

GREEN MARGINALITY IN CANADA

By Helga Hoffmann and David Orton

Paper presented at the Learned Societies Conference, Laval University, Quebec City, June 2, 1989, at the Session “The Red-Green Movement in Canada”.

INTRODUCTION

We¹ started our involvement in the environmental movement in British Columbia in 1977. Both of us were members of field naturalist groups. We had previously been active in the urban-based left wing movement. One of us submitted a report to the Federation of British Columbia Naturalists, “The Case against the Southern Moresby Wilderness Proposal”². We became active in the Federation. A Committee to Extend the Moratorium on Logging of the Tsitika Watershed on Northern Vancouver Island was organized, in which we participated³. One of us became organizationally responsible in the Federation for the naturalist clubs on Vancouver Island and the Gulf Islands⁴.

In the fall of 1979 we moved to Nova Scotia and lived initially in Halifax. We concentrated on uranium and forestry research⁵, while also looking into the Nova Scotia acid rain connection⁶. We were very involved in the eventually successful province-wide struggle to stop uranium exploration and mining, and made many trips out of Halifax to speak at meetings and help organize oppositional groups. In 1981, the writers established the Socialist Environmental Protection and Occupational Health Group (SEPOHG), described as “a Nova Scotia-based group of socialists interested in environmental and occupational health issues”. We came to define ourselves as “greens” and, at a Halifax anti-cruise missile rally on July 23, 1983, publicly stated: “We need a new kind of politics and we believe the green movement, which stresses a new type of environmentally conscious society, is the way ahead”.⁷

Two years after moving to Pictou County, in March of 1986, we helped form a new environmental group in the region, called the North Shore Environmental Web (NSEW). In November of 1988 we formed an independent research group called the Green Web, to serve the needs of the green movement. In February of this year, both of us resigned from the NSEW.

Our practical and theoretical work in Nova Scotia, in addition to the uranium question, has involved opposing the killing of harp, grey and harbor seals⁸; opposing pesticide use in forestry⁹, powerline¹⁰ and roadside spray situations¹¹; opposing pulpwood forestry: clear-cutting, planting softwood monocultures, destruction of hardwoods and wildlife habitat and putting forth the ecological alternative; groundwater contamination¹²; opposing the chemical cultivation of blueberries¹³ and Christmas trees¹⁴; raising various concerns regarding pulp mill pollution¹⁵; and taking part in green movement theoretical discussions¹⁶. We are also currently investigating the impact of aquaculture on the environment and wildlife.

We have taken the position that we could best make a contribution to the environmental and green movements by becoming practically and theoretically involved in selected environmental issues. When we had the data and analysis on an issue which concerned us, we would try to raise this publicly in Nova Scotia. But also, we would disseminate the information to activists and movement publications, through a network of contacts, in the hope the data and theoretical concepts would be put to use by others. We have always opposed receiving government or corporate funding for environmental activities and advocated that environmental groups should be self-financing from their membership and supporters.¹⁷

GREEN PARTY BUILDING: GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

It seems to us that there are various stages to go through before a true green party can emerge. We see the roots of a green party first in an environmental movement. This movement gradually moves to a level of consciousness which defines itself as “green” and part of the world-wide green movement. Environmental activists usually want to put a stop to an immediate environmental problem, whereas a green consciousness seeks more fundamental political change in order to resolve the particular problems of environmental concern.

The green movement emerges from the environmental movement and the main focus in both these movements can be broadly defined as ecological concerns. Green movements within countries can then give rise to green parties, which then have to address a number of social, economic, cultural and political issues and develop policies on these.

Any environmental movement reflects a range of political positions among its participants, because people come forward to struggle on environmental issues from across the political spectrum and bring these perspectives into the various environmental groups. Thus there will be a range of positions on how to organize and how to deal with the state in capitalist society. Attitudes towards the state will range from outright opposition to collaboration and the belief that the state can be used to bring about fundamental environmental change. These various positions and attitudes in the environmental movement will also be reflected in any green movement and green party.

Theoretically, we can see a green party which is subordinate to the green movement, where the main focus is on extra-parliamentary political activity at the grass roots level. Such a party would see the very real limitations of change through the electoral process and acknowledge also the possibility of the state resorting to violence against greens, as the extent of the changes necessary to live in harmony with the earth become apparent to the public and the corporate polluters. A green party would use the participation in electoral activity, including entering into coalitions with other political parties, as one means to raise green awareness.

However, once a green party starts on the parliamentary road there are substantial pressures towards deradicalization, absorption, and neutralization. Countering this can only be a militant grass roots, green mass movement. Such a movement does not permit the green party to become

an entity unto itself, divorced from responsibility and accountability to greens, inside and outside the party, organizing in their local areas.

Theoretically, as well as the situation where the green party is subordinate to the green movement, we can see a situation at the other end of the spectrum. This would be a situation where a green party is declared to exist, but is divorced from any real base in the environmental and green mass movements and which embraces, uncritically, the assumptions of change through the parliamentary process. A viewpoint well known as parliamentary cretinism.

What is outlined above are two possibilities, reality will differ. However, in assessing green parties we are suggesting to look at the historical evolution and the contemporary relationship to the extra parliamentary green mass movements. These factors, plus the outcome of the debate by the various tendencies within green parties, will help us determine whether such parties, although “green”, are to be characterized as progressive, middle of the road reformist, or conservative in basic orientation.

What is clear is that the green movement exists world-wide and, because of the ongoing destruction of the earth, it is the political future. The green movement has replaced the socialist movement as the centre of innovative debate and utopian thinking. Green ideas have started to significantly influence Europe. A publication of the European greens, Green Times (Jan./Feb. 1989), points out one indication of this influence: “Greens now sit in the National Parliaments in Austria, Belgium, Finland, West Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, Switzerland Portugal, Sweden and Australia. Six members of an all-woman’s party sit in Iceland’s Parliament with a very green programme, although they do not ally themselves formally with the Greens.”

CANADA: PARTY VERSUS MOVEMENT

In early September 1983, several people, including ourselves, met in Truro Nova Scotia with the person we found out had been designated to “represent” the province at the founding convention of the federal green party. (This convention was held in Ottawa on November 4-6, 1983.) At this Truro meeting, we made it clear that there was disagreement with the formation of any federal green political party. A letter written shortly after the meeting to the rep. noted that “It is a movement that has to be built at this time, not a federal political party.”¹⁸

In the federal election of 1980, eleven independent candidates ran who collectively viewed themselves as the “Small Party”. Nine of the candidates were from the Atlantic region. While the Small Party focused on the nuclear issue, its concerns were essentially ecological. Today nothing remains of this party.¹⁹

We believe that building a green movement in Canada was seriously undermined by the formation of the federal green party and also the formation of green provincial parties in B.C. and Ontario. All these parties were declared into existence in 1983. Our view is that there is no green movement yet in Nova Scotia or in the Maritimes. There is an active environmental movement and a few scattered people who consider themselves greens. Most of the

environmental activists we know in Nova Scotia do not define themselves yet as greens, although many of them are showing interest in green ideas. Basically the green movement has yet to be built in the Maritimes. We cannot understand how there could have been a federal green political party established back in 1983. Presumably a federal party would include the Maritimes.

We have a copy of eco party news from July 1980, in which two people – Mark Craft and Jim Bohlen – are listed under “Addresses” as “Green Party of Canada”. Also these same two people have an article in this issue, “Is A New Political Party Necessary To Achieve A Conserver Society In Canada?” The article concludes, “Germany has a Green Party which has been immensely successful. We can ride along on their popularity by using the name. It is simple, catchy, and cleverly emphasizes the greenness rather than the redness with which our kneejerk detractors will quickly try to label us. Are you reds? NO, we’re GREENS!! and so forth. Green is positive, growth, newness, optimism.”

A Background Report (dated September 22, 1988), from the Green Party of Canada says, “The Green Party of Canada was created in June, 1983, by 100 green electors (persons qualified to vote in Canada) with Dr. Trevor Hancock as founding leader and Bill Marshall as chief agent. These early Green activists set in motion the planning for the first convention to be held later that year.” Jim Harding, in his interesting report, The Founding Of The Canadian Greens: A Report and Analysis of the Politics of Process, notes that the Green Party was filed as a federal party “...under the Elections Act on August 8th, before the founding convention was even held or any decision about structure and/or process could be made in a democratic way.”²⁰ Overall, it is perhaps fair to say that Harding does not oppose the actual forming of a federal green party. As he notes in the concluding paragraph of his report, “...the Green Party of Canada is clearly in a strong position to make an impact on Canadian society.”²¹

The discussion of the formation of the B.C. Green Party, in Sarah Parkin’s recent book, Green Parties: An International Guide, conveys to us a similar sense of a small number of people making the decision that a green party should be declared: “Once again the possibility of a new party was discussed. This time the discussion was serious enough for one man, Paul George, to go to Victoria and register a provincial Green party.”²²

In an attempt to ward off criticism, the B.C. and federal green parties have now declared that these parties also represent the green movement! Thus the federal party now uses a hyphenated name “Canadian Greens/Green Party of Canada”.²³ The federal Constitution tells us that these names shall be used synonymously. Yet the focus remains overwhelmingly electoral. The relationship between the B.C. Green Party and federal party seems incestuous. The basic impression from the literature being distributed is that the federal party is a clone of the party from B.C. That the same address is used for both parties symbolizes this.

What do the Canadian green parties really represent? There is a basic belief in change through the electoral process, with the consequent passivity that this implies for the electorate and the acceptance of the “social democratic” belief that power resides in parliament. For all the talk of consensus decision making, there seems to be a reliance on Robert’s Rules of Order and bureaucratic legalisms, perhaps best captured in the June 1987 Constitution and By-Laws of the

Green Party Political Association Of British Columbia. The literature that is put out is generally not inspiring, and seems detached from significant environmental involvement. The real problem greens who are outside of such “parties” find themselves facing, is that they now exist, even though they did not arise from a green mass movement. We, who are critics of such parties, network with a number of people who have federal or provincial green party memberships.

It seems quite clear that in Canada, what can only be called green opportunists” created federal and provincial green parties before there was any kind of mass movement with a green alternative vision. We find the creation of such top down parties to be contrary to what it means to be green, or what it means to build a green alternative within Canadian society. The West German Greens, Die Grünen, which most greens would agree are the pace setters, first existed as a grass roots movement based in ecological concerns – the main issue seems to have been nuclear power plants and nuclear weapons – but with ties to feminist struggles and the alternative movements. The German left was part of the green movement from the beginning.²⁴ The important point is that the German Greens (and the Swedish Greens), created political organizations that came out of a grass roots green movement. Also, these organizations had first local political representation, unlike the situation in Canada. Today, the greens in West Germany basically decide the environmental agenda that is discussed. The Canadian situation is that, from the public’s perception) green parties exist but their influence, given their origins, is minimal.

EXPERIENCE AS SOCIALIST GREENS

A favorite slogan of the B.C. Green Party, the British Green Party, and American writers like Capra and Spretnak, and Devall and Sessions,²⁵ is “We are neither left nor right, we are in front”. For us, the positive aspect of this slogan is that it means that to be green requires a new vision or orientation that doesn’t come from the left, center or right. This vision is not anti-left. But as used by the above, this slogan takes on the meaning that greens have nothing to learn from the left and that the greens are not a left wing party.

The neither left nor right slogan comes from the West German greens. Werner Hülsberg, in his book The German Greens: A Social and Political Profile, the most progressive study so far available in English, notes that this invocation is drawn from one of the more reactionary tendencies which went into the make-up of the German greens.²⁶ Hülsberg shows, notwithstanding this particular slogan, that Die Grünen view themselves as a left-wing party and left of the social democrats.²⁷ Of interest for electoral considerations is that Hülsberg notes, in the German system of proportional representation, the electoral success of the greens has been influenced by a significant number of social democrats giving the greens their second vote.²⁸

Changing Our Perspective

Through our experience in the Nova Scotia environmental movement, we gained some understanding of questions which socialist greens have to face. We ourselves had to change. While our experience is that many environmentalists see the capitalist aspect of various environmental issues, it is much harder for such people to see themselves as socialists. This is because they do not see socialism as different. For ourselves, we came, reluctantly, to the view

that if Marx/Marxism viewed the natural world as a “resource” – in a similar manner to capitalism – then it was not possible to be a “green” and a Marxist, however much one shared the basic Marxist critique of capitalist society.

Socialism is not seen as “different” for many environmentalists/greens given

- a) The actual environmental record of countries which call themselves socialist or communist;
- b) The unquestioned commitment to “growth” of such countries and of political parties in the West which define themselves in some way as socialist or communist; and
- c) The world domination of the market economy and the always expanding capitalist consumerism which is part of this, is nowhere under serious challenge from a socialist perspective. Another factor for ourselves is the welcome democratic and decentralized focus of green thinking and the extreme uneasiness with which we see such concerns only now being taken up in countries such as the Soviet Union and China.

Trade Unions

In Nova Scotia we have tried to link environmental and occupational health issues. During our uranium experience this effort was unsuccessful,²⁹ apart from some concern shown by the postal workers.³⁰ The Halifax-Dartmouth District Labour Council stated it did not oppose uranium mining “if it can be carried on without risk of damage to the environment or health hazards to those employed in the mining.”³¹ More recently, there has been contact with coke oven workers from Sydney Steel with a view to linking their concerns with opposition to the provincial and federal departments of the environment, by environmentalists engaged in forestry and pesticide struggles.³²

Our experience on forestry/pesticide and sealing issues is that we have had to oppose the unions involved, as well as the employers and the federal and provincial governments. We have come to see that a crucial test of the level of environmental consciousness was whether a group or individual would oppose their own economic interests for environmental or wildlife concerns. Thus how do unions working in pulp mills view clearcutting and herbicide use?³³ How do fishing unions view seals,³⁴ which are obviously eating fish? Even where defending the interests of wildlife e.g. seals, cormorants, or coyotes, undermined popular support on our main environmental focus – forestry/pesticides – we believed that from a biocentric position this had to be done. For us, ecological rights override private or state property rights. A boundary line in the forest does not stop the entry of a pesticide into the forest ecosystem.

Independent Science

We have also learnt from our experience in the environmental movement that it is necessary to develop a capacity, independent of government and the industrial polluters, for collecting, analyzing and disseminating information on toxic contamination. Such a capacity has to be independently funded by the movement which it serves. The situation now is that the people gathering the “data” are often the corporate polluters themselves, or their government “regulators” who share basic industry assumptions about how the world should unfold. Relying on one’s own resources and forming community-based environmental protection/defense committees, seems the best way to mobilize against locally caused environmental degradation.

Biocentrism

We believe that the socialist/communist movement, being human-centered, has difficulty in seeing what the green movement is all about in Canada and the United States. We have come to adopt the basic perspective of biocentrism or deep ecology. Biocentrism provides the ideological counter to “resourcism”, the dominant view that the non-human world exists solely as raw material for the human purpose. The essence of biocentrism is, for us, what it means to be green.

Biocentrism believes that all life forms (plant and animal and their ecosystems) have an equal validity which is in no way dependent upon humans for existence. We agree with a formulation of deep ecology outlined recently in The Ecologist, by Arne Naess:

1. The flourishing of human and non-human life on Earth has inherent value. The value of non-human lifeforms is independent of the usefulness of the non-human world for human purposes.
2. The richness and diversity of life forms are also values in themselves and contribute to the flourishing of human and nonhuman life on Earth.
3. Humans have no right to reduce this richness and diversity except to satisfy vital needs.
4. The flourishing of human life and cultures is compatible with a substantial decrease of the human population. The flourishing of non-human life requires such a decrease.
5. Present human interference with the non-human world is excessive, and the situation is rapidly worsening.
6. Policies must therefore be changed. The changes in policies affect basic economic, technological and ideological structures. The resulting state of affairs would be deeply different from the present and would make possible a more joyful experience of the connectedness of all things.
7. The ideological change is mainly that of appreciating life quality (dwelling in situations of inherent value) rather than adhering to an increasingly higher standard of living. There will be profound awareness of the difference between ‘big’ and ‘great’.
8. Those who subscribe to the foregoing points have an obligation directly or indirectly to participate in the attempt to implement the necessary change.³⁵

We have raised various criticisms of the basic “text” – Deep Ecology: Living As If Nature Mattered, by Bill Devall and George Sessions – in the Winter 1986/87 issue of The New Catalyst, touching on religious/mystical components, the focus on wilderness, the non-urban orientation, population matters, bioregionalism, non-violence, and finally belief in the power of ideas to bring about change. In our criticism we further stated:

Deep Ecology is also an ethnocentric book and conveys the dominant impression that deep ecology is mainly an American philosophical movement. There is little real sense conveyed of the world dimensions of the deep ecology/green movement. There is also no awareness in this book of the responsibility of capitalist economic structures in North America for environmental degradation. There is no awareness of the major imperial role that America plays on a world scale, of consuming the ‘resources’ of the planet and in the process polluting and destroying large segments of the world’s environment.

We do not accept the attempt to define deep ecology as “primarily a spiritual-religious movement”³⁶ (Devall), or that it has “a religious component” which we are informed “everyone must cultivate”³⁷ (Naess). We do not accept the unquestioning assertion of “non-violence” by deep ecology writers. We are for non-violence in personal relationships and want to live in a non-violent world. However, the refusal to realistically discuss the question of violence obscures the reality of state power and the use of violence against those deemed to be “subversive” by the state. Can there be a fundamental change to an ecological society without the green movement being subjected to violence? We also find advocating non-violence is theoretically inconsistent with a biocentric position, as it singles out humans for a privileged status. We are not “Malthusians”, but it is correct to be concerned about population. If humans share the planet on a basis of equality with other forms of life, then as human numbers expand, other life forms suffer. We acknowledge the lack of any real political, economic or social analysis by most deep ecology writers.

Much of deep ecology writing we find obscure and not relevant to practical green work.³⁸ We see deep ecology as needing a socialist component. This will make it possible to have a red center in the sunflower. The green movement needs “socialist biocentrism”.

Social Ecology and Ecofeminism

We do not accept the perspective of “social ecology”, or the view that there is a distinct and separate body of theory called “ecofeminism”, which sees the way nature is subjugated and exploited directly related to the oppression of women in society. We don’t accept the social ecology perspective that social domination and the domination of nature are interrelated. This is an unproven assumption and a “theory” which still keeps humans at the center of the universe.

We do not believe that women in some way are closer to nature than men. In Canada, women are economically, sexually and culturally oppressed. We are committed to the position that “A new, non-exploitive and sustainable relationship with the natural world needs an accompanying social world where the oppression of women has been eliminated and women participate on the basis of equality in every sphere of social life.”³⁹

Social Democracy

We have always believed that there is no social democratic road to socialism. Social democratic parties, like the NDP or the British Labour Party, view themselves as operating within a market economy. Such parties can only end up managing capitalism for the capitalists. The NDP is a capitalist reform party. The “left” inside a social democratic party keeps alive the enthusiasm and energy of the activists, and a belief in the parliamentary process. Our views on social democracy have been a reason for us to be shunned in the Maritimes,⁴⁰ where most of the left oscillates around the NDP. We have also expressed publicly, that the NDP cannot be “greened” and that socialists who consider themselves greens, should work outside this party and help to build the green movement in Canada.⁴¹ The green critique of the NDP is apparent from the content of this paper.

It is clear that in Canada, there is an increasing openness to green ideas by some left socialists. We ourselves, within the last year, have received letters from magazines that are essentially

social democratic in orientation, soliciting articles on environmental issues. In responding to one of these letters we noted, that

Socialism, to be seen as relevant to the green movement, has to be radically 'revised'. Not in the traditional sense of revisionism, i.e. selling out, but socialist theory responding to the lessons taught by the greens... We need a creative rethinking of traditional socialist theory, to make theoretical inroads into the green movement. Showing the role private/corporate interest plays, and the inherently expansionary role of Capital in environmental degradation is not enough."⁴²

Die Grünen

We have already contrasted the emergence of the West German Green Party with what happened in Canada. Recently we visited West Germany for three weeks and had a number of discussions with greens. The greens in Germany are now polling about 10% of the vote and they are in coalition governments with the social democrats in West Berlin and Frankfurt. During our discussions, we were told that the founding of the party, in January of 1980, was an acknowledgement that, whatever their differences, all the various factions of the green movement – including the various tendencies of the left – must work together. We feel this is an important lesson for Canadian greens.

We are strong supporters of Die Grünen, but we have no wish to glamourize or misrepresent them. It is for this reason that we include some critical comments. Among the people we spoke with, with a couple of exceptions, there was little awareness or interest in what was happening in Canada or in the United States in the green movement. There seemed to be widespread illusions about the peaceful route to environmental basic change via the parliamentary road. There is a belief among some members and ex-members of the green party that Die Grünen has already been absorbed and neutralized as a force for environmental and social change. The distinction was made to us between the generally progressive literature of the greens and the practical electoral activity. This activity seems pitched to winning votes and putting green principles to the background. Another negative side was tending to seek the technological fix for various environmental issues and not presenting publicly the need for the revolutionary industrial changes required to address basic environmental problems. Finally, the German greens are a human-centered party – humans are seen as “stewards” of their environment. There seems to be a lessening of focus on non-human life, as the party becomes a permanent and growing fixture on the political scene. As we were informed, “wildlife doesn't vote”.

CONCLUSION

We believe the green movement in Canada and other countries can only continue to grow, as the environment is routinely destroyed as a by-product of capitalist and socialist economic activity. This destruction becomes reflected in the deterioration of the quality of life of individuals, and they begin to organize. For Canada, the present ecological crisis in the East Coast fishery is an indication of things to come. Initially, as the development of the green movement shows, green politics becomes most manifest in countries that are crowded, heavily industrialized, affluent, and where people can organize, as in Western Europe.

Greens tend to look more North-South than East-West. Green thinking must embrace the world, because countries which are poor, locked into an international division of labor, with massive debt repayments to the “developed” world, rapidly increasing populations, little productive land available, etc. cannot put environmental protection on their agendas. There is no “sustainable development”.⁴³ Our economic activity is already destroying the natural world around us.

For Canada, to end green marginality means to build the green movement. This is to focus on practical environmental work and develop green consciousness. To put forth, where there is actual organizing experience, some concrete green programs and policies around which the public can be mobilized. Socialists who are greens need to demonstrate their socialism in building the green movement.⁴⁴

As the practical work and networking develops and the green movement grows in strength and starts to have a real influence within Canadian society, what to do about the existing “green” political parties will become apparent. It is not apparent at this time.

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This paper “Green Marginality in Canada”, after being presented on June 2, 1989, in Quebec City at the Learned Societies Conference, will be circulated to a network of contacts by the Green Web, an independent research group serving the needs of the green movement. To contact the authors of the paper, Helga Hoffmann and David Orton, or the Green Web, write R.R.#3, Salt Springs, Pictou County, Nova Scotia, Canada BOK 1PO. Comments/criticisms/feedback, and help in circulating the paper, will be appreciated.

NOTES

1. The co-authors have had a personal relationship during the period described in the paper. All of the material issued in the name of David Orton, or in the name of environmental organizations in which we were involved, was jointly discussed and agreed upon. So it is in this sense that “we” is used in our paper. “We” is used, even if only David Orton’s name appears on a letter, an article, or a book review.

2. This unpublished report to the Federation of B.C. Naturalists, was dated January 16, 1978, with a supplement dated February 12, 1978. Partly as an outcome of this report, the following “Resolution On Southern Moresby”, co-sponsored by Bristol Foster and David Orton, was adopted unanimously at the April 29, 1978 Annual General Meeting, of the Federation of B.C. Naturalists:

Whereas the Southern Moresby area is a region of unique natural and cultural significance; and

Whereas the resource use of the Queen Charlotte Islands has to date occurred in a piecemeal fashion without the consent of the native and non-native inhabitants; and
Whereas stepped-up logging is imminent for the Southern Moresby area:

Be it resolved that the Federation of B.C. Naturalists

- a. Urge the Minister of Forests to call for full public hearings into the renewal of Tree Farm License 24 to look particularly into the logging practices of the company concerned; and
- b. Urge the Ministers of Forests, and of Mines and Petroleum Resources, to impose a moratorium on all logging and mining development of the Southern Moresby area until the following questions have been resolved to the satisfaction of the residents of the Queen Charlotte Islands:
 - i. The settlement of Haida Land Claims;
 - ii. Basic agreement by the native and non-native local people on the continuing utilization of the resources of the Southern Moresby area including the possibility of some kind of park designation so that all the Canadian people may enjoy and have access to the area's distinctive attributes.

For an article showing the various issues, see David Orton, "The Moresby Wilderness Debate", The Fisherman, February 2, 1979, publication of the United Fishermen and Allied Workers' Union.

3. This Committee produced a number of leaflets. For an article outlining the various features of the Tsitika watershed situation, see David Orton, "Lessons from the Tsitika", Newsletter, The Federation of B.C. Naturalists, December 1978, Vol. 16, No. 4.

4. In this capacity a number of letters were written to newspapers on wildlife and forestry issues. See for example, "Non-hunting recreation need in B.C.", The Colonist, June 12, 1979; and "Naturalists seek overdue forest policy", The Colonist, May 18, 1979.

5. Leaflets, articles and information materials were produced for the uranium issue. See for example, "Uranium In Well Water In Nova Scotia: What Are The Problems?", SEPOHG, April 23, 1982; and "Uranium Exploration and Mining: References of interest for farmers and others in rural areas", David Orton, Sept. 27, 1981. The forestry research, done while in Halifax, is summarized in "[Pulpwood Forestry in Nova Scotia](#)", a presentation given by David Orton for SEPOHG, to the Royal Commission on Forestry", April 19, 1983. This was later published under the title "Pulpwood Forestry in Nova Scotia and the Environmental Question", Gorsebrook Research Institute, Saint Mary's University, Halifax, no date.

6. The acid rain investigation is summarized in "Acid Rain – The Nova Scotia Connection", presentation by David Orton for SEPOHG, to a Halifax public meeting on April 13/81, organized by the Federal Sub-Committee on Acid Rain of the Standing Committee on Fisheries and Forestry.

7. See "Notes for a five-minute talk at Halifax anti-cruise rally", SEPOHG, July 27, 1983.

8. A number of articles, letters to the editor, etc. were written on seal issues. For the first main article see David Orton, "Atlantic Seals - On The Road To Extinction?" in New Maritimes, October 1983, Vol. 2, No. 2.
9. Many press releases, leaflets, letters to the editor, etc. have been written on forestry pesticide issues. See, for example, the leaflet produced for the summer of 1988 "Forestry Herbicide Use – A Hazard to Our Environment", by the NSEW. For an article which summarizes how forestry/ pesticide organizing is conducted in Nova Scotia, see David Orton, "Forest Spray Organizing In Nova Scotia", Ontario Green News, October 1988, Vol. 1, No. 2. A concept to help organize opposition to pesticide use, coming out of Nova Scotia work is "Informed Consent... or Informed Rejection". The first presentation of this was given in a talk to the East Hants Municipal Council on November 17, 1986. For an explanation of how this concept has developed, see letter by David Orton, in Earth First!, September 22, 1988, Vol. VIII, No. VIII. For a systematic critique of Bt forest spraying, arising out of work on this in Nova Scotia, see David Orton, "The Case Against Forest Spraying with the Bacterial Insecticide Bt", Alternatives, Dec. 1987/Jan. 1988, Vol. 15, No. 1.
10. See letter signed by five people "Chemical poisoning program has to be stopped", Farm Focus, June 8, 1988. The same letter was published in a number of other provincial newspapers. The letter outlines the pesticides used by the power corporation on "brush control", "soil sterilization" and "wood preservation programs". After being published the letter was used as a leaflet along selected power corporation spray sites.
11. See letter by Helga Hoffmann "Feels roadside spray harmful", New Glasgow Evening News, May 18, 1988. This letter was also used as a leaflet to organize against roadside spraying in Pictou County.
12. See for example, the letter signed by nine people on Truro groundwater contamination by perchloroethylene (PCE), published in the Truro Daily News, September 15, 1987.
13. See Bulletin # 1, "Blueberry Spraying: A Chemical Horror Story", by the Green Web, November 1988.
14. See Bulletin # 3, "Christmas Tree Cultivation: Open Season On Pesticides", by the Green Web, March 1989.
15. See "More Than Boat Harbour: Various Environmental Questions Pertaining to Scott Paper and Canso Chemicals", by NSEW, September 1, 1988. Also, see the bibliography "Pulp and Paper Mill Pollution: Some Information Sources for Nova Scotians", put out as Bulletin # 2, by the Green Web, December 1988. This bibliography was organized under the heading "Industry must be pollution-free, ecologically sustainable, accountable to the local community, and required for the long term benefit of society".
16. See for example the discussion paper, "The Green Movement and Our Place In It", NSEW, March 1988. There was a lot of feedback from this paper.

17. This position is put forth, for example, in the statement, “North Shore Environmental Web – Our Orientation”, August 26, 1986.
18. Letter to Phil Burpee from David Orton, September 8, 1983.
19. We have a document, “Small Party Reunion”, showing that thirteen listed participants met in Tatamagouche, Nova Scotia, April 11-13, 1980, “to discuss the future for the Small Party in particular and the concept of an ecological party in general”.
20. Jim Harding, The Founding Of The Canadian Greens, no date, p. 5.
21. Harding, p. 37.
22. Sara Parkin, Green Parties: An International Guide, London, Heretic Books Ltd, 1989, p. 308.
23. The B.C. party is called the Green Party Political Association of British Columbia and the Ontario party, the Ontario Greens.
24. Conversations with German greens during a recent three-week trip to Germany.
25. For the B.C. (and federal) green parties, see the pamphlet “Towards a Conserver Society”. For the British green party, see Martin Ryle, Ecology and Socialism, London, Radius, 1988, p. 89. For Capra and Spretnak, see their Green Politics: The Global Promise, New York, E. P. Dutton Inc., 1984. On the cover of this book, which continually attacks greens who come from a communist/socialist background, is the neither left nor right slogan. For Devall and Sessions, see Deep Ecology: Living As If Nature Mattered, Salt Lake City, Peregrine Smith Books, 1985, p. 9.
26. See the discussion of Herbert Gruhl in Werner Hülsberg, The German Greens: A Social and Political Profile, London, Verso, 1988, pp. 86-7, 94-6, 125, and 134.
27. Hülsberg, p. 135.
28. Hülsberg, p. 100.
29. A bibliography was prepared “Uranium Exploration and Mining: References of Interest for Workers”. This, along with a covering letter, dated Feb. 25, 1982, was sent to over 200 union locals in the province. The various labour councils were also written to. The letter noted that “The trade union movement in this province has to become much more concretely involved if we are to work towards a permanent ban on uranium exploration and mining.” There was hardly any response.

30. See article by David Orton, "The Search For Uranium in Nova Scotia", The Atlantic Postal Worker, Jan/Feb 1982, Vol. 4, No. 6. The next issue carried a supportive follow-up article written by a person from the union. We were also invited to speak at a union local meeting in Halifax on the uranium issue.
31. Report of the Commission of Inquiry on Uranium, Halifax, January 30, 1985, p. 213. Rene Quigley made the presentation for the Labour Council.
32. A letter, dated May 2, 1989, from Don MacPherson, Secretary, Compensation, Safety & Health Committee, Local 1064, United Steelworkers of America, to David Orton, noted:
We have acute ecological problems in our community and we are being stone-walled by the same forces your groups are encountering... In our view, complimentary supportive ties should be forged in that this blight can at last be eliminated.
33. The Canadian Paperworkers' Union in Nova Scotia, to our knowledge, has never spoken out publicly against pulpwood forestry and all the ecological abuse associated with it. This union did, however, make a Submission, back in 1983, to the Royal Commission on Forestry (p. 26 of the union position) where it stated:
The CPU is not against a limited spraying programme if it is the only effective method of control. The labour movement is also not against a herbicide program for forestation and reforestation provided it is safe and effective.
34. The Maritimes Fishermen's Union (MFU) has called for the killing of grey and harbour seals in the Maritimes, as have the Eastern Fishermen's Federation and the Cape Breton Fishermen's Association. For examples of the MFU calling for the killing of greys, see Gilles Theriault in The Chronicle Herald, Jan. 6, 1984, and Hasse Lindblad, New Glasgow Evening News, Jan. 6, 1987. For the call for a bounty on harbour seals by the MFU, see The Chronicle Herald, March 31, 1984. A letter (July 22, 1983), from Jack Nichol, President of the West Coast United Fishermen and Allied Workers' Union, to David Orton echoed similar sentiments re the killing of seals and sea lions:
They have enormous appetites for fish, particularly herring and salmon and have become major competitors for the resources. We have stated publicly that some significant culling of seals and sea lions must soon be done if some ecological balance is to be maintained.
35. Arne Naess, "Deep Ecology and Ultimate Premises", The Ecologist, Vol. 18, No. 4/5, 1988, p. 130.
36. Bill Devall, Simple In Means, Rich In Ends: Practicing Deep Ecology, Salt Lake City, Peregrine Smith Books, 1988, p. 160. See also p. 190.
37. Devall and Sessions, Deep Ecology: Living As If Nature Mattered, p. 76. This is taken from an "Interview with Arne Naess". The "religious component" is also referred to by Naess as "fundamental intuitions".

38. A Canadian example of this would be The Trumpeter: Journal of Ecosophy. This publication started in the fall of 1983 as representing “Voices from the Canadian Eco Net Work”. It has now turned into a “professional” journal, along with a panel of “Consulting Editors”.
39. The quotation is taken from the NSEW discussion paper “The Green Movement and Our Place In It”.
40. See a letter criticizing the social democratic orientation of New Maritimes, “Social Democratic, Regional Chauvinism”, September 1985.
41. See letter in the British publication New Ground: Journal of Green Socialism, Spring 1988. Also see letter “NDP not environmental party”, published in the Pictou Advocate, Oct. 19, 1988 and other provincial newspapers.
42. Letter from David Orton (Nov. 28, 1988), to Cy Gonick of Canadian Dimension.
43. For a critique of “sustainable development”, as expressed in the Brundtland Report, Our Common Future: The World Commission On Environment And Development, see Letter by David Orton, The New Catalyst, Spring 1989.
44. It is sectarian for some socialist greens to intervene in Canada, or in the United States, based on a detailed social ecology program for adoption by the green movement. This forces socialist greens to “choose” social ecology over deep ecology, in order to be part of a “Left Green Network”. See “A Preliminary Response To The Call For A left Green Network”, in the Green Multilogue, Nov./Dec. 1988, Vol. 3, No. 6.

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Last updated: February 25, 2012