the provincial government to create the park.

The Park has been created without prejudice to the Nisga'a land claim. and will be managed jointly by

the Nisga'a Tribal Council and B.C. Parks. Both parties have begun working on a draft management plan. Like the Haida, the Nisga'a have consistently taken a position against final surrender of their aboriginal rights. It will be interesting to see whether, following an eventual land claims agreement, the Park remains jointly managed, whether title will revert to the Province, or whether the Nisga'a will obtain control of the entire facility,

This particular park is a relatively small area. A greater test will come with proposals to permanently safeguard large natural regions of the province. In 1991. for example, the Haisla (Tsimshian) of the community of Kitimaat proposed the recognition and protection of the Greater Kitlope Ecosystem in the Gardner Canal area of the north tout. This 400.000 hectare area, which constitutes the southern half of the traditional territory claimed by the Haisla, borders Tweedsmuir Provincial Park to the southwest.

As with most such proposals in B. C., the spur to action came from forest company plans to harvest timber in the area. The Kitlope is considered to be the last unlogged watershed of temperate rainforest in the world. A brief scientific reconnaissance commissioned by the Haisla has highlighted the cultural and ecological significance of the region. To date, B.C. has not responded to the proposal.

The attitude of the new provincial government to timber harvesting has, in fact, caused concern in both Aboriginal and environmental circles. In late 1991, the Gitksan-Wetsuwet'en, who border the Haisla to the north - and whose land claim is presently before the B.C. Court of Appeal - agreed with the province that both sides would begin negotiating a framework agreement covering many issues, including interim protection for traditional lands. In early 1992, however, the B.C. Forests Minister allowed the forest company Westar to transfer a Tree Farm Licence covering some of those lands to Repap Ltd. The Licence still had 15 years to run. The Gitksan-Wetsuwet'en argued that the government should not automatically allow the transfer. since the issue of land title was not vet settled. They had proposed that, at the very least, the implementation of the licence should be made conditional on settlement of the land claim. Although the Premier suspended the Forests Minister - a former Repap employee - for apparent conflict of interest, the transfer has been allowed to stand.

In B. C., more than in any other region of the country, Aboriginal people and conservationists have expressed a shared interest in protecting wild areas from uncontrolled resource development. This has been true of Pacific Rim and the adjoining Carmanah and Walbran valleys on the west coast of Vancouver Island, of the Stein Valley and of the Kitlope. But, as Larry Berg has argued in a recent M.A. thesis for the University of Victoria, until recently there had been little meaningful communication between the groups.

The two solitudes have been reinforced by Aboriginal concentration on issues of title and political control. Some leaders - such as Don Ryan, the spokesman for the Gitksan-Wetsuwet'en - have alienated conservationists by arguing that national or provincial parks constitute a third-party interest on Native lands. Some conservationists, on the other hand, have antagonized Aboriginal people by highlighting concerns about issues such as alleged Native overharvesting of intertidal resources near Pacific Rim (CPAWS-BC, 1989).

In some areas, this has begun to change. For much of 1992, the Western Canada Wilderness Committee (WCWC) has been consulting with the three Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka) bands who claim aboriginal title over the region being proposed as the West Coast Trail Rainforest. WCWC has acknowledged that the Nuu-chah-nulth were not consulted when tree farm licences and Pacific Rim National Park Reserve were imposed on their territory. While explaining their views on rainforest protection, WCWC also recognizes that preservation "must be carried out in a way that directly benefits the native owners"'.

6.7 Provincial Ferment: Ontario

The Province Of Ontario - where the names of Temagami, Algonquin and Quetico have all made headlines - rinks next to British Columbia in controversy over wilderness values, parks and protected

areas. There too, aboriginal issues are very much on the public agenda.

In September of 1991, Premier Bob Rae formally signed a Statement of Political Relationship with representatives of Ontario Aboriginal organizations. In keeping with these principles, Ontario has announced that the "creation of all new provincial parks and protected natural heritage areas will respect all treaty and aboriginal rights". A consultation process has been undertaken to that end.

How the consultation will work out in practice is still to be determined. Relations in the past between parks personnel and the Native community have ranged from cool to hostile. Although some aboriginal people have been employed within the system, Ontario is typical of the provinces in never having acknowledged treaty or aboriginal rights to harvest wildlife within parks. In the remote north of Ontario, it is government policy, not legal recognition, which has permitted Native hunting and trapping. Like Parks Canada, Ontario has always considered parks to be "occupied" Crown lands for the purposes of the treaties.

Aboriginal people are already demanding access to existing parks for subsistence pursuits. Others want park land for community purposes. Current negotiations between the Ontario Native Affairs Secretariat and the Nishnawbe-Aski Nation, which represents many of the northern bands, might possibly result in a change of status for parts of Polar Bear and Webequie Provincial Parks. The Minister of Natural Resources and Native Affairs, however, has publicly assured conservationists that certain wilderness or conservation values will be protected in any settlements -with aboriginal people,

Given that many proposed protected areas are close to areas of Native settlement, particularly in northern Ontario, the types of economic and cultural guarantees contained in new parks agreements for northern Canada will undoubtedly be necessary. Environmental activists are already proposing such guarantees in talks with local Native groups. In doing so, the conservation movement has learned a lesson from the mid- 1970's. Although aboriginal people and conservationists joined together in fighting the Reed Paper proposal to log several thousand hectares north of Sioux Lookout, a simultaneous proposal for the Ogoki-Albany wilderness area foundered - in part because of lack of Native support.

At the Tri-Council meeting in Aylmer, Quebec, in late November. 1992, the Hon. Bud Wildman announced the creation of several new provincial parks and the enlargement of others, as part of Ontario's commitment to the goals of the Endangered Spaces Campaign, His statement also reassured aboriginal people that their interests would be considered before any final decisions were taken. Nevertheless, there is still some potential conflict over the legal basis of those interests. For example, the superintendent of a new provincial park between the Moon River and the south channel of Parry Sound has stated that government "policy" will permit Native trapping there (Toronto *Star,* 31 Oct. 1989: B7). This may seem like a concession - except that. to the Ojibwas of nearby Wassocksing (Parry Island) Reserve, their hunting and trapping are not policy matters, but rights guaranteed to them by the 1850 Robinson-Huron . . Treat y.

The new Moon River park has also attracted the outright hostility of local non-Native residents,' who will be prevented from hunting or trapping on what used to be unoccupied Crown land. Some of the hostility, for obvious reasons, is directed at Native people (Toronto *Star,* 31 Oct.'1989:B7). This is becoming a province-wide phenomenon, as the example of Algonquin Park already shows. At least some of the antipathy to Native hunting within Algonquin boundaries is based on resentment of aboriginal rights. Ontario's recent attempt to reach a land-claims settlement with the Mississagi First Nation near Blind River - which would see their existing Reserve enlarged - has sparked protests from a similar coalition of tourist outfitters and local hunters and anglers.

In most provinces, rural anti northern residents treat fish and wildlife on unoccupied Crown land as common property resources. This is guaranteed to provoke conflict. not just with aboriginal people, but with governmental initiatives on pinks and protected areas. How Ontario anti the other provinces reconcile these differences will have a major bearing on the success of the Endangered Spaces Campaign.

6.7.1 Temagami

One working model for cooperative land management has resulted from the longstanding Native claim to 6,000 hectares of northeastern Ontario - and the related struggle over logging of old-growth forests.

In June of 1990, the Teme-augama Anishnabai (TAA) and the Ontario government jointly issued a Memorandum of Understanding which announced the commitment of the two pm-ties to reach a treaty of co-existence. The TAA was guaranteed the right to review timber management plans for the entire land claim area. And the two parties agreed to set up a joint stewardship authority for four townships in the Temagami region which included the Wakimika triangle, where much of the old growth red and white pine were located. In the meantime, no new forest operations were to be carried on in the four townships,

The Wendaban Stewardship Authority began operations in May of 1991, The body has twelve voting members - six appointed by each side - and a non-voting chair appointed by agreement of Ontario and the TAA. The six Ontario appointees span a broad spectrum of opinion - including two former members of the Temagami Wilderness Society, the Reeve of Temagami Township, and the general manager of a sawmill in Sturgeon Falls. Decisions of the group are reached by consensus, which in this context is considered to be two-thirds.

The Authority is not an advisory body to the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources. proposed legislation will give it jurisdiction over the four townships. Although there have been many conflicting points of view on resource development, none of the group decisions to date have split on racial lines - which has surprised many local people. The Authority is preparing a Forest Stewardship Plan with public input, which will provide direction for resource management within its jurisdiction under its stated goals of "sustained life and sustainable development".

The mandate of the Authority. which is renewable on a yearly basis, has been extended to at least the fall of 1993. This is also the new target date for the proposed treaty of co-existence with the Teme-augama Anishnabai. Both sides have announced that the treaty will provide for areas of sole stewardship for both Ontario and the TAA, as well as a zone of shared stewardship. Although the geographical extent of each is being negotiated, it is probable that the Wendaban Authority will be folded into the eventual shared stewardship body. Its exact future make-up is still not known.

Interestingly, the Wendaban townships are separated by only one township from the Lady Evelyn-Smoothwater Wilderness Park, which was created by the former Davis government in the early 1980's after considerable environmental lobbying - and with the tacit support of the Teme-augama Anishnabai. Like all Crown land in the region, the Park is up for negotiation - although the Minister has repeated his assurances about the protection of conservation values in any negotiated settlement.

The TAA have considered insisting that the Park become part of its sole stewardship area. Failing that. they suggest, jurisdiction over the area would be shared. In either case, the TAA would prefer to see the area managed differently - with some zones allotted for . forest harvesting, some for recreation access and some - remaining classed as wilderness. The latter category would include other areas not presently in the Park, such as the old growth forests presently under the Wendaban Stewardship Authority's jurisdiction.

If the TAA position is eventually advanced, it would resemble recommendations made by the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society (CPAWS) at the height of the Temagami controversy. When Kevin McNamee and other conservation representatives met with Chief Gary Potts, they realized that earlier proposals made by some environmentalists for a government-managed wilderness reserve were unacceptable to aboriginal people. CPAWS therefore urged that aboriginal rights be respected and that certain areas - such as the old growth red and white pine forests - be protected. In their view. the principles were more important than the mechanism used to achieve them (CPAWS-B.C., 1989).

Conclusions

Native people do not want to recreate a world that has vanished [...] They do not wish to return to life in tipis and igloos. They are citizens of the twentieth century. However, just because Native people use the technology of the dominant society, that fact does not mean that they should learn no history except that of the dominant society, or that they should be governed by European institutions alone, Native people want to develop institutions of their own fashioning; they are eager to see their cultures grow and change in directions they have chosen for themselves.

Thomas Berger, 1991

It has always been part of basic human experience to live in a culture of wilderness. There has been no wilderness without some kind of human presence for several hundred thousand years. Nature is not a place to visit, it is ***home*** *- and within that home territory there are more familiar and less familiar places.*

Gary Snyder, naturalist and poet, 1990

Regardless of its exact contours, a new level of authority - Native self-government - is being created in Canada. Despite the failure of the Charlottetown Accord, that process is now irreversible. When it is complete. the aboriginal people of Canada will arguably have more powers than any other indigenous groups in the world. While some members of the general Canadian society envision the creation of ethnic enclaves and fear the potential destabilization of the body politic, the recognition of the inherent right to self-government is a crucial goal for aboriginal people. It is part of their road to self-respect and community control.

Self-government will have a particular impact on relations with the provinces and territories. While most aboriginal people see themselves as Canadians - and as Nisga'a, Inuit or Cree - few have ever regarded themselves as citizens of British Columbia, or Ontario, or Nova Scotia. To them, provincial governments have always been the representative institutions of non-Native settlers.

This explains the frequent insistence by aboriginal leaders that talks now be conducted with them on a "government to government" basis. They see their eventual self-governing institutions as being at least parallel in status to those of the provinces. Ontario was the first jurisdiction to formally acknowledge this fact, in the August 1991 Statement of Political Relationship.

The federal government and many provinces argue that Native self-government will only apply to existing Indian Reserves or community lands created through negotiation. This is definitely not the view of aboriginal political leaders. They point out that the 1982 Constitution Act already recognizes and affirms their existing aboriginal and treaty rights. As several recent Supreme Court decisions have made clear - including the *Simon, Sparrow* and *Sioui* cases - these rights include priority of access to unoccupied Crown lands and waters for hunting, fishing, trapping and other subsistence pursuits. Governments may well have difficulty maintaining the view that parks and protected areas are "occupied" Crown lands which prevent the exercise of treaty and aboriginal rights.

Claims settlements in the Northwest Territories and Yukon already acknowledge aboriginal interests in archaeological sites and areas of cultural or spiritual significance on non-settlement lands. This is a trend in provincial heritage legislation as well, one which will give Native people a say in the management of lands off their Reserves or settlements. Parks and protected areas are bound to be included in this category.

The combination, therefore, of self-government initiatives, the settlement of native claims. and constitutional recognition of treaty and aboriginal rights will have an obvious impact on both the Endangered Spaces Campaign and on protected area management in general. As we have seen, this has already happened in some areas- particularly those under federal jurisdiction, such as the Yukon and Northwest Territories, The results there have been largely positive. Both Canada and aboriginal groups have agreed to provide for new protected areas as part of land claims settlements. The Inuvialuit, Inuit and other groups in the

Yukon and Northwest Territories have also ensured that their interests - including employment opportunities and cultural survival through continued harvesting rights - are fully protected as well.

Within the provinces, however, the situation is much more problematic. It has been hard enough to reach land claim settlements between aboriginal people and the federal government alone. The addition of the provinces and private or third-party interests makes agreements that much more difficult. And in provinces like Ontario, the unrelenting hostility of angler and hunter groups to treaty and aboriginal rights has greatly complicated the task.

Virtually all of British Columbia is or will be subject to Native claims of one sort or another. The same is true of large portions of Quebec and the Maritimes, which also have few, if any, treaties with their Native inhabitant. The prairie provinces are blanketed with claims based on Treaty entitlement. A September, 1992, announcement in Saskatchewan commits the three levels of government - Saskatchewan First Nations being the third - to negotiate and settle the considerable areas of land still owing to aboriginal people under treaties signed between 1874 and 1910. Some lands with conservation potential may well be selected. In Alberta and Manitoba. as already noted, claims have been advanced to parcels of existing national parks. Ontario, too, has outstanding claims issues in addition to that involving Algonquin Park.

In much of the country, therefore, it is the Native political agenda which will influence protected area programs, not the other way around, In northern Quebec, for example, the Cree are interested in park proposals because they see them as one means of halting James Bay II. Their kinsmen in western James Bay have similar goals for the Moose River basin, If parks or protected areas will prevent further hydro-electric development on the rivers leading to the bay, then they are in favour. The same is true of Montagnais from the lower north shore of the St. Lawrence. They too want to stop hydro-electric development in their traditional homeland.

In other regions of the country, it is possible that the claims process will slow, rather than speed up, progress towards the year 2000 target date for the Endangered Spaces Campaign. This already seems to be happening in British Columbia, where tensions between aboriginal groups and environmentalists - exacerbated by government decisions about areas like Clayoquot Sound and Tatshenshini - are rising, as each side pursues its own goals.

These tensions flow from the differing viewpoints summarized in the course of our discussion. And they are highlighted in the exchange of letters in *The Globe and Mail* with which we begin. It is therefore worth posing the questions again. Does allowing aboriginal people motorized access violate the fundamental protected status of parks, as Robert Reguly argued? Should the "few rights the aboriginal people have left", to quote Professor Kent McNeill, take precedence over the pleasure of canoeists and campers? Or should treaties be interpreted, according to Kenneth G. Beattie, only in the light of modern principles of resource management?

So long as the argument pits Native subsistence against the recreational needs of an urbanized general society, then aboriginal people will always have the moral upper hand. Indeed, their message to conservationists - and to government - is that, without respect for existing treaty and aboriginal rights, new conservation agreements will not be possible. They will no longer allow their rights to be sacrificed on the altar of some larger public interest. In that sense, their comments are a rebuke to Messrs Reguly and Beattie. In the planning of new protected areas, aboriginal people also expect to be involved from the very beginning. They want protected area managers to realize that their participation m planning and management is not a threat. but a guarantee of their own livelihood and a positive contribution to the preservation of wild spaces.

But Kenneth Beattie raises another issue when he warns that uncontrolled exploitation of natural resources results in the destruction of those resources. "regardless of the racial origin of the exploiters". Wild spaces everywhere are shrinking or vanishing altogether before relentless human pressure. Even in a country as thinly populated as Canada. some plant anti animal species have already become extinct and many more are vulnerable.

Conservationists do not accept that treaty and aboriginal rights should ever be an end in themselves --- despite what Professor Kent McNeill has to say ---

particularly if they substitute one type of human predator for another. In southern Canada, faced with the twin pressures of urbanization and industrial development, conservationists continue to see aboriginal interests as secondary to the ultimate survival of wildlife and natural areas.

Conservationists and aboriginal people should not be expected to agree on goals or tactics. What is needed is respect for alternate positions so that gains can be realized. While the two sides may differ on their ultimate objectives, they do have common interests. One is a shared antipathy to the type of large-scale resource development which has ravaged much of this country. Another is a commitment to the ethos expressed recently by naturalist Ron Reid - that, while humans have become the dominant species on earth, "we still have a cardinal responsibility to share our whole planet with all other living creatures, plant and animal, that evolved here" (1992:46).

As the example of GwaiiHaanas/South Moresby clearly shows, the advantages of common action far outweigh the disadvantages. Even reluctant provincial governments can be persuaded to come along. To paraphrase a saying commonly used by Aboriginal leaders, both groups do not have to travel in the same canoe. But they can certainly share a waterway - and even arrive at a common destination.

Appendix A

(Source: **The** Globe and Mail)

PARK PROTEST / *The Ojibways who trap and fish in Ontario's Quetico Wilderness Park want outboard motors, snowmobiles and even aircraft-landing rights in the remote territory. Silence-loving canoeists and campers on both sides of the border object to the demands*

Rallying to keep the wilderness wild

The government should go much further toward protecting Ontario's wilderness.
— Ontario NDP policy paper, Greening the Party. Greening the Province, Mardi. 1990

BY ROBERT REGULY

THE NDP government of Ontario is agreeable to the demands of a small band of Indians that n be given the exclusive right to use motorboats on one-third of the lakes us Quetico Wilderness Park.

The Lac La Croix Ojibway band of 2S4 residents afso wants aircraft-landing nghu on more lakes to ferry in paying sports fish ermen for its 21 guides, and the entire park opened up 10 its 20 trappers, using snowmobales

Their demands have unleashed a flurry of protest from canoeists and campers on both sides of the border who want to keep the park m the natural, motor-free state it is supposed to be.

All forms of mechanized travel — including outboard motors, aircraft, all-terrain vehicles and - machines within the 4,500-square-kilometre provincial park were banned when it was declared a wilderness area in 1977, 64 years after the park was created. Hunting and logging also are banned.

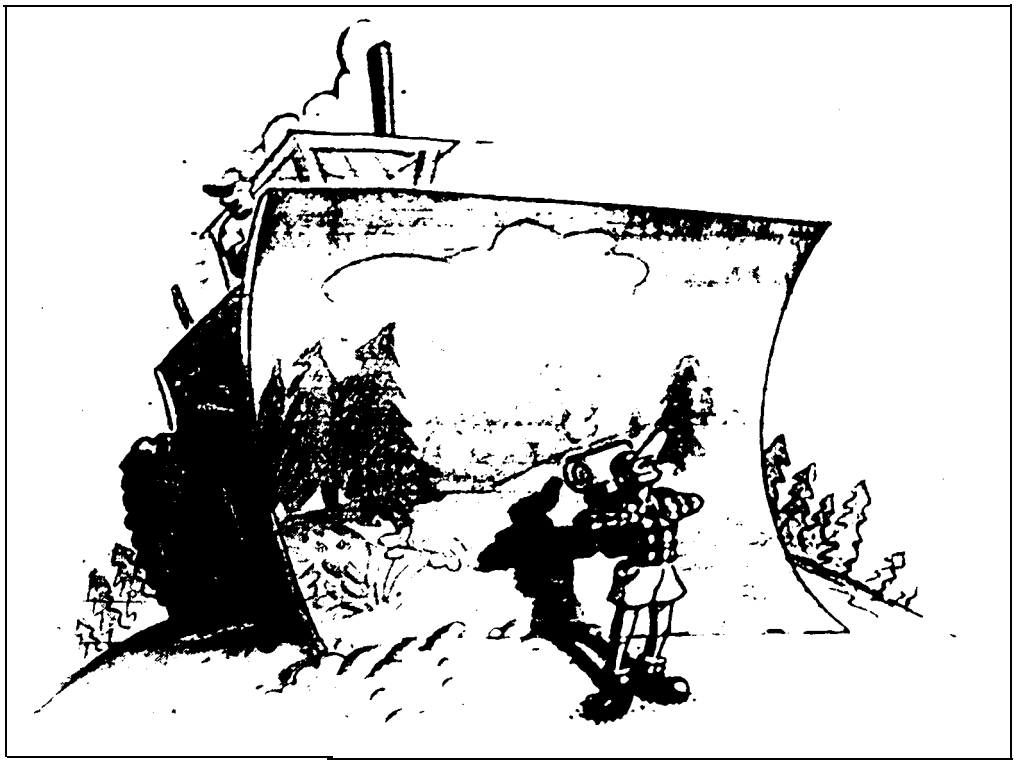
The Ontario Provincial Parks Planning and Management Policies of 1978 define wilderness parks as "substantial areas where the forces of nature are permitted to function freely and where visitors travel by non.mechanized means and experience expansive solitude, challenge and personal integration wish nature."

When Quetico was declared a wilderness park, the Lac La Croix band outside the southwest boundary was granted a "temporary" exemption to use outboard motors on six lakes and part of a river reside the park adjacent to the reserve.

Natural Resources Minister Bud Wildman last summer granted the Indians the same privileges on three more lakes — and bought them 24 new 14-foot boats with I 0-horsepower motors to use on all mnc lakes. But he put on hold the band's demands for an additional seven lakes — including two of the largess — at the far eastern end of the park, pending public consultation.

That consultation mnk the form of two public meetings by the Ontario Provincial Parks Council at Atikokan, the gateway to the park, and Thunder Bay. The ministry also received 600 briefs - half of them from Americans. The U.S. Boundary Waters Canoe Area (BWCA) wilderness park adjoins Quetico to the south, m Minnesota.

Letters protesting the opening of the park to motorboats and float planes, even to Indians, came from Friends of the BWCA, the Federation of Ontario Naturalists, the Wildlands League and Friends of Quetico



TONY MAMELTON

Park, a 400-member organization composed largely of area residents. 'Mint people have a lot of concerns about mechanized use of she park, 'says Quetico superintendent Jay Leather. If the economic and social needs of the Lac La Croix band lead to expanded use of the park, most people want those rights summed (expiration dams fixed) to that the wilderness character of the park can be preserved.

Certainly, non-mechanized use is the philosophy underpinning the park. -

THE parks council was scheduled to deliver its recommendations to the minister at the end of April. Mr. Wildman, who is known to favour the Indians' expanded de- will make his decision by summer.

The park's official guidelines are. To protect the provincially significant elements of she natural and cultural landscape of Quetico Park from human influence or disruption by permitting the forces of nature to function freely, only caking action where necessary to preserve the environmental integrity of the park and its features . . . Management of the fisheries resource will strive to protect pristine fish communities."

The Lac La Croix band is advertising four-day fishing trips into the park this year at $453 a person, motorboat and guide included.

"They want a motorized highway into the heart of the park," says Joseph Meany of Atikokan, who has worked the past 20 summers at the Lac La Croix forest ranger station. 'They want to use motorboats cm Sturgeon Lake, one of the major crossroads of canoe routes for wilderness travel m Quetico Park. They want ● ucraft to land there. too."

The 1989 Revised Park Policy for Quetico Park, 'to guide management of the park over the next 10 years," states: "Stronger legal protection for wilderness parts s and dozones will be investigated by Parks Branch . . .

"Quetico Park continues to be one of the treasures of the Ontario parks system. Jealous protection of its unique wilderness values cannot be understated and this revised parks policy reflects that."

In addition to holding Mr. Wildman to his promise to build a $500,000 road into the isolated Lac La Croix reserve, the band wants the Ontario government to build a "world-class Indian cultural centre" on their settlement.

The NDP policy paper promulgated six months before the party became the government of Ontario also states: "The committee writing this paper believes the province is in real and immediate danger of losing the last remnants of pristine wilderness areas . . .

"Wilderness consists of areas where official policy excludes roads, permanent structures, mechanized equipment and vehicles, trapping and hunting, natural resource extraction, or any other use that is incompatible with wilderness and wilderness values."

Robert Reguly is a Toronto writer who spends his summers in northwestern Ontario.

Native use of Quetico assured by treaty

I was disturbed by the one-sidedness of Robert Reguly's recent article, Rallying To Keep The Wilderness Wild (May 18). It conveyed the impression that the Ontario government is "giving" the Lac La Croix Ojibway Privileges within Quetico Park which violate the park's status as a wilderness area.

In fact, the area was part of the Ojibway's traditional territory long before the idea of wilderness areas was even conceived. When the Ojibway signed Treaty No. 3 with the federal Crown in 1873, thev were assured that it would be a long time before the lands outside their reserves were wanted, and in the meantime they could continue to fish and hunt over them. The treaty itself repeated this assurance, exempting only such lands as might from time to time be required for "settlement, mining, lumbering or other purposes." Moreover, the government promised to supply the Ojibway with ammunition and twine for nets every year in perpetuity so that they could continue to pursue their usual avocations of hunting and fishing.

The Supreme Court of Canada has repeatedly said that treaties are to be interpreted in the aboriginal peoples' favour, and that they can pursue their rights to hunt and fish with modem methods. The Supreme Court has also said that treaties must be interpreted in their historical and cultural context, as the aboriginal parties would have understood them.

Neither the Ojibway nor the treaty commissioners could have contemplated in 1873 that "other purposes" might include the creation of wilderness parks. Indeed, the very idea of wilderness would probably have been incomprehensible to the Ojibway.

So if anyone has granted privileges in this case, it is probably the Ojibway who have permitted the Ontario government to create Quetico Park, as long as their own rights are respected. Mr. Reguly — and others who have been protesting against Ojibway use of these lands — ought to r-e. flect on the fact that, while the aboriginal peoples once possessed all of Canada, only about 0.3 per cent of the country has been set aside as Indian reserves. Most of the other lands have been taken from them.

I am not against the creation of parks or wilderness areas, but surely the few rights the aboriginal peoples have left should take precedence over the pleasure of canoeists and campers who, as Mr. Reguly writes, "want to keep the park in the natural, motor-free state it is supposed to be." What arrogance to tell the Ojibway who have hunted and fished over these lands for hundreds if not thousands of years what state they are supposed to be in!

Kent McNeil, Professor
Osgoode Hall Law School
Downsview, Ont.

Fishing privileges should be restricted

Re Kent McNeil's letter Native Use Of Quetico Assured By Treaty (May 30):

We cannot deny that aboriginal Canadians were badly treated in the past, or that many land claims should be settled promptly and fairly. But Mr. McNeil's letter is an excellent example of the shallow thinking that pervades our political and legal systems with regard to aboriginal "rights."

It's all very well on paper for the Supreme Court to say that native people can pursue their right to hunt and fish with modem methods, and that "treaties must be interpreted in their historical and cultural context," to quote Mr. McNeil.

That position does not take into account the hard realities of modem-day resource exploitation. The Lac La Croix band wants expanded motorized access to Quetico Park because they have already depleted the fish stocks in the Quetico lakes to which they have had access in the past. Is excessive utilization a good reason for throwing open more of an area that is supposed to be protected for future generations?

It would be far more sensible, regardless of the original intent and understanding of the treaties, to interpret them its the light of current more generous understanding of human rights and more enlightened principles of resource management.

Mr. McNeil points out that neither the Ojibwa nor the treaty commissioners could have contemplated, in 1873, the creation of wilderness parks. He neglects to mention that our society has come a long way since 1873 in understanding the need to conserve rather than exploit. Nor does he mention the inconvenient fact that in other areas where native people have been given unrestricted hunting and fishing privileges (eg. the overharvest of Winnipeg River sturgeon) the results have been rather unfortunate.

The bottom line is that uncontrolled exploitation of natural resources results in the destruction of those resources, regardless of the racial origin of the exploiters.

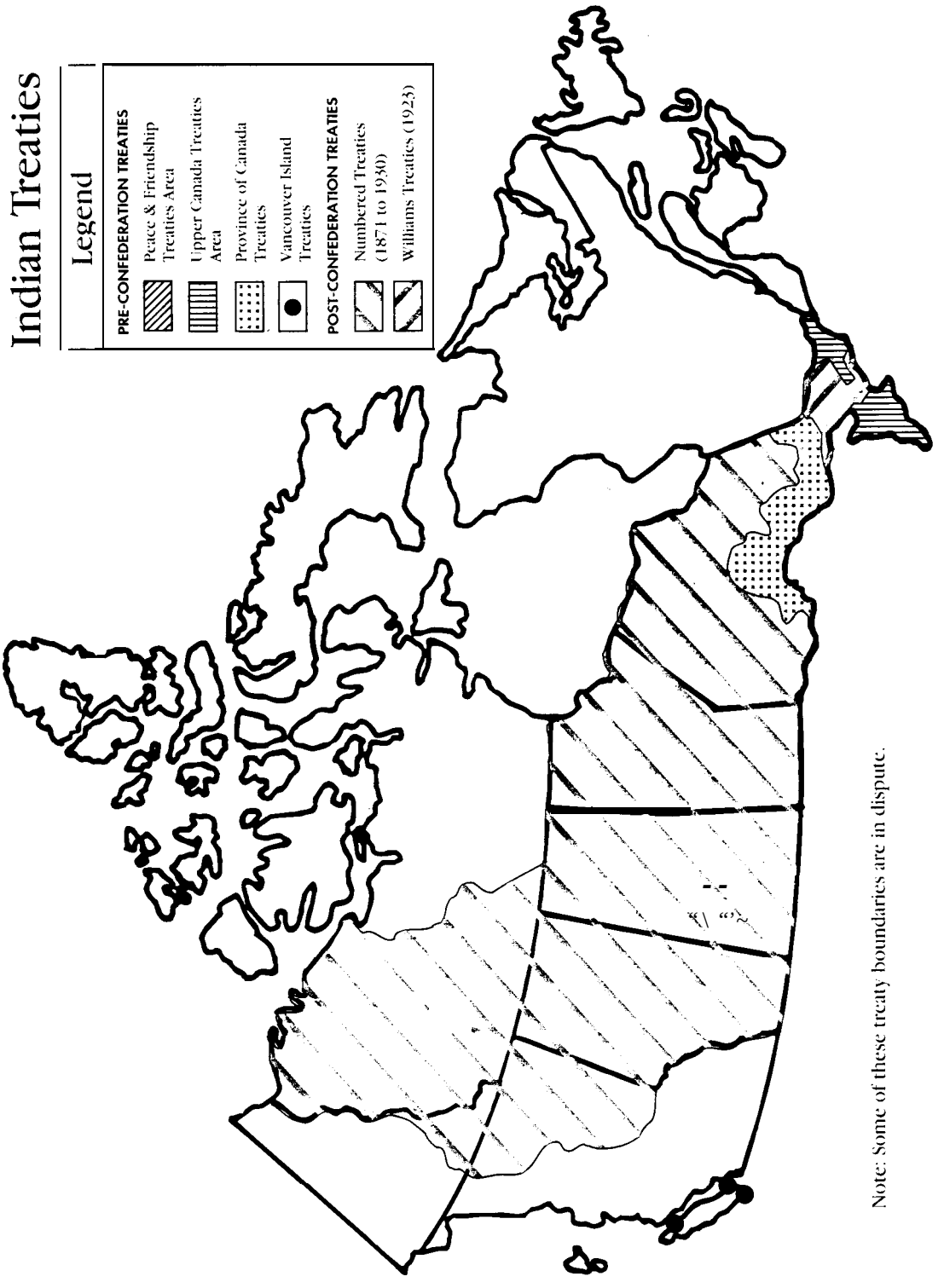
Native self-government is an idea whose time has come. Regardless of the model adopted (municipal, territorial, or even independent statehood), it would be reasonable for those governments to have the power to set resource policies within their own geographical areas, as the existing provinces and territories now do. But it is not reasonable for a small group to be given the privilege of raping an asset that belongs to all the people of Ontario.

As for Mr. McNeil's insulting use of the word "arrogance" to describe those who question the irresponsible actions of a giveaway-oriented government, the term is better applied to the politicians and lawyers who have put Algonquin and Quetico Parks on the bargaining table. Their public-be-damned attitude is insufferable.

Kenneth G. Beattie, Toronto

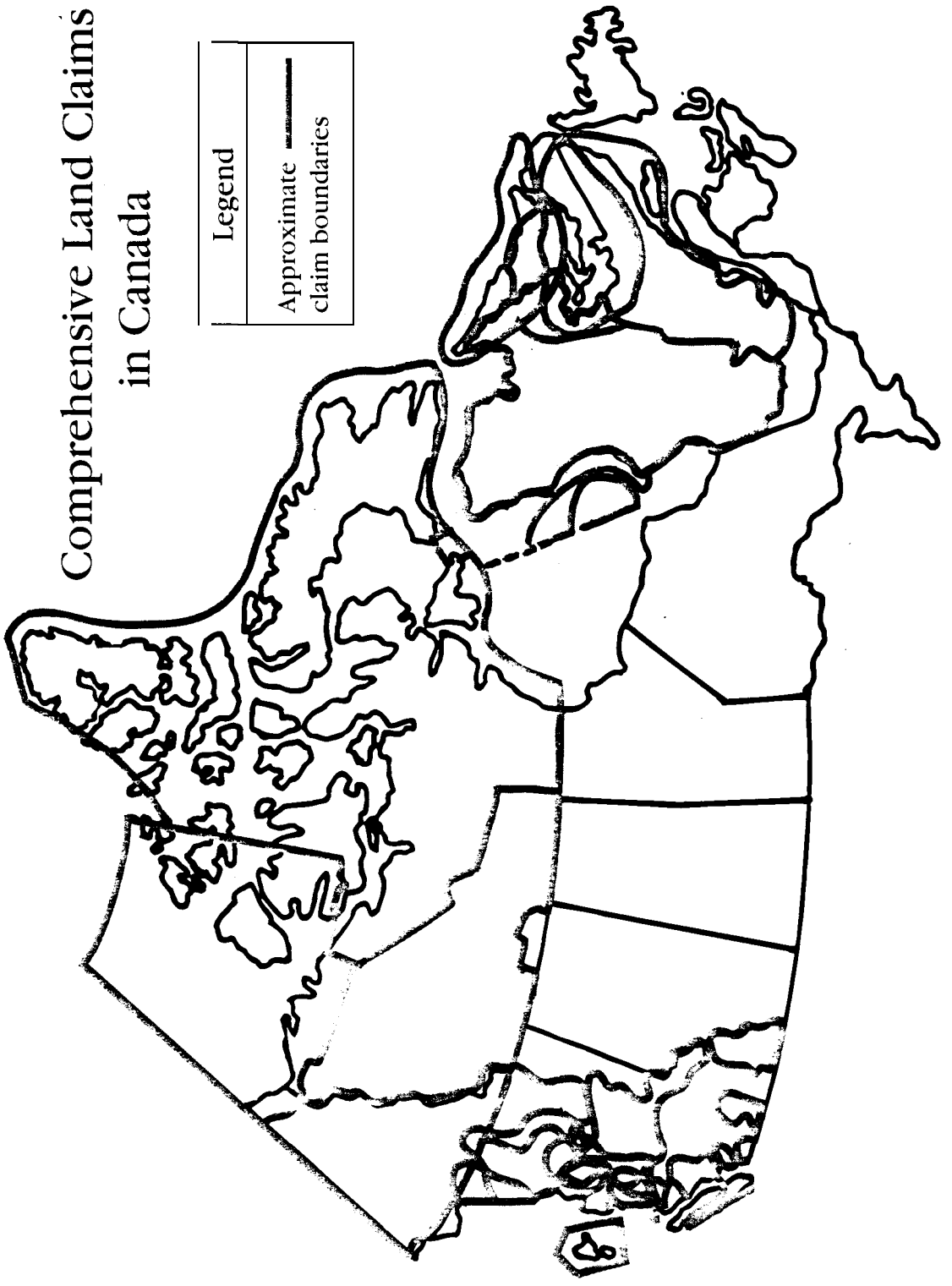
Appendix B

(Source: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1992)



Appendix C

(Source: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1992)



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James Morrison is an ethnohistorian and heritage consultant with extensive experience in aboriginal claims research on a national basis. Among his many Native clients over the past 20 years have been Grand Council, Treaty #9 (now Nishnawbe-Aski Nation) in Ontario; the Gitksan-Wetsu'we'ten Tribal Council in B. C.; the Prince Albert Tribal Council in northern Saskatchewan; and the Grand Council of Crees of Quebec. A resident of Haileybury in northeastern Ontario, Jim was an executive member of the Lady Evelyn Wilderness Alliance, which lobbied in the early 1980s for the creation of the Lady Evelyn-Smoothwater Wilderness Park. Since August of 1992, he has been Chair of the Temagami-area Wendaban Stewardship Authority.

WWF and Indigenous Peoples

WWF's ultimate goal is to stop, and eventually reverse, the accelerating degradation of our planet's natural environment, and to help build a future in which humans live in harmony with nature. WWF works with indigen ouspeoples around the world to implement this mission. Some examples ofthis work within and outside ofCanada are included below.

- In Mauritania, WWF is working in the Bane D'Arguin National Park with the Imraguen people to help them maintain sustainable fisheries practices and to develop and manage a fisheries co-operative.

. In Irian Jaya, WWF is working with the Hatam people in the Arfak Mountain Strict Nature Reserve. The Hatam people helped delineate the park boundaries and are experimenting with cottage industries in the buffer zone, including butterfly ranching and small-scale market gardening.

- In Pakistan, WWF is working with the World Conservation Union and the Shimshali people to resolve a conflict over usage zones in the Khunjerab National park. . . The Shimshali people want the right to graze their animals traditionally in the park. Conservationists want a guarantee that this will be controlled, and a hunting ban on Snow Leopard and Marco Polo Sheep upheld.

. In Zimbabwe, the CAMPFIRE wildlife utilization programs on communally held lands are taking the pressure off national parks and protected areas. With support from . . WWF, these pilot programs involve villagers hunting wildlife in a sustainable way and profiting from conservation.

- In the United States, WWF is working with the Hoopa Indians in Northern California to ensure sustainable development of the reservation land where the Hoopa have lived for at least 10,000 years. So far, 30,000 trees, including Douglas Fir and some Redwood have been replanted.

- In Canada, WWF has worked with the Inuit community of Clyde River, Baffin Island, to devise a conservation plan to protect critical habitat for endangered bowhead whales at Isabella Bay. "Igalirtuuq", the community's proposal for a marine National Wildlife Area and Biosphere Reserve, is moving forward through the approvals process for the new territory of Nunavut.

World Wildlife Fund Canada is part of an international network of 28 organizations around the world, dedicated to swing the diversity of life on earth. Since its founding in 1961, WWF has supported more than 7,000 projects worth $800 million in 130 countries.

WWF's *Mission for the 1990's* is to achieve the conservation of the planet's biological diversity by:

- Preserving genetic, species and ecosystem diversity;
- Ensuring that the use of renewable natural resources is sustainable both now and in the longer term, for the benefit of all life on Earth;
- Promoting actions to reduce, to a minimum, pollution and the wasteful exploitation and consumption of resources and energy.

WWF pursues this mission in Canada through three major conservation programs: *Endangered Species, Endangered Spaces,* anti *Wildlife Toxicology* and in Latin America through the *Guardian of the Rainforest Campaign.*

WWF

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