

IUAES2014 inter-congress: the future with/of anthropologies

P077 On being "indigenous peoples": connecting local practices with global context

First Nation forest and indigenous ontology in the globalizing context

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I. Introduction

The natural beings like plant, animal, stone, natural landscape and entire surroundings exist as concrete artifact with forms, attributes and relations to others. When they are related with human being, they become cultural in the sense that human engagement give rise to cultural sphere with their the physical, material entities. The compass of this engagement is quite broad. There are economic appropriations, social empowerment with their material substance or with human endowment with symbolic meanings, definitions of them by human ways.

As for the cases of people's definition of this material world, Descola describes the Archuar Indian culture in Upper Amazon. There, landscape types are limited, simply repetitive. But in each one extreme variety of species exist. For the Archuar people organic world can't be reduced to simple taxonomic systems. "The Archuar identify each plant, each as belonging to a class; but they also endow each with human affects and a life of its own. Thus every living being in the world of nature has its own personality" To the Archuar, the natural beings exist not only as naturalistic ones but also as ones culturally endowed with life and personality.

In sum natural beings become cultural in the world of man and nature relations and in the world of human social relations.

As for the things, materials operation they exist nor merely as representing entity. They engage with it's materiality embodying human consciousness. Things materialize human engagement with the world.

Ontology, in philosophical usage, can be summarized as the study of being or existence. Sometimes it is defined as 'a theory of the nature of existence'. Following Wikipedia it seeks to describe or posit the basic categories and relationships of being or existence to define entities and types of entities within its framework. It can be defined simply as basic assumptions about being or 'what is'. Not only in academic, metaphysical discourses but also in everyday lives of common people, ontology resides and constructs their beings. The Archuar's conceptualization of natural beings by classifying them or giving them the personalities as cited above is a case of common people's ontology.

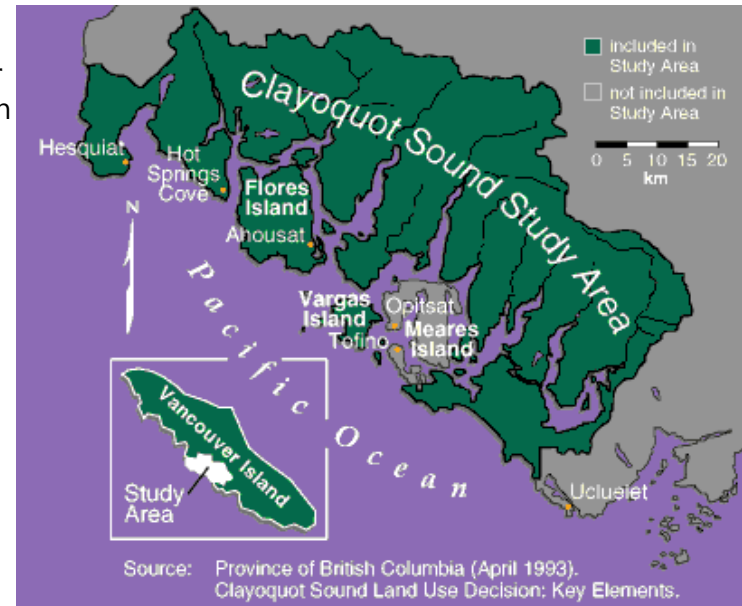
<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ontology>

This presentation is a case study on places, things and peoples conceptualization of them and self. Forest and natural beings in there take material form and embody people's concepts of 'what is' or 'what it should be'. The forest and natural beings not merely represent human consciousness. They mediate human engagement in the material world according to the material features which are classified in order and which defined as what it is or what it should be.

The fieldwork site of this presentation is Clayoquot Sound in Vancouver Island, British Columbia, Canada. Quite remote area in the Pacific Ocean had become the hot place of modern environmental, social, political and cultural change embracing local issues just connected with globalization in multifarious sense.

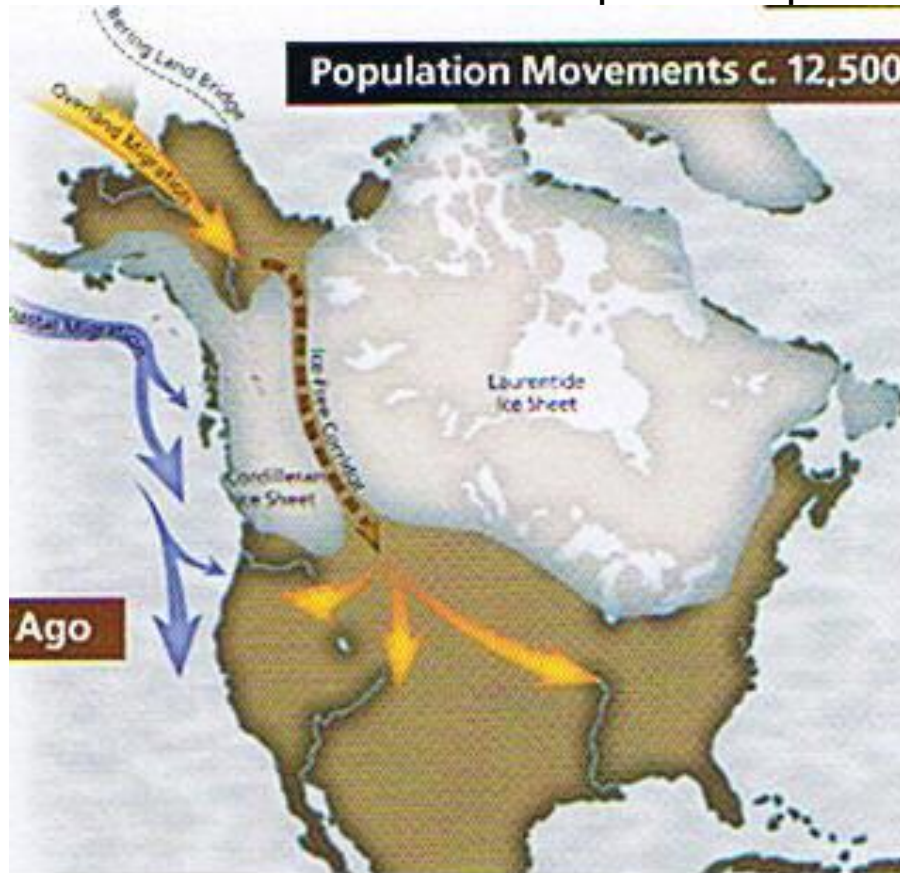
The forest and natural beings in the sense of ontologically embodied material have played culturally specific but globally evoking issues. This existential level have been quite influential in peoples behaviors, decision making, constructing natural and cultural world. By now Much attention has been paid to Clayoquot for it is the place where multi layered, ecological, economic, social, political and cultural issues are vividly operating connected with local-global strata.

First Nations, local residents, NGOs, industries and administrations constitute the society. This remote place but the place with tremendous natural beauty and diverse resources had confronted drastic environment degradation. Resistance to the process was also outstanding. This paper tell the story of this active setting and selectively put focus on the forest as environmental and socio-cultural material. Under the various levels, ecological, economic and so on, quite existential matters have operated In other words people have reacted from their ontological questions. They reacted based on their definitions of self (what I am, what these surrounding matters are or should be). This paper puts focus on First Nation peoples who have long tradition of defining self and nature and who have reacted on the conceptualization of self and environment.. This paper is on First Nation peoples ontology in the local-global process.



II. From pre-contact to contemporary First Nations: Environmental History and People's tradition

1. Current resident's Interpretation of pre-contact and after



- People in Clayoquot Sound: define pre-contact forests as 'ancient,' pristine and/or human adaptation
- Clayoquot intellectuals' and First Nation people's general explanation: People along the shores adapting to connected ecosystem 'ocean, watersheds, forests'
- Lillard's conceptualization of Asian immigration in pre-historic times : preferred and became used to living along the shorelines.

(Lillard, C., 2013, Remembering *Clayoquot*, *Watershed Sentinel*, vol23, No. 4. -local magazine-)

- Contrasting conceptualization on 'after European arrival'

(ex) Lillard's 'after European arrival': " It was different when the first Europeans arrived in the sixteenth century. For the next two hundred years this wilderness fought Europeans, step by step, every inch of the way. Until 1778, no one broke through to lay a finger on the coast. That was the year Captain James Cook cut timber for masts and spars at Nootka Sound. Keep the date in mind: 1778"

Schaepe, D. M. 2001, Origines, The First Peopling of S'ólh Téméxw, Carson, K. T. et als. eds., *Stó:lō Coast Salish Historical Atlas*, Douglas & McIntyre LTD. & Stó:lō Nation, P. 20.

- Clayoquot Sound is known to have been inhabited for thousand years by First Nations. Approximately , after post-glacial sea level rise human inhabitation began, 9000 Years ago.
- Oldest dated location is 4200 Years, at Nootka Island and Yuquot.
- 1774 Juan José Pérez Hernández arrived at Clayoquot Sound. recognized the potential wealth of the region's resources, such as fish and timber
- 1778 Captain James Cook entered Nootka Sound on Mar. 29, Spent a month fitting his ships,
- 1787 British captain John Meares draw first chart of Clayoquot area.
- 1788 John Meares began settlement at Nootka Sound.
- . 1791-2 John Grey, American Captain , stayed on Mearse Island in Clayoquot Sound, for winter-over trade. The crew built Fort Protection for defense as his crew repaired their ship. Several thousands of Native people payed attention. An attack on the fort by natives resulted in Grey's descision to burn Oisaht (a village)

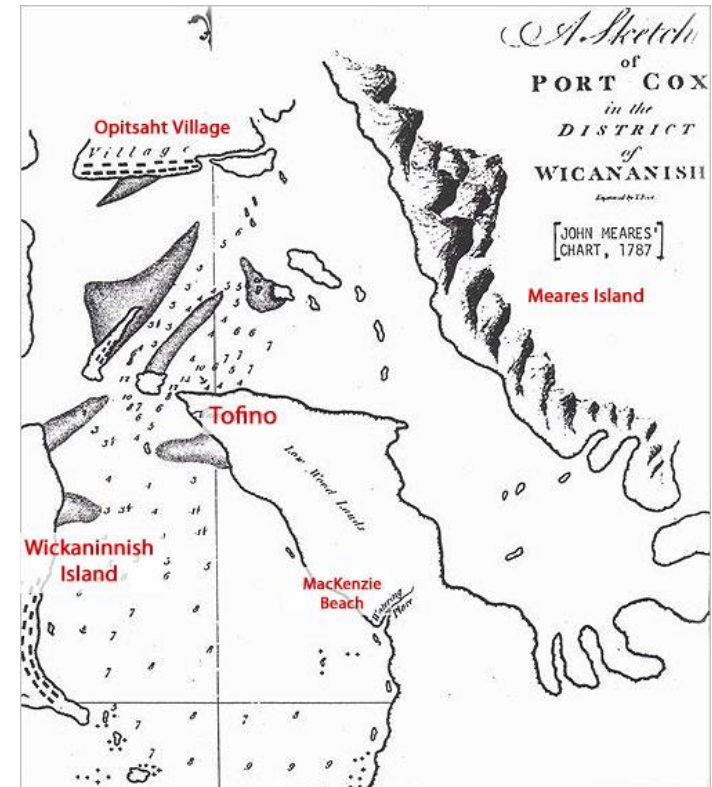
(reference)

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vancouver_Island_Ranges

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clayoquot_Sound

McMillan, A 1999, *Since the Time of the Transformers: The Ancient Heritage of the Nuu-chah-nulth, Ditidaht, and Makah*, UBC Press, p. 3.

Friends of Clayoquot Sound & Western Canada Wilderness Committee, 1885, *Meares Island*, FOCS & WCWC



2. Brief chronology of the changes of natural resources and societies

(focused on European contacts, geography, fishery and forestry by 1980. The forest matters after 1980s will be talked in the main pages)

John Meares Chart, Port Cox in the District of Wicananish, 1787 (2010 details in red by Ken Gibson,
<http://www.gotofino.com/tofinoarticles/mearesmap1787portcoxtofinokengibson.html>)

- 1791 José María Narváez and Juan Carrasco explored and mapped inner waters of Clayoquot Sound / Francisco de Eliza met and befriended Wickaninnish, the chief of the Tla-o-qui-aht.

- 1780s~1790s West Coast Vancouver Island is one of the main areas for maritime trade in sea otter furs.

- 1780s~ Trading posts had been erected by 1899 when first Catholic mission was built.

- 1792 The maritime fur trade reaches a peak begin around this time.

- 1790s Ships traded with Clayoquot Sound where more people than outer area lived.

- 1800 ~The introduction of firearms increases hunting efficiency for aboriginal groups. Sea otter, seal, whale, and fish populations experience increased harvest pressure. Traders begin pursuing a land-based fur trade and whatever other goods they can profit from.

- c1850 The settlement pattern of aboriginal people begins to change from use of fall and summer camps: increasingly, people in large groups live in one or two locations for much of the year. Wild resources presumably experience increased harvest pressure due to longer habitation times and increased exploitation

(reference)

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Plano_del_Archipielago_de_Clayocuat_1791.jpg

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clayoquot_protests

Mak, C. et als., 2010, Table of the Social-Ecological History of Nearshore WCVI, SES History of Nearshore Ecosystems on WCVI,



Plano del Archipiélago de Clayocuat 1791

Library of Congress, US

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Plano_del_Archipielago_de_Clayocuat_1791.jpg

The map reflects complicated islands, shore lines and waterways in inner inlets . Spanish explorers noticed , explored and mapped.



Mountains, inlets, forests and outer ocean nearby Tofino area in Clayoquot Sound. Photo from EBS-Korea documentary film making along author's fieldwork , Aug. 17. 2013

- Beyond this map, for First Nation people, this feature is one of the prime movers of ways of life , people's everyday experience and conceptualization of their natural, cultural value.
- Migration routes of salmons between ocean , and forests. transportation routes of canoe, village locations , fishing and harvesting forest products for everyday lives, totems and masks depended upon the geographic feature of inner complexities and outside ocean.
- Traditionally, seasonal movement from the sheltered winter village site on the inner coast to spring and summer fishing and sea mammal hunting locations on the outer coast, to various rivers and streams for fall salmon fishing and back to the winter villages. (McMillan, A 1999, *Since the Time of the Transformers: The Ancient Heritage of the Nuu-chah-nulth, Ditidaht, and Makah*, UBC Press, p. 17)
- This seasonal movement began to change as the chronology 1850s. Also the reservation system of 'band' was influential.

hunt on unoccupied lands and carry on with fisheries. These treaties serve as "evidence" that aboriginal fishing right existed in the past.

. 1859 James Douglas declares that all land and resources in British Columbia belong to the Crown. Aboriginal title is denied by the government.

. 1865 A section added to Fisheries Act allows fisheries officials to permit aboriginal food fishing with otherwise prohibited fishing technology at times and in locations closed to other fishers.

. 1871 Article 13 in the Terms of Union establishes that responsibility of aboriginal peoples and management of aboriginal land is that of federal government.

. 1870s Provincial government continues to establish reserves but cannot keep pace with non-aboriginal movement into aboriginal territories. Aboriginal sea and land-based economies are increasingly threatened, as are aboriginal populations by the introduction of diseases.

. End of 1800s Aboriginal village economies have shifted from exploitation of land and sea resources to harvesting fish and fur seals as employees of white men.

. 1874-1908 drastic change in First Nation ways of life in Clayoquot Sound. New comers preempted 160 acre of Mearse Island. Tofino was developed to supply goods and service. New comers, mainly British and Norwegians, tried farming, raising cattle, but most successful settlers were fishermen and hand-loggers, Logging become quite profitable industry and wage working

. 1905 first logging leases were granted to Sutton Lumber and Trading Co, (Seattle)

. by 1908 initial laying out of reserve in BC completed. Nuuchah-nulth people in total got 12, 385.1 acres with population 1, 700 (at the time pre-contact the population was estimated 50,000 but by smallpox drastic change) . The reserves as an official land base, 7.55 acres per each person far less than the immigrant was able to preempt.

. 1950's MacMillan Broder (Canada) logging company acquired the leases.

. 1956 logging road was built from Port Alberny to Tofino. From the time to two decades previous small scale logging was changed to corporate large scale logging, especially by the Tree Farm Licence # 22 from BC government.

. 1960s Aboriginal communities begin having difficulty obtaining enough salmon for food. Reliance on social fishing pressure; catches around this time assistance in reserve communities and migration to industrial centres increases with emphasis on formal education and full-time work

. 1980s Nuuchah-nulth increasingly assert their use rights to traditional fisheries and other resources, .

III. People's Conceptualization on the forest and Humsn Being



Photo: TofnoPhotography.wordpress

I. Temperate rainforest as specific cultural ecology

Heavy rain and mild temperatures, evergreen conifers like cedar, douglas fir, hemlock and other trees get maximum year-round growth and reach record heights.

Topmost layer 'canopy' is covered by evergreen conifers shading sky and underground. People value this feature of 'tremendous height, girth and deep landscape and forest experience.

Understory is filled with small trees, berry shrubs, ferns under the filtered sunlight, rain, and fog. Lichens are hanging at the tree boughs.



Forest Floor is filled with lichens, mosses, creeping or spreading small plants. Streams connected to rivers or ocean come up to the forest floor.

Big trees die, fall down and become the nurse trees for the new sprouts grow on the dead one nurturing new ones. Circulation of these living forms have been recognized as ecological value with circulating 'existence' of lives. Soil layers by fallen leaves, remaining or flooded glacier ones also have been recognized as relics of circulation.



Trees are growing on the dead tree. Meares Island



Lichens hang on the boughs or cling to the lower ground plants. Ferns and mosses are underground. White bald eagles and bears inhabit the forest. Salmon come up from the ocean along the river and forest streams to the spawning ground dying after the spawn. Dead ones become the composts for forest. Eagles and bears hunt returning salmons. Animal creatures' excretions and corps nourish forest plants, lichens and mosses. The spawned babies are nurtured by ingredients from the forest ecological circulation the the stream. They roam for a while nearby the stream and goes out to the ocean. They return after 3~4 years to spawn and die.

In west coast Vancouver Island some first nation people say 'ocean is mountain' which means ecological inter-connectedness between ocean and forest.

2, First Nation Peoples' Conceptualization on forest and themselves

For the Nuu-chah-nulth, their lives in this ecosystem is defined or explained as material and personified form.

Typical relationship is 'dependence'. Plants and animals are 'people' outside of human beings.

Human beings can be rightly 'people' when they are connected to these 'other people' or when they do right things for the other people.

Resource use in this connection is conceptualized as 'dependence' on relatives of natural world. 'Respect', just as to the human relatives, to the other natural beings is also the expression or realization of this personified dependence.

They feel comfortable with this conceptualization, even though the use in the real setting is resource extraction to the human centered world.



With lichens in her hand ,Valerie Langer, previous environmental activist in Clayoquot, explains the inter-connectedness of lives.

Depending upon the ecosystem of ocean and forest, they fish, strip cedar bark, cut down tree for housing , totem and masks. But they say they depend on the other beings and be nourished.

Turner writes Nuu-chah-nulth elder Roy Haiyupis' word. When they strip cedar bark "Talk to it like a person. Explain to the tree the purpose, why you want to use it-for the people at home and so on. It may seem like you're praying to the tree, but you're praying to the Creator" (Turner, N. 2005, *The Earth's Blanket*, Douglas & McIntyre, p. 73).

Turner's case tells First Nation people's socio-natural concept. Natural beings are embodied materials with human relationships. Human relationships are extended to natural beings. The commanding totality of this natural beings is conceptualized as Creator.

Human excuse of their resource extraction from nature is reflected in this discourse too. The trees are persons, relatives. So they nourish human beings. Human beings talk to the trees about their purpose when they extract. Respect just like to the relatives when men depend upon, they communicate their purpose. At least they do not treat the trees as inanimate objects exploited.

The concept 'transformation' of beings is the base of the concepts of co-existent 'persons'.

All beings have been on the process of transformation from this being to that being.

Though I could not listen the case of transformation discourses at the fieldwork, other First Nation Chehalis in mainland, Coast Salish, human becomes 'adult' when he internalize the spirit of his totemic animal. Rose Charlie, former a British Columbia governor general representing First Nation, has the spirit of eagle. For this reason she made a policy to protect eagle, in other words, her 'person'.

Beyond this case all beings are being transformed from this being to that being, people can not define other beings as current objects. In Chehalis all beings are beings connecting, depending together, and changing in the nourishing cradle, earth.

Stewardship is usually expressed with the ideology of 'use in need only, with the symbolic return'. They say to the tree their purpose and extract what they need only. The remained scars from cedar bark stripping are the cultural relics of forest. They tell the human consciousness of use and conservation. Now they are the signs of current 'not to be logged'. First Salmon Ceremony performed widely in British Columbia is constituted of the ritual behaviors, returning the salmon bones to the river. The performance is symbolic expressions of their return to the water making sustainable ecosystem and salmon.

Trees in human use like the tree after cedar bark stripping have been designated as 'culturally modified tree'. It tells First Nation people's passing by, contact and culturally significant behavior. These trees and surrounding areas have been designated to be protected ones by the recommendation, MOU and other determinations between provincial government and First Nations or by special committees for conservation and use of forest.

Totems are religious relics and current cultural products. As well as religious material being, for identity and protection, totems have been used for the operation of society-nature-supernatural beings connection, for the operation of First Nation people's self determination of their existence toward inside and out world.



Stripped cedar tree: in Mearse Island. Photo from EBS-Korea documentary film making along Cho's fieldwork , Aug. 16. 2013



Totems in Opisaht village of Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation

Among the trees cedar is remarkable in aboriginal use and 'culture complex' (places are written only by Cho's findings and generalization)

1) Cedar tree is for

Spiritual cleansing with boughs and leaves (Chehalis in Mainland)

Gift in potlatch and other ceremonies (Sto:lo Nations in Mainland)

Totems, house post, wall sculpture (all over First Nations where cedar used)

Masks (all over First Nations where cedar used)

Canoe (all over First Nations where cedar used)

Housing (gable, wall, post, etc, all over First Nations where cedar used))

2) Cedar bark is for

Protection human spirituality and existence with pendant ash pocket (Western coastal and interior mainland general)

Cooking and storage baskets (all over First Nations where cedar used)

Bracelet for ornament and gift (all over First Nations where cedar used)

Clothing (all over First Nations where cedar used)

Headband for ritual ornament (all over First Nations where cedar used)

And most of all artifacts for gift in potlatch and other ceremonies

3) Cedar ash is for

Protection of human spirituality and existence (West Coast lower mainland and interior)

4) And other ceremonies with burning bough, leaves(Sto:lo Nations)



Tsimka Martin's cedar bark hat. Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation, Photo from EBS-Korea documentary film making along Cho's fieldwork , Aug. 17. 2013



Clothing with cedar bark; Photo author and archive unknown



Mask at former Henry Nolla's workshop, Chesterman Beach.
Photo from EBS-Korea documentary film making along Cho's fieldwork ,
Aug. 17. 2013

In sum, after European contact Clayoquot Sound ecosystem and societies changed especially in the maritime sector. for early fur trade (sea mammals) and fisheries were influential ones. As for forest sector logging by Europeans began quite early but drastic change began late 19th century or early 20th century when provincial government made contract with corporate logging companies.

Clayoquot Sound forest is characterized as typical temperate rainforest with forest layers, precipitation, vegetation, etc. With the forest places and ecological connections First Nation people have their own conceptualizations of the forest material existence and ecological circulation.

First Nation people's traditional conceptualization on the forests and natural beings :

- 1). Forests-streams or rivers-ocean as a circulating substance. Salmon is a medium for this circulation
- 2) Inter-dependence among natural beings with nourishment, growth and entering new feedback of nourishment
- 3) Human being's appropriation of nature defined as dependence and respect on the natural 'persons', extended relatives.

Their talking to the natural beings, their 'use in need' is a kind of human appropriation of nature as the material with 'persons', on whom human being can depend and use in a community manner beyond mere exploitation. Somewhat with real substance, somewhat symbolic or ideological.

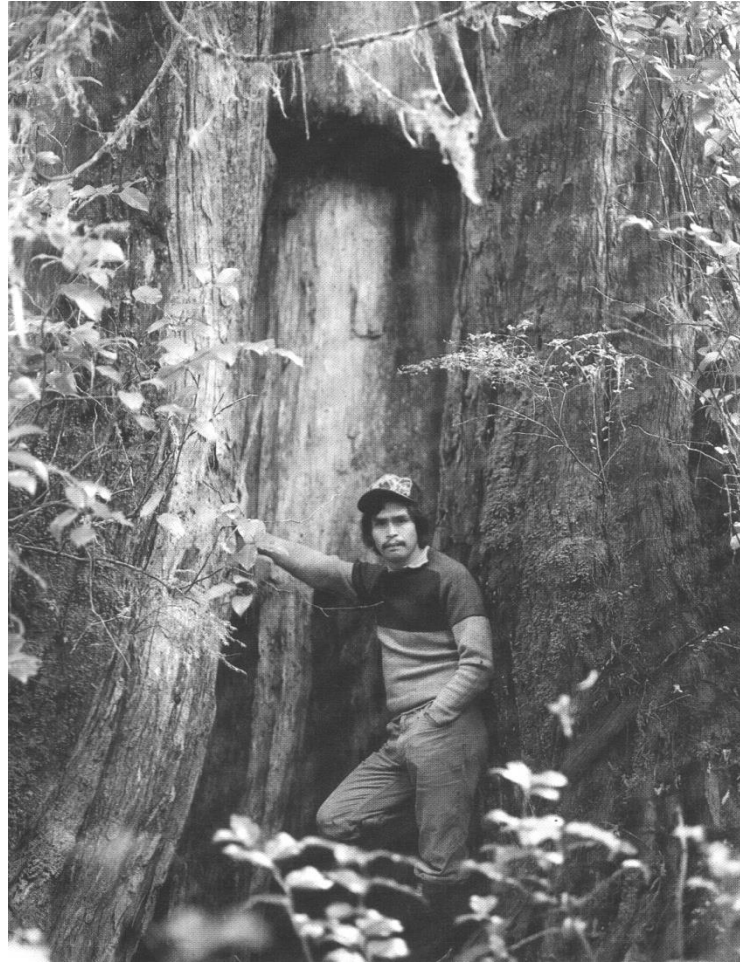
- 4) Cedar as the material realizing culture complex and socio-natural connection

Practical, social, spiritual use of cedar:: cedar embodies culture and self in the material features.

Forests are defined as socio-natural entity. For example trees embodies nature-human relationships with social terms. like 'person'.

The embodied trees validate the accessibility or territoriality of social groups and individuals,. The scars of cedar bark stripping are recognized as human and social contact , as ongoing rights of the society's access and management. Totem is another kind of embodiment. Tla-o-qui-aht people have regarded tree for totem as a gift from Creator. Then they make totem poles carving totem animals representing social group. In this case totem embodies human-nature relationship with nature terms, represent social group with nature terms.

V. Environmental Crisis and people's Reaction



Mearse Island, a plank removed tree by First Nation people, hundreds years ago, culturally modified tree (CMT)

FOCS & WCWC 1985, *Mearse Island*, p. 10 (original photo: Adrian Dorset)

1. From Meares Island Tribal Park to 1993 Protest and After

The battle to save Meares Island brings to public attention not only the values of one very special west coast place, but also the key ecological, economic, social and spiritual issues plaguing modern society today.

FOCS & WCWC, 1985, *Meares Island, Protecting a Natural Paradise*, p. 61

1) Ethnography of Logging Plan and Protest : abbreviation.

Cho, Kyoung Mann & Park, Suk Hyun 2012, *Making Legislative System of Social Capital I-A International Case Study: Canada. USA*, Korea Legislation Research Institute.

Cho, Kyoung Mann 2013, *Making Legislative System of Social Capital II-Cooeration of the Government and the Indigenous Society in Canada*, Korea Legislation Research Institute.

2) Brief Chronology

- 1905 first logging leases were granted to Sutton Lumber & Trading Co. Seattle.
- 1950s MacMillan Brodel , Canada acquired the leases
- By 1980s the logging delayed.
- 1980 Friends of Clayoquot Sound formed to save Meares Island from MB logging
- 1980 BC government funded public involvement process began(Meares Island Integrated Planning Team).
- 1980s MB presented their plan to provincial government Environmental Land Use Committee(ELUC)

- 1983 ELUC decided compromise option. Company go-ahead to log 90% of the island , last 10% deferring 20 years
- 1984 Tofino residents rallied against ELUC descision, etc.
- 1984 increasingly Tla-o-qui-aht, Ahousaht became involved.
- 1984. April 21. Tla-o-qui-aht declared Meares Island a Tribal Park.
- 1984 ~ Photographers, intellectuals documented Meares ancient trees and forest.
- 1984 First Nation artist Joe David, carved 27 feet cedar, Welcome figure 'Haa-hoo-ilth-quin', raised it in front of BC Provincial Parliament Buildings, Victoria. The figure is now displayed at UBC anthropology museum with its 'traditional nature-culture' concepts ' against the modern, environmental crisis. At the museum it became the relic of indigenous culture in modern society. But Clayoquot people envision to get back to the real field, Clayoquot Sound.
- 1984. Nov. 21 MB sent motor a boat 'Kennedy Queen' with loggers prepared to log. Tla-o-qui-aht chief Moses Martin welcomed the loggers to "their garden" asking to leave the chainsaws in the boat. This issue became into the court.
- 1985, Jan. Court granted MB a temporary injunction against people blocking. Court rejected enviromentalists' and First Nation's request to delay logging until the matter was fully settled in court. It upsetted First Nations for it in fact rejected the claim of aboriginal land title. Defiant people gathered at Meares Island. Gentlemen's agreement was reached-no logging before the decision be heard in the BC court of Appeal.
- 1985 March BC Court of Appeal decided to prevent MB from starting to log until the beginning of November, 1985. Opportunity to First Nations to commence Supreme Court Action regarding the substance nature of their claim to ownership.
- 1985~ Legal battles might go on for years. Natives and non-native's participation and support for preservation of the Island extending.
- 1985~1994 Peaceful resistance and blockades of logging continued.

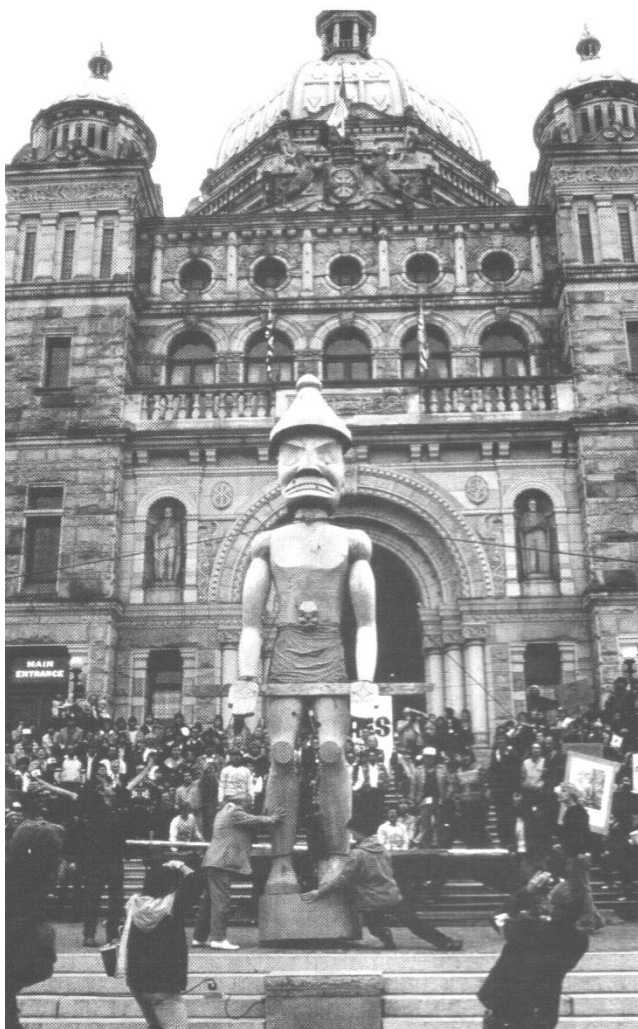


Logging in Clayoquot Sound (photos: FOCS)



Logging in Vancouver Island, 1860 VS 2004 (Map: Sierra Club-Canada)





1984, figure 'Haa-hoo-ilth-quin' in front of BC Provincial Parliament Buildings, Victoria



1984, people waiting for 'Kennedy Queen' with loggers prepared to log



1984, singing in protest

Photos FOCS &
WCWC 1985, *Meares
Island.*

- 1993 BC new regime NDP announce land use plan. The plan divided the forests of Clayoquot Sound into numerous regions, setting parts aside for preservation, logging, and other various activities including recreation, wildlife, and scenery. The plan permitted logging in two-thirds of the ancient forests in Clayoquot.

- 1993. Summer largest resistance. Local residents, Tla-o-qui-aht & Ahousaht First Nation bands, environmental NGOs (FOCS, Greenpeace etc.), intellectuals and intellectuals from outside, environmentalists from abroad were at the peace camps and among them over 900 people who were doing the 'sit-in' were arrested. Mass trials for the 860 people at the court began.

- 1995~ Other solutions for Clayoquot Sound appeared. Scientific Panel for sustainable development and logging restriction, Interim Measure Agreement with Provincial Government and Nuuchahnulth, First Nation logging company Isaak established with outside companies' go back, UNESCO Biosphere Reserve Designation, etc.



1993, protest (photo FOCS)



1993, protest (photo FOCS)

Meanwhile logging issues of Meares Island had gone. It became the core ancient forest in Clayoquot Sound and First Nation Tribal Park as a place of 'ancient, pristine forest', of First Nation people's conceptualization on forest and people with the 'modern' terms. It became the model or frame of reference for the First Nation's protecting actions on their territory. Politically the island became representation of aboriginal rights, especially confronting treaty process. For local residents and tourists from the world it became the representative place for 'tour in nature' or 'eco-tourism'. First Nations' Tribal Park organization manages the island including tourists hosting. First Nation cultural tour groups manage the tourism too. Local tour companies manages tourism. NGOs support with information and environmental programs.



Tsimka Martin, Tla-o-qui-aht canoe instructor, manages Meares Island tours with traditional canoe (photos: EBS-Korea 2013)

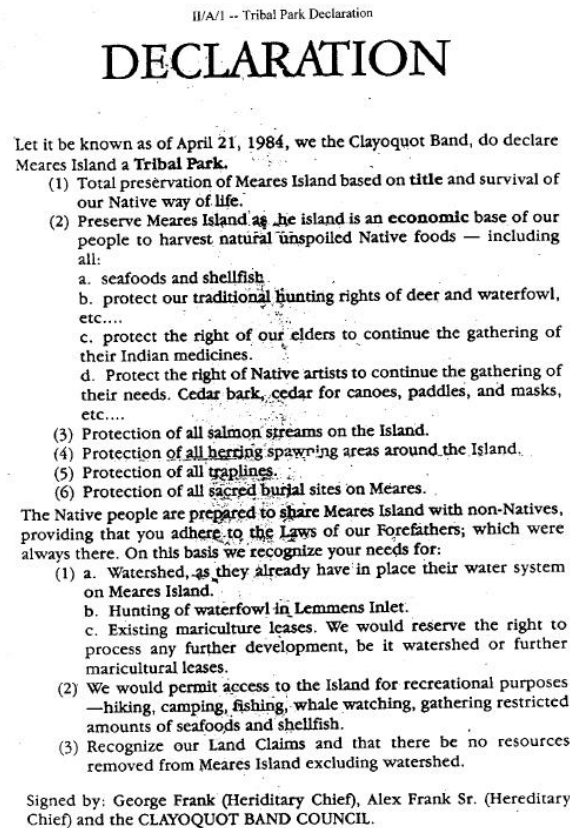


Shean Quick (Nucii), Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Park team, explains ancient forest and traditional knowledge of cedar. Aug. 16, 2013

2. Meares Island and First Nation Conceptualized

-Declaration of Tribal Park, Meares Island -

- 1984 declaration has been in effect through the resistances and by the autonomy of First Nation



- The brief document includes the purpose 'total preservation of Meares Island based on title and survival of our Native way of life'.

- Protection of ecological elements (salmon routes, seafood, medicines, etc.)

- Protection of sacred burial sites

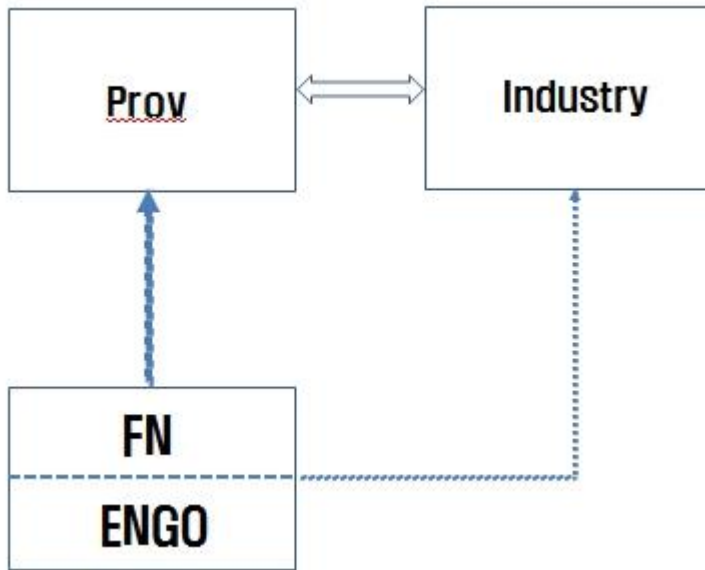
- Protection of right of Native artists to continue the gathering of their needs, Cedar bark, cedar for canoes, paddles, and masks, etc.,

- Recognize Land Claims and that there be no resources removed from Meares Island excluding watershed.

- Quite brief one but it contains their perspective to forest as their 'depending upon' ecosystem.

- The declaration of protection tells that social and cultural spheres are integrated in 'base of Native ways of life', 'sacred burial sites', 'right of Native artists' gathering cedar bark, cedar for artifacts.

- It tells the places and natural beings are material substance where social, cultural and spiritual spheres are embodied. The places and beings are defined and conceptualized as so. These conceptualizations and embodied island could be the operational media for their political action of aboriginal rights, as practical and symbolic issues.



- These First Nation issues, perspectives became a base of NGOs and First Nation alliance, became a moral base of protest.
- Valerie Langer, former Clayoquot activist from outside , having lived there for 15 years as local and global coordinator, explains the relationship among the social units before and during 1993 protest. (interview July 6th, 2013)
- 1984 declaration and First Nation's engagement to protest made First Nation and NGO alliance, which had been quite rare before.
- by 1993 and just after the two social units had to confront provincial government and logging industry with two hands.

3. 1993 protest as globalized 'moral'

1) Protest process and discourses : abbreviation

Cho, Kyoung Mann & Park, Suk Hyun 2012, *Making Legislative System of Social Capital I-A International Case Study: Canada. USA*, Korea Legislation Research Institute.

Cho, Kyoung Mann 2013, *Making Legislative System of Social Capital II-Cooeration of the Government and the Indigenous Society in Canada*, Korea Legislation Research Institute

2) Local alliances & global market strategy

- high degree of community alliances among local people, local business, First Nations and environmentalists. The local resident's economy had been change from extraction of natural resources to make attraction of natural beauty. Their feeling and values as the rational and emotion of living 'here' were sustainable since their immigration from outside. First Nation people declared their aboriginal rights on their self determination of forests and marine reflecting political, economical and symbolic. Their concepts of forest were both practical and moral, reinforcing each other.
- Local residents' business 'tourism' , NGOs quest for alternative ways than logging and First Nations' conservation of ways of life as well as economic development, all of these issues were for sustainable development and social justice, environmental 'moral'. The first stake holder, First Nation had the pivotal base of forest future. Their ways of life and worldview, effective in real or not, became the legitimacy to save Clayoquot Sound and to quest for sustainable development. Their cultural ecology, economy and spirituality together be abstracted as 'moral' or stewardship toward forests. General perspectives from NGOs allied with First Nation ones. Local residents' typical discourses ' in my life, recent 40 years made drastic change of this place. As people, I can not endure this situation' co-exited with First Nation discourses ' for thousand of years we have lived here, in mother earth'. Visitors allied and participated in the protest with intellectual or emotional 'resonance' from Clayoquot Sound. The residents moved in those time expresses their experiences and thoughts.
- Valerie Langer, a NGO leader at that time interprets the process including the meaning of the place and globalizing the place.


Langer, V. 2003, The Clayoquot Sound as Testing Ground, Life Culture Symposium (abstract), Ilsan: Korea.

"Clayoquot Sound is at once a unique area and a microcosm of the social and economic influences of globalization. It has been described as one of the most politically complex ecosystems on earth. The struggles to protect its ecology and for control of resources have been dramatic. First Nations (indigenous people) have launched legal court challenges to the provincial and federal government's. (abbreviation) Environmental non-governmental organizations have launched international campaigns challenging government and industry's rights to destroy the ancient forest and salmon ecosystems. (abbreviation) This 20th century struggle for control of local resources played out in the globalized market place and at international fora. The result has been a number of initiatives, each slowly edging the region and it's peoples towards sustainability. (abbreviation)

Global economic interests and international environmental interests were competing for legitimacy in the region. There was/is tremendous suspicion of global economic and international influences."

III/A/1 - New York Times Advertisement
IS BRITISH COLUMBIA BECOMING THE BRAZIL OF THE NORTH?

WILL CANADA DO NOTHING TO SAVE CLAYOQUOT SOUND, ONE OF THE LAST GREAT TEMPERATE RAINFORESTS IN THE WORLD?




Only recently has the world come to know the horrific deforestation that has taken place in the westernmost Canadian province of British Columbia, bordering the state of Washington. In the past 45 years, commercial logging companies, aided and abetted by provincial authorities, have engaged in the systematic liquidation of one of the richest and most diverse forest ecosystems in North America. While global concern has been mainly directed at the alarming destruction of tropical rainforests in Brazil, few people realize that an even greater level of environmental devastation has taken place in British Columbia. Today, not a small portion of this once magnificent rainforest legacy remains.

Last year, the old provincial government responsible for the massive clearcutting of B.C. forests was thrown out of office. Elected in its place was the New Democratic Party of Premier Michael Harcourt, with a promise to protect the best remaining temperate rainforest ecosystems along British Columbia's Pacific coast.

In just a few days, the new government will face its first major environmental test when it decides the fate of Clayoquot (pronounced clak-wat) Sound, a spectacular mosaic of islands, fjord-like inlets and lush coastal rainforest covering 850,000 acres on the west side of Vancouver Island. Premier Harcourt will either act to protect the Clayoquot Sound ecosystem, or throw the doors wide open to the eager chainsaws of MacMillan Bloedel and Interfor, two Canadian companies notorious for their flagrantly destructive logging practices.

It is ironic that British Columbia, which touts its "supernatural" beauty in its tourism promotional campaigns, has allowed so much of its original forests to be destroyed, in such a callous and hazardous way. It is a further irony that the spectacular beauty of Clayoquot Sound — which attracted over a half million visitors last year, generating badly-needed tourism revenue in a region hit hard by recession and job loss — may be destroyed by clearcutting.



Will Premier Harcourt do the right thing and finally act to save British Columbia's most important asset? Or will Clayoquot Sound suffer the same fate as so much of the rest of British Columbia, which increasingly appears to visitors flying overhead to be suffering from a catastrophic attack of mange, with ugly bald spots spreading where dense primal forest once stood?

Canada's dirty, secret war against its forests is about to reach a critical watershed. This time, the whole world is watching and waiting. Whatever you do, Mr. Harcourt, be prepared to explain it to the world. And to your children and ours.

**CONSERVATION INTERNATIONAL
 EARTH ISLAND INSTITUTE
 NATIONAL AUDUBON SOCIETY
 NATIONAL PARKS AND CONSERVATION ASSN.
 RAINFOREST ACTION NETWORK
 SIERRA CLUB
 THE WILDERNESS SOCIETY
 WESTERN ANCIENT FOREST CAMPAIGN**

HELP SAVE CLAYOQUOT SOUND
 Send an urgent telegram to Premier Michael Harcourt and Vice President Greg Albert Gore. Cost is \$9.75 and will be billed to your phone. Please call 1-800-854-4747 now.

Those who know Clayoquot Sound under-

New York Times advertisement, 1993 (date is shaded) , Clayoquot Document, Univ. of Victoria.

- As Valerie told , there were market campaign in Europe and US for 'no buy' the products from ancient forests in Clayoquot. This was the practical strategy to inform Clayoquot Sound in the world and in fact got resonances. Government and industry reacted to this sensitive matter. General campaign at the time of 1993, to make the protest globalized appeared in the case of New York Times advertisement. International & local NGOs made advertisement at New York Times. Here Clayoquot Sound was defined as last great temperate rainforest in the world, magnificent landscape and ecosystem, supernatural beauty, etc. The moral to save this place is to save the worldly scarcity of temperate rainforest

Hollywood stars join battle for B.C. trees

Campaign seeks end to clear-cutting

BY PATRICIA LUSH
British Columbia Bureau

VANCOUVER — Oliver Stone, Barbra Streisand, Martin Sheen and 33 other Hollywood celebrities are starring in the latest episode of the war to save the Clayoquot Sound rain forest on the west coast of Vancouver Island and to end clear-cutting across British Columbia.

The actors, producers and directors have signed on to a campaign by the Clayoquot Rainforest Coalition in a full-page advertisement in yesterday's New York Times' west coast edition.

The ad is topped with a movie claspboard and a huge photo of a mostly clear-cut forest area crisscrossed with logging roads. It calls on British Columbia to end clear-cutting, to increase the amount of forest it protects and to "end the stranglehold of the 10 large logging companies controlling 61 per cent of B.C.'s forest lands."

The text of the ad suggests that the province's \$500-million-a-year film industry is at risk:

"Hollywood studios spent over \$400-million [U.S.] last year making movies in British Columbia, and the U.S. purchased almost \$7-billion in B.C. lumber and paper products. That adds up to a lot of clout," it says.

"As economic stakeholders in the wise management of B.C.'s fragile and 'supernaturally' beautiful wilderness, join us in our campaign to end the destruction of these magnificent ancient forests."

Those statements sound like a threat to Hollywood's support of movie making in the province.

But that is not the intention at this time, said Tamara Stark, a campaigner for Greenpeace, one of the Canadian and U.S. environmental activist groups that comprise the rain forest coalition.

She said the purpose of the ad is to get issues such as clear-cutting and reform of B.C. forest tenure on the election agenda.

British Columbians go to the polls May 28 to elect a provincial government and so far in the campaign, Ms. Stark said, there has been "very little discussion about clear-cutting and no discussion of tenure reform."

The coalition chose to run the advertisement in The New York Times — which sells only about 600 copies a day in British Columbia — because the primary target is U.S. business executives who make the decision whether or not to buy B.C. forest products, said Christopher Hatch of the Rainforest Action Network in San Francisco.

Please see Hollywood / B8

Hollywood joins tree wars

• From Page B1
Yesterday's ad in the Times follows a similar one two months ago in the U.S. entertainment weekly Variety. The coalition gained support from activists in the movie community last year after it published ads in the Times and some Hollywood papers, Mr. Hatch said.

Several celebrities became involved, among them Mr. Stone, Ed Begley Jr. and Woody Harrelson, and they recruited others in the film industry, he said.

"What's going on in the rain forests of British Columbia is a travesty of nature," Mr. Stone said in a news release.

"I personally have become involved with this issue because it outrages me to see thousand-year-old trees decimated for newspapers and disposable yellow pages."

Mr. Harrelson could not be reached for comment. He was on a plane en

route to the Cannes film festival, said Simon Halls, his New York publicist.

However, he said, Mr. Harrelson is "very, very committed" to issues involving trees.

Last year, the B.C. government enacted a new, stricter Forest Practice Code that, among other things, limits clear-cuts to a maximum 40 hectares on the coast and 60 hectares in the interior, restricts or prohibits them on sensitive sites, increases the protective "no-logging" buffer zones along rivers and streams and calls for penalties of up to \$1-million for failure to comply.

Yesterday, B.C. Forests Minister Dennis Streifel was on the campaign trail and could not be reached for comment, but a ministry spokesman said the advertisement "falls to acknowledge a lot of the important changes that B.C. has made in forest management and protection."

Globe & Mail 14 May 1996

- Global market strategy kept on after 1993 and during the times when alternatives were investigated, when more and more the scale of harvest became smaller. Still there had been quite influential clear-cut by logging corporations, The Hollywood stars, Oliver Stone, Barbara Streisand, Martin Sheen and over 30 celebrities, directors, producers, in 1996, tried to make campaign to save Clayoquot Sound. Advertisements in New York Times and some others were the examples. The article in Globe and Mail on May 14th, 1996 gathered several cases of this matter. Some issues are found in the article. The Hollywood actors, film makers intended

- to end clear cut logging, to increase the amount of forests BC protects, etc.,

- indirectly they expressed the threat to end making movies in British Columbia, expressed market campaign for ending purchase BC lumber and paper products,

- Oliver Stone's words tell his definitions, values on the forest. "What's going on in the rainforests of British Columbia is a travesty of nature. I personally have become involved with this issue because it outrages me to see thousand-year-old trees decimated for newspapers and disposable yellow pages".
- Stone's words defines Clayoquot Sound forest endangered as travesty of nature. Also he contrasts the values of ancient forest with that of disposable newspapers or yellow pages.
- Clayoquot trees logged became commodities of lumber or pulp in a globalized market. The international campaign with this fact had made people react as economic campaign of 'no buy'. But the base of this reaction was their values or morals on ancient forest contrasting the value judgment on disposable papers. Thus Clayoquot logging engaged in international market economy confronted reactive market strategy of 'no buy' and internationally diffusing ancient forest values, feelings of moral.

- First Nation issues as moral base of worldly reactions had been from local socio-cultural context. In fact NGOs have expressed First Nation ways of life and its value with forest. Even the NGOs used the terminology and concepts, traditional knowledge and experiences of First Nation as the intellectual, moral base of the actions. Beyond mere advertisement NGOs have continuously allied with First Nations. As for First Nations, they have started their environmental campaign from their aboriginal rights and their legitimacy of their 'nature' protected. 1993 protest and before/after it these two sectors allied,

- Svend Robinson from Swiss revisited in Aug. 2013, to attend '20 years after' gathering.

"This journey is one which must be taken hand in hand together with **our brothers and sisters in first nations**. Terry spoke powerfully and eloquently about the challenges that faced the first nations people and that continue to face them today. He mentioned the 1985 Meares declaration.

(abbreviation)

This struggle wasn't just about the Clayoquot Sound but it's about a different kind of a world we want to create. (abbreviation)

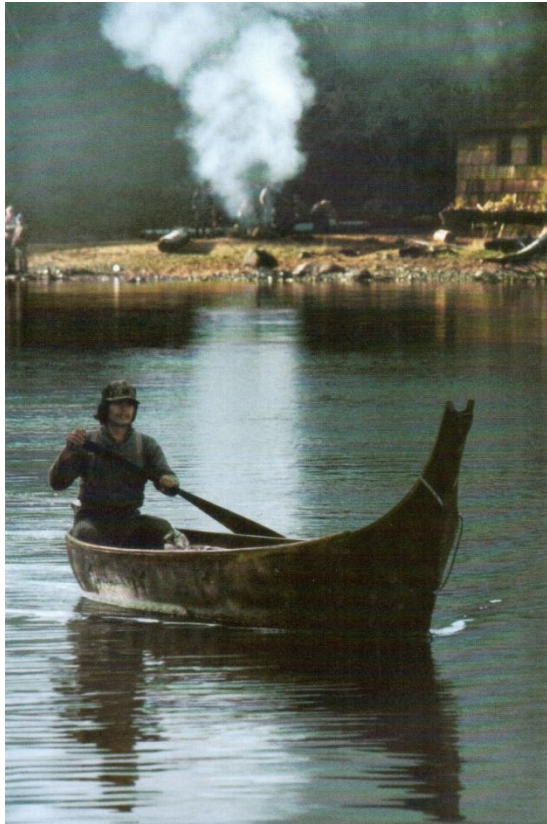
We need a different world in which corporate profits do not trump the environment and human values. And that must be also our broader struggle, (abbreviation)

thank all the people that have worked so hard to protect this magnificent legacy for all of us"

Svend Robinson, public talking at the gathering

- Svend Robinson, as a former participant, talks about Clayoquot Sound struggle not merely as local affairs. He talks about it as a quest for different kind of world to create. Clayoquot is for him microcosm of worldly quest. In that First Nation's Tribal Park declaration in 1984 (1985-speaker's error) is valued. Terry Doward, a Tla-o-qui-aht leader, talked about 1984 Tribal Park as the spirit of Clayoquot Sound. Then Svend reacted with sympathetic words.

Joe Martin, currently Tla-o-qui-aht elder, sculpture artist, canoe maker and influential decision maker in Clayoquot environmental, cultural affairs, had been logging worker. He was fired before he engage in Meares Island blockade, 1984. At the logging place he experienced devastating scene of logging. He dropped off the spiritual burden of logging work. After that he had become representative native in 1984, in 1993 protest. In so many cooperation with NGOs on the environmental issues. His words about his experience in 1993 and after tell a case of First Nation people's reaction. At the '20 years after' gathering he talked.



Joe Martin on Nov. 21, 1984. With his traditional canoe he is heading up to C'is-a-qis bay in Meares Island for blockade. Symbolic canoeing reacting to loggers' engine boat. Photo: FOCS & WCWC 1985, Meares Island.



At '20 years after' gathering, Front-left second: Joe Martin. Front-right first: Svend Robinson. Rear-right second: Valerie Langer.

I worked as a logger for 12 years. There were days when I felt sick to the stomach because of what was happening and what could see, what I was doing as a logger. My father' was fisherman, and we logged along the stream. We were logging in the Cypress valley, a beautiful place. And the crime they've done to that beautiful place was amazing. If you go through the Cathedral grove, the Cypress valley was beautiful. They just logged that all up. Anyhow, I got fired from that spot because I didn't drag some logs over the fish-bearing stream. That was like a huge weight lifted off my shoulders.

He felt sick for he, as a logger, could see the happenings of logging. He was amazed by the environmental 'crime' at the forests. He became fired for he did not dragged logs over the fish bearing stream. It was for him being free from the burden. Consideration of living beings, ecological ethics or feeling caused him to be fired. But for him it was lifting off the psychological burden.

Back in 1992, I began trips to Europe with slide shows, showing them all the things that are happening here in regards to the resources and so on. In 1993, I made two trips to Europe one in the spring and one in the fall. During that fall, October and November, I travelled with my daughter Giselle who was 16 years old at that time. At that time, I made a presentation to the United Nations in Geneva, Switzerland about this disappearing rainforest here, and spent 3 days in the European Parliament.

These trips abroad were for market campaign 'no buy'. But the Europeans replied that they could not do anything for Canadian woods were so cheap. It was his experience of globalizing market campaign as environmental activist. And also it was his experience of globalized market economy, international economic competence. Two side of globalization he experienced.

In the summer of 1994, a lot of the people I met there flew here and came to look at Clayoquot Sound and to see the forest. They had arranged to meet our tribal council and our own Tla-o-quo-aht council. They landed in Vancouver and were intercepted by the Ministry of Forest. (abbreviation)
Otherwise they would've seen all the clear-cutting from their flight. We had to put up with a lot of these things over the years. But I'm very grateful that we have many of us in this room who have done all this work and we still have some forests here that are very significant.
One of the big concerns that I still do have now is that we have the Isaak the forest company. I'm not that happy with them because they're just targeting the best forests that we have and I'm a canoe-builder.

These words are about international concern on the ancient forests from the ecological perspective. As a First Nation leader he was to show them endangered forest but it was blocked by government interruption to screen the real scene of Clayoquot Sound.
He says about common experience to struggle and about comrade-like feeling. But finally he worries about First Nation logging company made as an alternative for it becomes inclined to ancient forest logging apart from the initial spirits. His feelings are also from his traditional use of forest like the canoe making. For him the forest should be the being used and sustained by the cultural, economic activities like canoe building. Also he defines himself as canoe builder contacting forest with such an activity. He worries about the nature-culture relationship broken by First Nation it self being apart from the relationship to mere market economy. Recently the issue of Isaak and ancient forest logging became hot between NGOs and the company. Dichotomy has been formed between market economy combined with First Nation subsistence and saving ancient forest-sustainable use. It has blurred cooperation and cultural common ground between First Nations and NGOs. As Valerie Langer told there have been paradox. "Indigenous tribes bought a corporation : a paradox of values – who or what is being culturally assimilated? (Langer, V. 2003, Clayoquot Sound as Testing Ground, Life Culture Symposium, Ilsan: Korea)

V. First Nation Concepts in Making Alternatives

1. Scientific Panel

- 1994, As a solution for the logging and protest
- Scientists and First Nation elders co-worked.
- Watershed protection and sustainable forest logging guidance
- Initial stage-recommendation but effective in real
- Late 2000s from recommendations to effective guidance toward administration
- First report: reflect Nuu-chah-nulth ways to the collective processes-respect each other members, different values, respect data based on science and living experience (Clayoquot Sound Scientific Panel 1994, *Report of Scientific Panel for Sustainable Forest Practice in Clayoquot Sound*, P. 4)
- Third Report: Traditional knowledge and conceptualizations : lists of animals and plants by the scientific classification and traditional classification, Traditional one includes classification and terminology based on First Nation experience of forms, use. Religious or cultural relations, if the case exists, with the plants or animal were also described. (Clayoquot Sound Scientific Panel 1995, *First Nation Perspective Relating to Forest Practice Standards in Clayoquot Sound*)
- Under the spirit of First Nation conceptualization on the natural beings and on the ways of access to them
- Most generally spoken concepts are 'hishuk ish ts'awalk' (everything is one) and 'hahuulhi' (hereditary ownership and management on the traditional territory). The one reflects ecologically systematic thinking and stewardship to this oneness of beings. The other functions as an ontological base for communal engagement in management.
- Recommendations of this report are for new forestry (logging) practice. Environmental planning, inventories, research be under the traditional knowledge as well as science.
- Example: Western Hemlock-more terminology in parts reflecting uses in fishery, foods, bedding, medicine, spiritual cleansing. Myth of transformation from animal beings to hemlock thorn and to human beings also makes nature-human relationship.
- Understanding traditional knowledge is valuing the beings and people. Also it contributes to social consensus to protect and sustainable use.

2. Isaak Forest Resources Ltd.

- First Nations bought Tree Farm Licence (TFL) of former corporations (Inter Forest, Weyerhaeuser)
- Alternative logging, selective logging (logging 2nd growth but selectively preservation of 2nd growth in logging place to grow well, etc.)
- Holistic approach in ecosystem respecting ecological and cultural values
- Non-timber products : respect traditional use and sustainable harvest
- Isaak means 'respect'. It represents the company's slogan
- Established under the MOU 1999 between Isaak and Greenpeace international, Greenpeace Canada, Bc Sierra Club, West Coast Wilderness Committee, etc.
- But FOCS did not signed for they thought Isaak is not clear to protect ancient forest.
- As mentioned before there is concern about Isaak's inclination toward logging in ancient forest.

3. Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Parks

- 2013, decided under the names of hereditary chiefs-symbolic respect of traditional concepts of collective ownership
- In fact integration of existing parks and new ones in Tla-o-qui-aht territory
- More detailed plans than Meares Island which is integrated in the Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Parks
- With traditional access to forest, the park include human living and use in the ideology of co-existence and inter-dependence.
- Traditional values of sustainable use and protect are expressed but concrete values, use and protection are not specified. General, ideological discourses are frequently occurs. Instead people have accumulated a lot of traditional knowledge and experiences about natural beings, Meares Island has been the place of experience in nature and transmission of traditional knowledge on plants, soil and other beings, Management of natural resource use and establishment of holistic system of the parks are defined as traditional stewardship including man and nature.
- Rather than factual space plan, managers' discourses express their purposes and concepts on the places and beings,

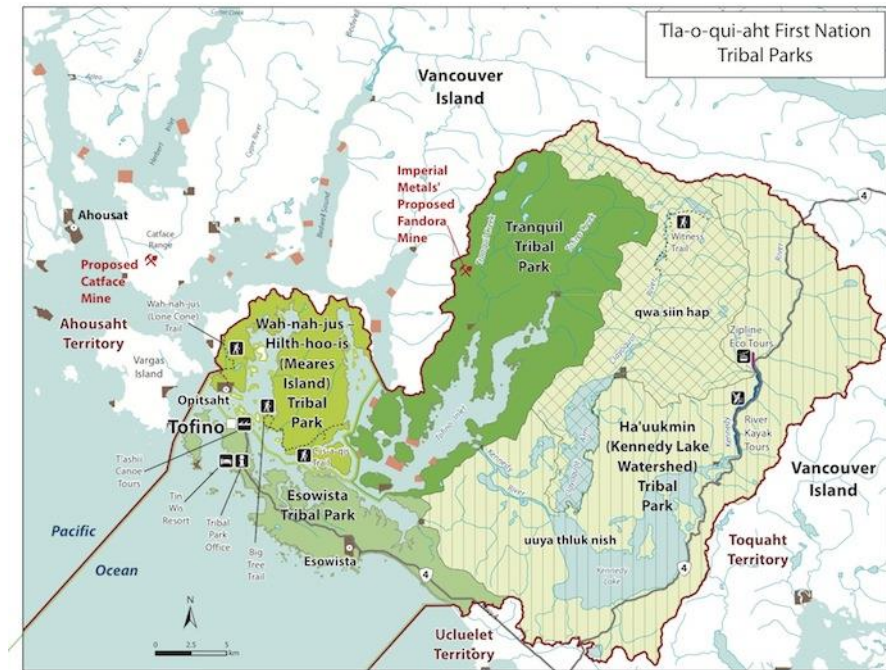
- Conventional, modern way of zoning with traditional concepts.

- 'qwa siin hap' means 'leave as it'. It is applied to the north Ha'uukmin park where pristine forest and watershed are pertinent to be 'core' area.

- 'uuya thiuk nish' is 'we take care' – southern Ha'uukmin park where stewardship is needed for human interventions are frequent.

- space plan of eco-tourism or tracking in modern sense is apparent. Reflection of contemporary culture for the appreciation of nature.

- They say they are realizing traditional values in modern ways. But specific objects and rationale are not found yet.



Map and Legend: Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Parks

- Terry Doward, one of persons who planned Tribal Park tell about the spirit and strategy of this planning. For him tribal park is a way for self determination on the place against outside development. Particularly he regards outside development and appropriation of nature to its way as 'colonialism' to First Nation. The designation of natural, cultural places as park, as the pertinent places for First Nation 's way of use and protection means the positive reaction to this colonial process. In fact the designation of the park was the reaction to the development plan of gold mine in Tranquil forest. A vancouver based mining company has applied restoration of old gold mine. It means environmental degradation and social conflict in their area. Particularly it means systematic degradation of sustainable environment and economy which they have envisioned for since Meares Island crisis. He allied with NGOs and people who suffered similar cases in the world. For him the gathering for '20 years after' 1993 was for the current issues illuminated from the past.

- Today, we're the forest people with the highest unemployment rates and social problems from the impacts of a colonization here in this country. Here in Clayoquot Sound, we've seen how government and industry have failed to provide sustainable livelihoods. They failed because they don't understand Clayoquot Sound nor the people that live here. The Tribal Park model is the Tla-o-qui-aht decolonized conception to find alternative ways to our current social and economic problems. Through our oral histories, we've been taught that the power of nature can heal and restore unique identities. We as the Tla-o-qui-aht first nations(TFN) are continuously evolving as people.

The Wah-nah-jus-Hilth-hoo-is or the Meares Island declaration of 1985 has been so important because it help restore traditional values and practices in modern day resource management plans.

Today, we have a new industrialized threat. Many treats that can destroy the west coast. And it is our responsibility to make a stand against Christie Clark's mining strategy or these fish farms that threaten wild salmon stocks. (abbreviation). Every generation must define itself and take a stand for what you believe in.

The Tribal Park model is the Tla-o-qui-aht decolonized conception to find alternative ways to our current social and economic problems. Through our oral histories, we've been taught that the power of nature can heal and restore unique identities. We as the Tla-o-qui-aht first nations(TFN) are continuously evolving as people. Through our evolution, our society has transformed through spiritual experiences such as the introduction of the whale hunt and the formation of the klukwana society, the wolf society that have held strict laws, nature's laws that were maintained with harsh discipline if it were to be violated. These traditional practices and teachings came about with our sacred connection to the land, this place we call the TFN. And perhaps we need a new political, spiritual, social, economic structure in these modern times much like what our ancestors did. But the only way we're going to successfully achieve this as a people as a nation is like reconnecting to the land and resources in a good way.

For him, power of nature can heal and restore unique identities. Nature is related every beings including human. Thus his people has evolved as 'people'. Human being's existence or identity as 'people' is developed by power of nature. This usage of 'people' is commonly found at First Nations. Natural being is 'people' in Chehalis. Salmon is 'salmon people'. In turn Chehalis persons are 'river people'. Tla-o-qui-aht persons are 'forest people'. Human personifies natural beings and natural beings make human 'as people'. Human being is empowered by nature as people. When First Nation people makes a relationship with nature, such as use or stewardship, it is make relationship with 'people'. In turn the relational behavior makes human being as 'people'. From this ontological relationship rationale of tribal park is established. Decolonizing themselves by just decolonizing their places and natural beings they tries to restore legitimate existence as human 'people' and natural 'people'. Tribal park is the place for sustainability of ontological world these 'people', empowering and protecting each other.

VI. Consideration

- Luke analyzed Clayoquot Sound 's change to the place for tourism as the local reaction to the globalizing situation. According to the author, from extractive to attractive model, local and cultural industry based on environment expresses local-global connection,. Magnusson tells about political, particularly small political actions on the people's environment and everyday lives. Confronting the crisis of these places and lives small political actions made people out of containers which restricted them, made them on the globalizing ways. For me this could be possible for there is globalizing issues in so many places in the world from the environmental level connected with everyday lives.

- In any levels of social structure Clayoquot Sound can be explained. Ecological, economical, social, cultural or spiritual levels are operating and inter related. From an individual behaviors or thoughts we can find totality of this levels sometimes showing coherence sometimes incompatibility or discrepancy. Clayoquot is microcosm in that the place embraces all of current issues in these levels operating from the physically local to the physical, institutional and ideational globe. Global internalizes to the microcosm and local externalize from the microcosm.

Luke, T. 2003, On the Political Economy of Clayoquot Sound: The Uneasy Transition from Extractive to Attractive Models of Development. in Magnusson, W. and K. Shaw eds., *A Political Space: Reading the Global through Clayoquot Sound*, Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.

Magnusson, W. 2003, The Puzzle of the Political, in Magnusson, W. and K. Shaw eds., *A Political Space: Reading the Global through Clayoquot Sound*, Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.

At the heart of this place oriented structure and processes ontological quests exist. What it is ecological world and what is my existence? What of my life? What are they should be? Political, economic behaviors get the validation or value from this existential questions. First Nation people have performed their economy and politics on the basis of their ontology. Natural beings have been defined by relational thinking with human being. This made their legitimacy of socio-natural system and mutual interaction. Not merely political or economic but through existentially empowered human-nature relationship they have performed aboriginal rights. They struggled for their places with the existential relations. The global reaction at 1993 is partly related with this existential questions. Culturally different but resonant question of human existence and that of nature might be active. What it should be and what I am? Not just physical connection but concurrent, resonant ways from the places apart global reactions might occurred. It is not saying that First Nation people were directly engaged in this reactions. First Nation people's world of identities and existential quests in many places might evoke unique ways of the places and people.