

Introduction

The most vigorously developing economies and largest markets today are located on the Pacific Rim. The United States and Japan are superpowers in the global market economy. China is rapidly industrializing and, with the addition of Hong Kong, will be a major player. Then one must add Canada, Mexico, Taiwan, the Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, Australia, and New Zealand as lesser but strongly developing economies. There is every reason to suggest that the economic "center of gravity" is shifting from the shores of the North Atlantic to the rim of the Pacific Basin.

But the Pacific is also the location of much of the earth's most spectacular natural beauty. Europeans continue to be enchanted by South Sea islands like Hawaii, Fiji, or Tahiti. Traditional Aboriginal societies still thrive on islands such as Tonga, the Queen Charlottes, and along the coasts of British Columbia and Siberia. Classical civilizations are challenged by modernization in Thailand, Cambodia, Viet Nam, China, and Japan. Cities like Bangkok and Mexico City, once famed for the beauty of their waterways, are now suffocated by smog and snarled with traffic on the filled and paved canals. The natural beauty of the Pacific Basin and the Aboriginal and Classical peoples who have made that environment their home are today confronting the forces of modern development. The result is a tension between traditional and modern approaches to the environment that forms the focus of this book—a book written by an interdis-

ciplinary team of scientists, social scientists, and humanists, all of whom focus on the environmental values that the rapid development of the Pacific Basin is placing in question.

Chapter 1 engages the issue from a global historical perspective—the context out of which the development around the Pacific Rim is arising. Ivan Head, Professor of Law and former head of the International Development Research Centre of Canada, surveys historical forces at work in the industrial development of the North and their current impact on the economies of the Pacific. He sees the challenges facing the Pacific Basin governments today as twofold: (a) to accommodate the activity of human development to the constraints of nature; and (b) to manage the multiplying populations and increasingly pluralistic societies. How? By shifting from material and consumption goals that have typified qualitative GNP-type measures to development approaches that give priority to environmental values and humanistic goals. Such a new qualitative approach, Head argues, is in line with the 1995 UN Copenhagen World Summit for Social Development, which called for economic growth that is not an end in itself but that supports social and environmental values. He points out that current practices of the developed economies and the World Bank in Washington send contradictory messages to developing economies—they ask them to adhere to environmentally sustainable practices while at the same time telling them to measure success on the basis of traditional measures of aggregate economic growth (e.g., balance of payments and GNP), which, as the developed countries well know, are usually maximized by ignoring social and environmental values. Pacific Rim leaders from the South such as Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad of Malaysia point out the inconsistency and hypocrisy of such policies. Such inconsistencies in policy and practice need resolution if wholesome social life and a sustainable natural environment are to be preserved in the Pacific of the future.

Issues surrounding the impact of population and consumption after the Rio Earth Summit are examined by a geographer, Art Hanson, in chapter 2. Hanson observes that the Pacific Rim countries, especially those of Asia, had the most to gain from Rio. He notes that most of the world's biological diversity is found within Pacific countries and points out that the energy choices and consumption patterns of China have enormous environmental implications for the entire globe.

The conflict between rich and poor peoples and the tension between forest or fish exploitation and the ecologically based lifestyles of Aborigi-

nal people is common throughout the Pacific. Since Rio, however, a combination of NGO activism and electronic communication ensures world attention. Rio marked the opening of UN negotiations to a wider range of peoples' inputs—a trend that has continued up to the present including the 1995 Beijing Women's Conference. Since Rio, any cultural or Aboriginal group experiencing government oppression or ecological damage to traditional lands has a very active global environmental and human rights network to call upon. Hanson catalogues the successes and failures of Pacific countries post-Rio and offers assessments for the future in this postmodern age when all traditional values are questioned. Traditional values tend not to promote materialism while industrial development does. Trade, investment, and tourism patterns post-Rio are examined with an eye for their future impact upon the environment in the Pacific. Here the possible effects of eco-labeling and the global development of environmental management systems standards for certifying businesses are discussed. The greatly enhanced capacity of NGO organizations throughout the Pacific to monitor and report on environmental and social abuses (via the electronic information networks) is seen by Hanson as one of the very positive results produced by the Rio Earth Summit. Finally, urban expansion and the very large "environmental footprint" needed to sustain cities such as Tokyo or Bangkok along with the ecological debt their pollution creates are very real causes of concern for the future. A lesson at Rio from North American Aboriginal people is that the seventh generation in the future is the reference point for sustainable development. If current trends continue, says Hanson, it is clear that the next ten to twenty years will bring a great increase in pollution and in conflict between modern and traditional values in the Pacific. Yet there are also signs of a resurgence of spiritual beliefs that are skeptical of technological excesses and instead turn to traditional holistic values.

A critical assessment of networking as a means for promoting positive change in the Pacific Basin is offered in chapter 3 by Jan Walls, a Communications Professor at Simon Fraser University. He begins by identifying historically embedded Asian mindsets which are obstacles to forming networks fostering environmental action. They include: viewing nature as a place of truth for social dropouts to return to; taking one's primary group as one's only concern; placing personal prosperity before environmental concern; and believing that "big company" and "big brother" are unbeatable. However, Walls proposes various networking strategies to

overcome these obstacles. Use of the Internet allows small grassroots groups to link with others around the world who are like-minded. Walls describes many such groups that have formed in Japan, China, Taiwan, and Korea. The EnviroLink network on the World Wide Web already has links to more than 180 environmental organizations. Internet communication, says Walls, is fostering communication that supports the ancient Asian traditions of awareness and respect for Nature. The Internet also fosters action groups, both local and international, that offer alternatives to the old obstructing mindsets. The old spiritual values regarding Nature plus economical access to global electronic networks by local pro-environment groups and eco-village networks offer the hope of somehow harmonizing industry and ecology so that development can be sustainable in the Pacific. The Eco village Network is offered as an example.

Having outlined the major tensions between traditional and modern values in broad strokes in part I, part II offers an examination of specific issues in more detail. In chapter 4, Elizabeth A. Wilman and R. Douglas Burch, Canadian environmental economists, examine the problem of the commons (those parts of the environment no one owns, e.g., the atmosphere or the oceans and their fish). They seek an answer to the question, how can we get people to take care of commonly owned environmental resources? Self-interest alone will not protect the commons—indeed, it will lead to what has been called the tragedy of the commons. As Adam Smith, the founder of economics observed, the invisible hand of morals, religion, and tradition is also needed. The market works within a social contract where we agree to restrain ourselves on the condition that everyone else will agree to restrain themselves. The question is how to make this happen. The authors review the way traditional societies in the Pacific have interacted with the commons. They find practices that ensure the minimization of waste and foster conservation. These practices formed a part of the religion of traditional societies. The commons as a part of Nature were with a respect that placed a control on individual self-interest. Institutional arrangements to avoid depletion of commonly owned fishstocks are intricately interwoven into the traditional society's social fabric and are based on detailed observational knowledge of what happens in nature, but little knowledge of why. The authors suggest that rather than disrupting fragile traditional approaches, the way forward is to help traditional societies develop more scientific understanding of the natural systems. From traditional societies, the rest of the world should learn that

social, cultural, and religious norms can be effective in controlling self-interested exploitation of the commons.

The role of religion is examined in chapter 5 by the eco-feminist theologian Rosemary Radford Ruether. She examines the causes behind the current treatment of women and the environment in the Pacific and finds them to be rooted in the hierarchical attitudes adopted by patriarchal Christianity. She argues that patriarchal Western culture sees women as identified with Nature, with both being open to domination and exploitation by male-dominated Christian culture. Arising in Mediterranean Europe, this worldview was carried to the Pacific by colonizing Christian missionaries. After demonstrating how it was that women came to be identified with Nature and males with culture, Ruether goes on to show that this situation was made worse with the arrival of plow agriculture and in the modern period by the Western scientific industrial Revolution—taking the domination of women and nature to new heights. In the history of Christian thought, early Christianity affirmed the Hebrew Biblical view of Nature and body as God's good creation while Greek and Latin Christianity increasingly incorporated the Platonic view of the body and Nature as the locus of sin that needed to be transcended for eternal spiritual life. The Medieval fascination with the Greek view of Nature as possessing demonic power to be tamed by male-dominated religion and culture was given further support in the Reformation by Calvin who saw Nature as totally depraved with no residue of divine presence in it. While the Scientific revolution at first exorcised Calvinistic demonic powers from Nature so as to see Nature as a manifestation of divine reason, the natural science of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries secularized Nature so that it came to be viewed as nothing but dead matter in motion. As Ruether puts it, with no life or soul of its own, Nature could be safely expropriated by the male elite of science and industry and used to augment their wealth and power. European colonialism from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries carried this exploitative attitude to Nature and women to the Americas, Africa, and the Asian peoples of the Pacific. Ruether's powerful and penetrating analysis is intended to make us question the negative images of women and Nature that still operate in the Pacific Basin. But she cautions against swinging the pendulum too far in the opposite direction to a romantic idealization of Nature and women. Both of these extremes need to be rejected and replaced with a view that women are neither inferior nor superior to men and that Nature is neither mindless, spiritless matter

nor the idealized "ever-loving mother." Nature is to be recognized as the complex matrix of all life in which humans, male and female, are rooted as one species among others. Asian women of the Pacific Basin, says Ruether, have a special role to play in the contemporary debate—they are less likely than Euro-American women to forget that the baseline domination of women and of Nature is the impoverishment of themselves, their children, and the sea or land.

The spiritual perspective of Pacific North American First or Native Peoples is examined by Nancy Turner, an ethnobotanist, and Richard Atleo, himself a Hereditary Chief, in chapter 6. Using discussions with First Nations Elders as well as ethnographic accounts, the authors characterize the values and interaction with the environment of the Pacific First Peoples and draw contrasts with the approach of the prevailing Eurocanadian culture. Their analysis is based upon experience gained from serving on an important recent British Columbia panel, "The Scientific Panel for Sustainable Forest Practices in Clayoquot Sound," composed of both environmental scientists and Elders. The panel's review of government forest practices showed that there are major differences between traditional Aboriginal values and the values of the dominant society. While both views perceive the earth to have resources, Aboriginal values imbue these resources with sacred life and personhood in contrast to the values of the dominant society which see these same resources as having impersonal economic value. In an attempt to overcome this tension, the authors propose ways in which some Aboriginal values can be incorporated into mainstream society. Their six proposals are of special interest because they have been put forth by a panel of Elders and contemporary scientists. As of this writing these proposals have been adopted by the British Columbia government as a basis for public policy decision making and members of the forest industry have also indicated their support. The six proposals respecting forest practices in Clayoquot Sound are of broad general interest in that they place ecological relationships before development objectives while recognizing that environmental protection and economic development are mutually dependent. What this chapter offers is a unique success story where Pacific First Peoples, environmental scientists, government officials, and the public have found an ethic and practice in which Aboriginal and economic values coexist.

Against the backdrop of the rapid industrialization now racing through China and the environmental degradation such development has

visited upon Taiwan, chapter 7 reviews the traditional wisdom of China and Japan as to how humans are to live in harmony with Nature. Kunihiko and Walls tell Shinto, Taoist, Buddhist, and Confucian stories illustrating how human development is to interact with Nature in a sustainable fashion. Traditional Chinese and Japanese thought is shown to contain indigenous foundations for an effective environmental ethic. Warnings are offered against imposing too much civilization upon Nature, and humans are urged to follow the Taoist *wú-wéi* principle of exploiting Nature without destroying its regenerative capacity. The private landscape garden of China and Japan attempts to recreate and maintain a piece of unspoiled Nature in an urban setting to serve as a microcosmic retreat after a hard day at the office. The idea is that one should preserve the virtue of the natural environment by "doing without overdoing." The principle of the interconnectedness of everything is examined in the Japanese awareness of the ecological link between woods, river, and sea. Reforestation on land is found to nurture seaweed in the ocean and make possible the return of fish to coasts that had become barren. This has led fishermen, foresters, and the general public to come together in a unified environmental effort. In Asian fashion this ecological truth may be stated as "fish may be found by planting trees."

In Australia, development has demanded immigration and, from the viewpoint of the Aboriginal peoples, each wave of immigration has damaged their environment irreparably. It is this tension between immigration, environment, and public policy in Australia that Fazal Rizvi examines in chapter 8. Immigration to developed countries like Australia has demonstrated that population growth and its associated degradation of the environment is not just a Third World problem. Historically, Aboriginals took from the land only those foods and materials upon which their livelihood depended. The European settlers, however, not only produced what they needed to consume but also what they could sell abroad. This latter approach has resulted in environmental damage and caused tension between the Aboriginals and the British settlers. A further point dealt with in the chapter is the Australian attempt to keep Asians out. This restrictive immigration policy was justified on environmental grounds. Asians, it was said, were either incapable of surviving in the harsh Australian climate or else were not able to look after its fragile environment. Recent debates over the future of Sydney have re-evoked the historical tendency in Australia to link environmental degradation with what are called inappropri-

ate immigration policies—a coded way of referring to issues of race, especially Asian immigration. Other causes of environmental degradation having to do with the structure of the Australian economy and poor urban planning are examined.

The final section of the volume looks at case studies from around the Pacific Rim of attempts to reconcile traditional and modern approaches to the environment. In chapter 9, Stephen Owen and David Greer describe an innovative approach to forest management that has been developed in British Columbia—one that attempts to balance economic, environmental, and social interests so that a sustainable result is achieved. Special attention is given to the role of public participation, especially from the Aboriginal communities, in developing government forestry policy. As a result there has been a shift in the past decade away from a pattern of conflict with separate treatment of economic and environmental issues to a model based upon consensus with respect for and the accommodation of a broad range of values including both the traditional and the modern. This new approach is seen to be applicable to other Pacific Rim countries.

In chapter 10, David Getches offers a careful reading of the developmental history of the United States Columbia River Basin. Aboriginals respected and interacted with the natural processes of the river. To them the salmon offered the basis for a permanent, flourishing, and sustainable society. For them the ultimate value lay in protecting the health of the Columbia River so as to ensure the return of the salmon. By contrast, European settlers exploited water as the essential ingredient for the development of flourishing economies and the immediate satisfaction of human demands. This approach has resulted in dams and irrigation systems that have radically altered the natural flows of the river and the life cycle of the salmon—an environmental change not only for the United States and its Aboriginal population but also one that has an impact upon other Pacific peoples. Against the baseline lifestyle of the Northwest Indians who lived in a balanced interdependence with the river and its salmon, Getches charts the conflict of values that comes with European expansion into the region. Irrigation and hydroelectric projects have turned what was once the richest salmon river in the world into a series of slack water ponds and reservoirs in which few Pacific salmon survive. Policy issues such as the transfer of water from a public to a private resource are shown to have had a serious negative environmental impact on the Indians, the white coastal fisherman, and the river itself. Various remedial approaches

now being tried are given critical examination. A combination of dam modification and removal along with court decisions favoring Aboriginal values over irrigation are fostering a new approach aimed at reestablishing the salmon and ensuring the survival of the tribal fisheries. The overall aim is a return to the idea of sustainability or permanence as a value for the river, its fish, and its people.

Chapter 11 shifts the focus from the United States across the Pacific to the Russian Pacific regions. Vassily Sokolov notes that these areas contain both large numbers of Aboriginals and a high percentage of Russia's rich energy resources. Projects to develop these resources have seriously disrupted the traditional Aboriginal ethic of conservation and sustainable use of natural resources. Government policies relating to both economic development and the administration of Aboriginals are reviewed and their impact upon the environment identified. Not only has severe degradation of the environment occurred but the Aboriginal populations have been reduced to a state of poverty. This is especially seen to be the case in the dynamics surrounding the development of energy systems—particularly nuclear power plants and hydroelectric dams. In recent developments, some scientists support the idea of Aboriginals being given the responsibility and power to manage their own resources. Administrative changes since the mid-1980s had resulted in the development of political activities by Aboriginal groups. But at the same time pushes by the government to exploit the vast gas reserves of the region place increased Aboriginal control over their own ecology in question.

The final chapter shifts the focus to one of the most rapidly developing economies of the Pacific Basin—the Pearl River Delta region of China. Graham E. Johnson and Yuen-fong Woon examine the uniquely Chinese pattern of making social and environmental values coexist with rapid industrial development. They demonstrate that peasant communities are not necessarily victims of industrialization and the global market economy. Instead, the Pearl River Delta Region's economic reform and open door policy from 1978 have allowed for local economic decision making in both rural and urban areas that has resulted in dynamic growth and the preservation of traditional ways of responding to and protecting the environment. Field studies by the authors offer a detailed analysis of how this is happening at four sites in the Pearl River Delta region. These vary from Dongguan Shi, next to Hong Kong, which the authors characterize as "Fully Open to the World" to the "Sustainable Development" of

Shunde Shi in the Central delta and the impact of the "Overseas Chinese Links" of the Taishan Shi communities of the Western Delta. The 1994 policy of setting up agricultural reserves has helped to prevent the push to urbanized industrial development from going beyond the point of no return. But social values derived from neo-Confucian philosophy, especially among overseas Chinese, have led them to be investors in and protectors of their ancestral environments rather than exploiters of it. This attitude together with the social values of local peoples and the policy of the central state to preserve farm land has protected the rural landscape from being eaten up by urban sprawl at a time of extremely rapid economic growth. This Chinese solution to tensions between traditional values and modern development may have valuable lessons for other Pacific peoples.

All around the Pacific Basin the struggle to resolve the tension between traditional values, modern development, and concern over the environment occupies center stage. These chapters offer insights from both thematic and case study analyses of the battle between environmental and developmental values in the Pacific.